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Outreach Youth Work
Cinderella or Vanguard?

An Evaluation of the Theory and Practice of Outreach Youth Work

Harry van Moorst

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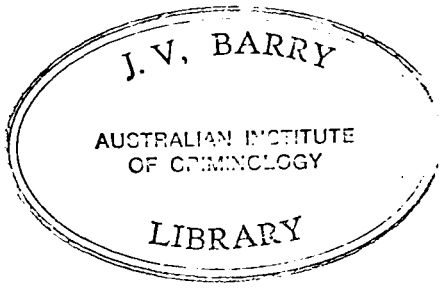

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PREFACE

This report is the result of two and a half years of work with Outreach workers in Victoria, primarily those employed under the YMCA's Outreach Programme. At the outset it was requested by the YMCA workers as a process for evaluating their work. As the research programme developed, and finance was provided to employ two part-time workers, the scope of the project expanded to investigate Outreach work in its broader forms.

The report, much delayed by a series of difficulties, is primarily an investigation of the philosophy, theory and practice of Outreach work as it has developed in Australia and up to the time the research finished in late 1980. Although a superficial attempt has been made to update the Victorian developments since that time, readers should be aware that the bulk of the empirical data was collected during 1979-80.

The two research assistants (Jana Andrews and Lance Pendergast) worked side by side three days a week for a period of about 9 months with the author.

Interviews were conducted with most Victorian Outreach workers and a questionnaire was circulated to Outreach workers in several other states, especially NSW. Case studies were collected, some on tape and others in writing. However, a large amount of information was gathered by less formal methods through a kind of participant observation. Although only a very small amount of time was spent with Outreach workers 'on the job' (this would have a distorting effect on the work anyway) much information came from the meetings, forums and informal (usually 'pub') sessions. The problems faced by the workers were often most evident during these informal sessions.

A literature review and theoretical analysis was undertaken and several discussion papers prepared for the workers' consideration.

It should be stressed that the intent of the project was at least as much to produce stimulus for discussion and further development of Outreach as it was to produce a written report. The process was a dynamic one in which goals, directions and methods were under constant scrutiny, and hence were in a state of flux. Many changes and developments took place as a result of this process, and the workers became as much the researchers as the researched. From the traditional methodological perspective this would make the process of evaluation virtually impossible. Any 'before and after' testing, of whatever form, would be invalidated by the continual process of change. Even the basic goals of Outreach work, the only reference point for effective evaluation of a successful project, were continually questioned and amended.

This process, while an evaluator's nightmare, shows the value of what might be termed 'action research', where the research project is itself a part of the process of change. Such a situation is rarely conducive to neat methodological decisions and definitive evaluation reports. It is a process where both the researched and the researcher may end up going in unexpected directions and adopt unexpectd priorities, where the relationships formed and the needs unearthed blur the distinction between worker and researcher and between social research and social action. For better and worse that is what happened with this project.

Social, occupational, political and personal factors saw the process take varying directions from 1981 onwards, with a resultant delay of several years in the production of this report. It would be tempting to say that this is the final report of the evaluation process, but neither those 'being researched' nor those 'doing the research' would accept that any report could do more than take a 'snapshot in time' of a rich, complex and flexible process. Youth work and socio-political change, which are the essence of progressive Outreach work, do not constitute a fixed object for definitive analysis. Like Sartre's human being, its essence lies in its process, its 'becoming'.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Primary acknowledgement must go to the Outreach workers who participated in the project with both enthusiasm and honesty. The workers showed a willingness to expose their vulnerabilities and insecurities, and to discuss their feelings and ideas in a way that is highly unusual amongst professionals (especially male professionals).

Thanks also to Jana Andrews and Lance Pendergast whose research assistance made the empirical part of this study possible. They collected the bulk of the empirical data and played a substantial role in the design and execution of the surveys. Any mistakes in the interpretation of the data are the fault of the author not Jana or Lance.

The Victorian YMCA provided comfortable meeting facilities, coffee and typing, as well as being the auspicing body of the largest Outreach team in Victoria at that time. They also assisted with making interstate contacts in Sydney and Darwin to assist with the research. Similar thanks for their hospitality must go to Sydney and Darwin YMCAs.

The urban and Social Research Centre, which sponsored this project, gave considerable assistance and thanks must go to the Humanities Department of Footscray Institute of Technology for making these resources available.

Finally, thanks to the Australian Criminological Research Council which provided the research grant to pay the research assistants and the various associated costs. A special thanks to David Biles and William Miller for their patience and persistance, despite the lengthy periods of time when the author remained virtually incommunicado.

Finally, thanks to all those friends and colleagues who tolerated my frustrations and supported my vain attempts to make an early ending to this report, especially to Sue, Lilian and Erica.

INTRODUCTION

"Street work", "Outreach work", "Detached youth work" are all terms referring to a particular style of working with young people. Each denotes a different aspect of the whole but they share a common essence. The type of work referred to by these terms is relatively new and still not clearly defined. It is a form of youth work that recognises that the needs of many young people are not met by traditional agencies, youth clubs and similar services. It believes that youth workers, instead of expecting such youth to come to them and their agencies, must reach out to them and bring their services to where the young people are -- hence the term "Outreach". It recognises that many, perhaps most, of such young people spend a considerable amount of time on the streets rather than at home, school or in organised youth centres -- hence the concept of "street work". And it realises that such youth are usually highly alienated from, and hence unattached to, the traditional social structures -- hence the term "detached".

However, there is another aspect to the meaning of "detached youth worker": not only is the worker dealing with young people detached from traditional structures, but the worker is her/himself in many ways detached from the traditional youth work agencies and facilities. Instead of being based in a youth club, sporting club or scout/guide troup, the worker shares the street environment of the young people and remains detached from the traditional bases. In this lies the strength of Detached, Street or Outreach work; ironically, in this also lies many of the problems of worker isolation, loss of direction and burnout.

Throughout this report, the terms Outreach, Detached and Street worker will be used interchangably, not because some logical distinctions could not be drawn between them, but because in practice no effective differences have been articulated and the different terminology is more the result of historical and geographical accident than of substantial differences in intent.

It must be stressed at the outset of this report that Outreach work, like any other form of community work, is not an homogenous field with all workers in basic agreement. Hopefully this report will clarify some of the fundamental differences that separate the field and wil show some of the varied work styles that make up the range of goals and methods called "Outreach work". If at times there is an implied homogeneity this is more the result of the author's generalisations than of any real situation in the Outreach field. The variety and divergences are both the strength and weakness of Outreach. To give further meaning to this we must first examine the history of Outreach work philosophy.

THE THEORETICAL GENESIS OF STREET WORK

"Many youth-serving agencies (claim) to be preventing delinquency without the slightest evidence that this is so. On the contrary a little digging beneath the glossy pages of the fund-raising leaflets usually shows either that the most delinquency-exposed youth are not touched by the agency, or that, if they are touched, the touch has little effect on their delinquency."

(Murray: 1964, p.14)

OUT OF THE PRISONS: INTO THE COMMUNITY

The past 50 years have seen an accelerating move away from punishing social offenders and towards treating them. The treatment meted out towards offenders, both adult and juvenile, ranges from medical and psychiatric to group therapy and education or vocational training. Punishment is almost universally condemned by criminologists and sociologists today: it is viewed as inhumane vengeance, a remnant of a less enlightened era than our own. Our task, it is argued, must be to reconcile the offender with society, not to wreak vengeance upon him. To properly understand the theories underlying streetwork as a form of delinquency control we must briefly recapitulate the development of various approaches to crime and delinquency in Western society. It is a slight but necessary detour, made in order to gain perspective.

The reasons for the move away from punishment and towards treatment are varied. Research has increasingly shown that imprisonment does not effectively rehabilitate offenders: there is little doubt that generally speaking "for most offenders penal measures

are inter-changeable" (Morris and Hawkins: 19\ , p.118) in that rates of recidivism are not significantly altered by altering the court's disposition of offenders. Yet it was patently obvious to most observers that punishments were often cruel and that if alternatives could be found they should be used. The development and popularising of psychiatry as a form of treatment appeared to provide just such an alternative.

Underlying this move was a general utilitarian philosophy which not only rejected retributivist theories of punishment (Acton: 19\ ) but also rejected offenders' responsibility for their own behaviour. Offenders were considered the unfortunate victims of their genetic inheritance, their inadequate family or their criminogenic environment (depending on the type of theory espoused). No longer should we blame them, we should instead develop "a concept of the anti-social individual as a sick person, in need of treatment rather than punishment" (Wooton 19\?, p. 248).

Thus arrived the therapeutic age, an age where punishment and responsibility became irrelevant concepts to be replaced by concepts of therapeutic intervention and blamelessness on the part of the offender.

The High Priests of the therapeutic state wore many different cloaks and uttered many different magic incantations. The supreme therapists, the priests whose theories embodied the very logic of the therapeutic approach, were the behaviourists. Although no longer writing within this framework, in 1966 David Biles neatly encapsuled the behaviourist approach when he suggested a therapeutic program for prisoners: "through negative reinforcement... the prisoner must be brought to the belief (and then to the practice of the belief) that socially acceptable alternative responses will lead to greater need satisfaction." "This implies, of course, inderterminate sentencing... The sequence may well start under conditions of reasonably severe sensory deprivation as this has been shown to facilitate the

learning of new responses and the estinction of old ones... and it will end only... when extinction of the unwanted responses has been demonstrated by actual behaviour in the community" (Biles: 1966). Within the same framework we see the development of aversion therapy and related programmes. Armed with magic incantations, such as "reinforcement", "conditioning", "Pavlov's dogs", "Skinner Box", and "extinction" the behaviourists enter the lists to joust against their rivals.

The main-stream therapists have a somewhat different approach to that of the behaviourists. Whereas the behaviourist simply assumes that inappropriate conditioning is the cause of the anti-social behaviour, the main-stream therapist desires to delve into the background of the offender to find the cause of his "mental illness". The main-stream therapist confronts the behaviourist with a magic spell woven from different incantations: instead of incantations about methods of treatment, such as "reinforcement", he will speak about the "diseases" that afflict his patients, such as "psychopathy" or "schizophrenia"; and instead of using bells or Skinner boxes, his methods of excorcism involve Freud's couch, interminable discussion sessions or soul-baring to groups of similarly "diseased" people. All is based on the assumption that "if an anti-social person can be changed by medical treatment into a well-conducted citizen, it is only common sense that he should be so treated" (Wootton: 19\ , p.241).

Despite their substantial efforts in the prisons of the world, no significant rehabilitative effect resulting from much treatment was able to be established. This did not however, deter the therapist or lead to a re-examination of therapeutic theory. Undaunted, the therapists took the next logical step in search of their holy grail. Instead of waiting until offenders actually committed their misdeeds they resolved to detect and treat them prior to such an eventuality. British psychologist, Peter McKellar, suggests that "research into the personality of such people (as psychopaths etc.) may permit others of their kind to be discovered before, not after, they have committed major crimes"

(McKeller, 19\ , p.355). This is the purpose of the many different attempts to predict delinquent tendencies in children, such as the work by the Gluecks who tried to select "delinquency-prone" eight-year olds in need of treatment (Glueck, 19\ ' also Challenger,\ , who tried to detect delinquency-prone children at age 6). The mainstream concept of mental illness is often predicated on a view of mental health that is the epitomy of the conservative, consensual and functionalist theories that underly most criminology. For instance: "a relatively simply, working definition of mental health would be... the ability to hold a job, have a family, keep out of trouble with the law, and enjoy the normal opportunities for pleasure" (Ginsburg in Wootton, 19 \ , p.213). As David Ingleby said "it is in the psychiatrist's concept of a 'healthy mind' that we may recognize his ideology" (Ingleby, 197 \, p.\ ).

The behaviourists, although not overly concerned with 'healthy' or 'unhealthy minds' (in fact, barely concerned with 'minds' at all, merely with behaviour), also had ambitions for promoting a therapeutic state. Hans Eysenk, concerned about the social unrest in the late 1960s, concluded that "what was clearly required was a technology of consent - that is, a generally applicable method of inculcating suitable habits of socialised conduct into the citizens (and particularly the future citizens) of the country in question - or preferably the whole world" (Eysenk, 1969, p.688). Eysenk is not alone in this view. Many behaviourists would support him to a substantial degree, and some of the most influential would happily stand alongside him. For example, R.B. Cattell believes that eugenics can breed out of existence "anti-social personalities", and Skinner believes that a system of conditioning such as suggested by Eysenk is totally practicable, and desirable (Cattell, 196\ ' Skinner, 19\ and 197\ ).

Two problems have arisen for the therapeutic state: firstly it doesn't seem to be all that effective, and secondly many people oppose the conservative social and political implications that

accompany it. Walter Bailey, after evaluating 100 studies on the effectiveness of correctional treatment concluded that "evidence supporting the efficacy of correctional treatment is slight, inconsistent, and of questionable reliability" (Bailey, 19\ in Wolfgang, Savitz and Johnston,\, p.738). Wilkins, in an even stronger statement concluded that "the major achievement in research in the field of social pathology and treatment has been negative, resulting in the undermining of nearly all the current mythology regarding the effectiveness of treatment in any form" (Wilkins, 1967, in Morris and Hawkins,\ p.120). Paul Tappen, a well known conservative criminologist writing in the fifties and sixties warned of psychiatric treatment that "many cases are worse adjusted at the termination of analysis than before" (Tappen, 19\ , p.508). Furthermore, evidence was mounting to show that in some instances prisons actually achieved the opposite effect to rehabilitation (McCorkle and Korn, 19 \; Toby, 19\; Sykes, 19 \ ; Schrag, 19\ ; Polsky,\ ).

Thus the basis was set in the 50s and 60s for a major shift away from custodial treatment towards community treatment. This move was not simply the result of a disenchantment with custodial therapy, nor just of the economic arguments purporting to show that community-based therapy or programming was cheaper (Wilkins, 1967; Morris and Hawkins, 196\ ; for a more realistic, but rarely implemented alternative view as to the economics of community programmes see Levine, 1977). It was also the result of a substantial reappraisal of the theories of crime and delinquency then in vogue. Speaking of our understanding of crime and delinquency Ned Polsky stated: "We are never going to know much about that topic, or many another, until we get out of the jails and the courts and into the field" (Polsky, 19 , p.118).

Polsky and many others in the sixties were not only attacking the conservative therapists but also the conservative sociologists who provided the theory to rationalise existing practices. Until the sixties functionalist theories of crime and deviance had gone substantially unchallenged.

Functionalist Theories of Deviance.

Functionalist theories are based on a consensus view of society. Functionalism sees society in terms of a pre-given social structure, a kind of web of values, norms and roles enmeshed in which are the institutions which support and strengthen the web. Social phenomena are generally analysed in terms of their function in maintaining the equilibuium of this social web*. The core of

the web, the central value system, is supposedly shared by the vast majority of the population, and those whose values and behaviour patterns are sufficiently removed from this central value system are considered 'deviant'.

Within this functionalist framework a number of different theories have been devised to explain 'deviance'. One of the best known, and perhaps the simplest, is Sutherland's theory of "Differential Association" (Sutherland and Cressy: 1970). In what was an important divergence from genetically based theories, Sutherland stressed that deviance was not an inherited phenomena but was learned through social interaction. In simple terms, if a person associated more with deviant persons and values than with 'normal' or non-deviant persons and values then he/she was

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* Analysis of Functionalism may be found in numerous books, e.g. Gouldner, 197\ ; Friedricks and \ ; Swingewood, 1974. A useful summary of some of the functionalist preoccupations may be found in Shils, E. "Centre and Periphery" and Parsons, T." \\" in Worsely P. (ed) Introduction to Sociology, 197\

likely to become deviant: deviance occurred when there was a sufficiently large differential between deviant and non-deviant associations in a person's life. It is from this theoretical perspective that the streetwork emphasis on providing appropriate (non-deviant) adult models for young people derives its rationale

(eg. Schur, 1974, p.88).

A different theoretical approach was suggested by Albert Cohen following his influential study of delinquent gangs in the U.S.A. (Cohen, 195 , pp.55). Cohen argued that delinquency was basically a working-class phenomena (a belief shared by most functionalists and 'supported' by the type of crime and delinquency statistics that they examined) which involved the creation of sub-cultures standing in direct opposition to the non-deviant or central value system. This sub-culture rewarded delinquent values and behaviour and hence provided status and identity to its members on their own terms instead of on 'middle-class' terms - terms which were not suitable to the needs or skills and abilities of many working-class youth. Streetwork as a form of delinquency control probably derived more from the sub-cultural theories of Cohen (and to an extent the amended approach of Yablonsky, 1959) than any other single approach.

The third major functionalist theory of deviance is 'Anomie Theory', developed from Durkheim's earlier work by Robert Merton (Merton, 1957). A person suffers from 'anomie' when he or she cannot identify with the goals and norms of the society (i.e. the central value system); when he or she is without adequately internalised goals and norms. According to Merton this anomic state results from a disjunction between the norms and values of society and the means available to some people to enable them to act according to those norms and values and to thus identify with them.

There are numerous problems with these theories, many of them derived from functionalism itself (see especially Taylor, Walton and Young, 1973; Quinney, 1974). Suffice it here to look at only some of the major ones. Perhaps most important is the whole concept of a consensual central value system, the keystone without which the functionalist edifice collapses. All three theories of deviance mentioned above assume the existence of a central value system: for Sutherland it consists of the normal,

non-deviant values and influences against which he posits the deviant values and influences; for Cohen it is embodied in the mainstream, 'middle-class' culture in opposition to which stand the deviant sub-cultures; and for Merton it consists of a generally agreed upon structure of goals and norms which only those denied the appropriate opportunities and incentives are estranged from. As David Matza points out: "From the born criminal to differential association, the explanation of delinquency has rested in the radically different circumstances experienced by delinquent and law abiding" (Matza, 1964, p.12).

Yet it is not at all evident from research that we live in a consensual society where the deviant represents a minor abberation to consensus and harmony. On the contrary, as Phillipson points out: "We are all criminals; there are very few members of our society who have not at some time committed at least one act punishable by a criminal court" (Phillipson, 1971, p.82). And more crucially, the functionalist perspective denies the reality and centrality of class divisions and conflict; by focussing on the idealist realm of values and culture it cannot admit the material conflicts built into the socio-economic structure which underpin the values and culture of various groups. The conflicts of material interests, the inequalities, poverty, competition and exploitation endemic to capitalism are seen by functionalists as functional elements helping to maintain a consensual social order and social equilibruim (eg. Davis and Moore, 1945; Gans \ ). Instead of examining social reality the functionalists are shackled by an a priori assumption that "some set of norms governing relations of superiority and inferiority is an inherent need of every stable social system" (Parsons, 1957\, p.325).

This can be seen quite clearly in what Cloward and Ohlin have termed "Opportunity Theory", a theory attempting to synthesise various functionalist approaches, especially anomie theory and differential association. According to Cloward and Ohlin:

"A crucial problem in the industrial world is to locate and

train the most talented persons in every generation irrespective of the vicissitudes of birth, to occupy technical work roles. Whether he is born into wealth or poverty, each individual, depending upon his ability and diligence, must be encouraged to find his 'natural level' in the social order" (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960, p.81).

Their view of a consensual social order, with 'natural levels' based on merit performs a convenient ideological function for the status quo. Instead of class divisions in society Cloward and Ohlin only perceive 'natural levels', and instead of the structural conflicts and tensions built into capitalism they see only the "crucial problem" of lack of opportunity for training. The Mobilization for Youth programme in New York, based on such a theory and involving streetwork in its general programme, stated in its funding submission:

"in order to reduce the incidence of delinquent behaviour or to rehabilitate persons who are already enmeshed in delinquent patterns, we must provide the social and psychological resources that make conformity possible... we must concern ourselves with expanding opportunities for conventional behaviour". (Kalin, 19 , p.490).

Again we see, in this application of Opportunity Theory, a consensual view of society to which we must make the deviant conform. It is assumed that deviance is the result of a lack of 'opportunities for conventional behaviour' and that if such opportunities were made available then people would choose this "conventional behaviour". Such assumptions, based on functionalist theory and middle class values, have not been substantiated in practice.

SOME ALTERNATIVE VIEWS

Before looking at the results of some of the practical applica-

tions of functionalist theories, it is important to outline two other approaches, and their contribution to our understanding. The first of these is "Labelling Theory" as promoted by Howard Becker (1963), Edwin Lemert (1951), and Kai Erikson (1962) among others.

Becker, like Sutherland before him, was concerned at what we could call the legal reductionist view of crime, a view where crime is seen as 'human behaviour which is in violation of the criminal law' (Morris and Hawkins, 196\ , p.47). Paul Tappan is a staunch advocate of this approach:

"Only those are criminals who have been adjudicated as such by the courts... Criminals, therefore, are a sociologically distinct group of violators of specific legal norms, subjected to official state treatment" (Tappan,\ ).

A considerable proportion of the theory, and the bulk of the practice is based on legal reductionism. Yet, as Sutherland was at pains to point out many years ago "a large proportion of those who commit crimes are not convicted in criminal courts" (Sutherland, 19\ , p.355). The legal reductionists ignore a host of important social phenomena that impinge on who is and who is not likely to be adjudicated a criminal. It is well known that the rich, if caught committing a criminal offense by police, are less likely to be charged, if charged are less likely to be convicted, and if convicted are less likely to receive heavy sentences. The verbal skills, social and financial resources, lawyers, etc. available to the wealthier members of the community ensure that they are less likely to end up in the crime statistics. Hence research or treatment programmes based on legal reductionism are focussed not on the criminals but on the criminals who were caught and convicted. Yet the legal reductionists did not provide an adequate framework for asking the relevant questions, let alone answering them. Equally obvious is the reductionaists' inability to conceive of "criminals" who have

not broken a criminal law. For example, what Sutherland has called the White Collar Criminal, who has breached a civil law rather than a criminal one. The legal reductionist ignores the question of why are some forms of behaviour crimes and others not: why is it not a crime to vandalise aboriginal lands or squander scarce resources yet it is a crime to love someone of the same sex or smoke marijuana instead of tobacco?

Nigel Walker points out that legal reductionism involves the "fallacy of treating legal sub-divisions of crime as if they correspond to sub-divisions in nature" (Walker, 1967, p.10). This approach however, suited the conservative functionalists in their quest for simple definitions and concepts on which to base their programmes. The functionalist criminologist was still preoccupied with solving the problem of crime through social control. As Phillipson states:

> "By taking for granted the working within societal definitions of the problem, criminology becomes a highly conservative and therefore politically convenient discipline, whilst criminologists themselves are servants of social policy who occassionally contribute to minor innovations in policy". (Phillipson: 1971, p.162)

It was against this approach that Becker's Labelling Theory was posited. Instead of studying the criminal Becker was concerned to study he process whereby a person becomes <u>labelled</u> a criminal. Thus he had to investigate those who made the rules, those who applied them, and the processes involved. He argued that "deviance is <u>not</u> a quality of the act a person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender'" (Becker, 1963, p.9). This view provided considerable stimulus to what has become known as the <u>interactionist</u> approach to social phenomena, and has been an important alternative to the more narrow, inflexible and static approach of the functionalists. However, as Becker is only too ready to acknowledge (Becker, 1974), labelling theory was not a

full-fledged theory of crime and delinquency but was a signpost to whole areas that the functionalists had ignored. No longer could any but the most die-hard functionalist ignore the interaction processes between those labelled and those engaged in labelling: no longer could the processes be taken for granted and the labels viewed as 'concrete facts'.

The second theoretical aspect, deriving from the first, that should be noted is the development of the "phenomenological" approach to sociology and deviance. The phenomenological framework (incorporating the interactionist approach) is intentionally opposed to functionalism, and its popularity stems largely from the disenchantment with sociology that developed throughout the 1960's. As race riots, student unrest, and massive opposition to the Vietnam war showed the bankruptcy of a theory based on a-priori assumptions about social concensus and central value systems, alternative theories were able to break the stranglehold functionalism had on sociology, especially in the U.S.A.

The phenomenologists rejected the notion of a central value system and concerned themselves instead with the meanings that behaviour had for the individual actor. Instead of interpreting behaviour by relating it to the central value system and by assessing its functional or dysfunctional aspects, the phenomenologists refused to interpret behaviour and instead attempted to understand it from the viewpoint of the actor.

Michael Phillipson sees the strength of the phenomenological approach lying in its emphasis "on social processes and interaction patterns rather than the presentation of a static picture of social life" and stresses that we should be concerned" to study their situations... Clearly the basic unit of study is individual consciousness" (Phillipson, 1971, pp.47,73).

Although this provided an important alternative to functionalism, and for a period of time provided valuable new insights into the question of 'deviance', the approach contains severe limitations

of its own. To come to grips with some of the difficulties facing streetwork theory it is important to see the limitations of phenomenological sociology. Although streetwork theory was the offspring of functionalism, it rapidly became the rebel child, embodying the rejection of its functionalist origins and encompassing much of the radical critique that has so effectively discredited functionalism since the late sixties. It is now far more alligned with the apparent humanist and non-moralistic stand of the phenomenologist, and like social work and other welfare practices, has taken to its bosom the emphasis on "individual consciousness" and individual welfare espoused by this theoretical approach.

An immediate problem with the phenomenological approach is its ability to provide a useful concept of social structure. For the functionalists social structure is ultimately no more than the shared values, norms and roles from which everything else is derived. It is an idealist notion of structure and is open to considerable criticisms. For the phenomenologist wishing to oppose functionalist views the task is not so simple. Having rejected the functionalist concept of socialisation in favour of a rather volunteristic version of the creation of meanings, it is even more difficult to entertain any materialistic notion of social structure. For Phillipson human activity is characterised by "a vast shifting complex of social meanings" and it is "this distribution of meanings which comprises the social structure" (Phillipson, 1971, pp.38,39).

This view, even more so than the functionalist, treats as either irrelevant or as peripheral the material aspects of society, the class structure, the inequalities, the organization of time and of work as determined by social, economic and political factors. In short, it assumes that social meanings are simply created by the individual consciousness in some magical way basically removed from any material forces and influences. It reduces the concept of social structure to the psychology of individuals, and is ultimately little different, though considerably more sophis-

ticated, than the functionalist concept of structure.

Neither values and norms nor meanings can be understood independant of the social structure from and through which they are derived. As Richard Lichtman points out:

"The channelling of interpreted meaning is class structured. It is formed through lived engagement in the predominant class-controlled institutions of society... The definition of activity, the shared description of an act and the very meaning of the function of acting, are largely shaped through the nature of productive power". (Lichtman,\ )

Combined with the above problem is the difficulty of individualism that permeates both functionalist and especially phenomenologist theory. Once "individual consciousness" becomes the focus then not only does social structure become irrelevant but the whole concept of the individual becomes abstract and distorted. What is true for norms and meanings is equally true for the concept of the "individual". An "individual" is not some isolated, a-historical, receptacle of norms and roles as the functionalist would often have us believe nor simply an individual, absolute creator of meanings as the phenomenologists argue. An "individual" is a social being, closely linked to other social beings not only through shared norms and social meanings but also through shared material interests and through both personal and social history. Furthermore, "individuals" are equally linked by their conflicts of norms, meanings and interests: they are linked by both class sharing and class conflict, class interests and class differences.

The individual as pictured by both functionalists and phenomenologists is an abstract, a-historical concept, reified to religious proportions in the ideology of the status quo. For if we can promote this isolated "individual" as the target for our theory and practice we can avoid all but the most minor attention on the social structure and the institutions that help to main-

tain such structure. For the functionalist the ideology of the individual is useful to focus attention on as an object to be made to conform (as all but the deviants happily do). For the phenomenologist the task is almost the opposite: to persuade us that the deviant is not really so different after all, that we should try to understand and should not be so compulsively concerned about creating conformity. As such it provides a good corrective for the conformity fetish of the functionalists, but it hardly takes us away from a focus on the isolated individual whose need for conformity we must debate and whose behaviour we must either manipulate or leave in peace. And much of the debate within the fields of streetwork and social work revolves around the degree and type of intervention which should be inflicted on the the "individual". Similarly, as will be discussed below. Concepts of "personal growth" are usually seen in terms of "individual" growth in this abstracted sense.

These problems will be raised again in this report, and hopefully some adequate alternative views will be developed. In the meantime, it is important to examine the actual delinquency control and prevention programmes that have been evaluated and the results of some of these studies.

"PREVENTATIVE YOUTHWORK"

> "The purpose of outreach youth work is to assist young people, at risk, to develop a responsible approach to their own well-being and to be more responsible to the community. It is a preventative program and it aims to prevent or divert activities which are destructive ... such preventative actions often directly relate to areas of vandalism, theft and street violence".
> (Vincent, 1982)

There is a general acceptance in the community of the idea that youth work aimed at re-directing young people away from "delinquent" attitudes and behavior patterns is a worthwhile and practical task. It is claimed that it is possible to detect "children at risk" at an early age and to intervene in order to prevent anti-social behavior.

On the basis of these assumptions various preventative programmes have been undertaken, and streetwork is often seen as one such approach. Prevention is often divided into primary (preventing first offences), secondary (preventing offenders from re-offending) and tertiary (custodial prevention). Streetwork programmes focus on primary prevention although in practice significant energy is also devoted to secondary prevention. Neither existing research nor actual programmes make it clear in what way primary and secondary prevention programmes might differ for streetworkers - most likely streetworkers would display little difference in the way they would wish to approach those who had not yet offended (primary) and those who had already offended and might be on probation or parole (secondary), unlike the more traditional programmes which usually draw large distinctions between primary and secondary prevention often devising separate programmes.

A number of substantial problems arise with the notion of prevention. The belief that "early detection" is practical has led to

the development of various types of "tests" to isolate "children at risk". Pioneers in the field of early detection, the Gluecks, claim that "it should be possible to select in a first grade school population those children who will probably become persistent delinquents unless timely and effective intervention diverts their predicted course of maladapted behavior into socially accepted channels". Space precludes a thorough analysis of these claims - suffice to say that :

(a) our ability to detect is highly debatable, and even more debatable is the actual meaning of what it is that we are detecting;

(b) equally open to dispute (as will be shown below) is our supposed ability to "effectively intervene" and thereby prevent "maladapted behavior" even if we were able to effectively detect children at risk;

(c) there is a very strong likelihood that to "detect" and then label young people as "potentially delinquent" and to proceed to treat them in this way will create the very forms of behavior we are trying to prevent. A number of criminologists have commented on the effects of labelling and the creation of self-fulfilling prophesies.

Related to the above difficulties is the debate about what we actually mean by terms such as "delinquency" or "maladapted behavior". As mentioned previously, the field of criminology is strewn with conservative, class-based definitions of crime and delinquency, definitions that assume that delinquency and crime are the acts of disaffected or disturbed or inadequately socialised members of the working class. White collar crime, middle-class delinquency, corporate and governmental crime are all conveniently minimised or ignored. All too often welfare and youth workers, with the best intentions, fall victim to such definitions; they charge into battle bravely wielding massive programmes, meetings and handouts while shielded behind humanist ideology and backed up by the state armoury of courts and hospitals, punishment and therapy, and in the final analysis, prison.

And always those against whom this army is pitted is the working class. Even those few enlightened souls who enter the lists on the side of the working-class are often merely re-inforcing the false grounds on which the battle is fought.

The definitions of what is legal and illegal, moral and immoral, social and anti-social are determined largely by the powerful, and usually in their own interests. Hence, in a very real way to engage in "preventing crime" could be seen as acting to reinforce the definitions, and hence the power, of the privileged and powerful. This is not to say that certain crimes should not be prevented, but we must remember that fully 90% of all reported crimes, and about 95% of crimes committed by people in the 8 to 18 year age group, are crimes against property. As some sociologists observed a few years ago: juvenile delinquents are literally involved in the re-distribution of wealth. But the law permits only certain types of wealth redistribution (such as taxes and subsidies, wages and profits or trade and imperialism), and therefore such efforts by juveniles and adults are prescribed.

The whole concept of "prevention" is open to considerable debate about what exactly is to be prevented, by what means and in whose interests.

Even when such questions are resolved, and most projects in the past have not even asked, let alone answered them, we are still faced with finding appropriate and effective means to actually achieve such prevention. Not surprisingly, research so far indicates that no substantially effective primary, secondary or tertiary preventative methods appear to exist. Although dispute will continue about what level of "effectiveness" we should be looking for, most claims to success have not withstood careful scrunity. Perhaps some examples will suffice to illustrate this.

One of the most telling studies on Preventative Youth Work was the "Midcity Project" conducted in a working class district in Boston between 1954 and 1957. Intensive Outreach-style work was undertaken with "unattached youth" and gangs, and the process in-

cluded community development, strengthening community ties, increasing the power of existing local community groups, assisting families to cope more effectively, establishing "relationships" with delinquent youth, etc. On paper the goals of the project displayed a strong similarity to those of many Australian streetwork and outreach programmes.

Unlike most Australian streetwork programmes (with some valuable exceptions, noted elsewhere in this report) the Midcity Project kept very detailed research records, enabling a relatively accurate evaluation of its success or failure. The results were quite clear: although the project may have helped many young people in a variety of ways, it did not appear in any way to reduce the delinquent behavior of those involved. (reference?\)

A project conducted with disadvantaged young Puerto Ricans and their families, involving in-depth agency-based services, showed no significant effect on the children's behavior or on the functioning of their families. (Reference\ ?)

Another project, conducted with a group of high school girls "at risk", involved interviews, community-based support and counselling services. Again there was no significant difference between the group's behavior and that of a matched control group. (reference \?)

One of the earliest evaluations of "preventative youth work" was conducted on a U.S. Boy's Club established with the explicit purpose of preventing delinquency. The author states that "the only possible conclusion ... is that the club failed to prevent delinquency amongst its members, who continued to acquire court records in about the same proportion as they would had they not joined the club" (Thrasher, 1936).

Lundman and Scarpitti (1978) examined 40 projects which "involved attempts to correct the presumed causes of delinquency, usually through group or individual casework. Psychotherapy, counselling and detached gang workers were also frequently used as prevention techniques". They concluded that "most projects reported in the

professional literature did not permit reliable assessment of results ... (and those that did) had not successfully prevented delinquency" (p. 210).

Wright and Dixon (1977) examined 96 community prevention and treatment programmes involving "preventative youth work" between 1965 and 1974, including streetwork programmes, and concluded that no real success was shown.

An evaluation by Toby (1965) of "Early Identification and Intensive Treatment programs for predelinquents" examined the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study and the New York City Youth Board's Prediction Study, and found that "the planned program of intervention did not result in a lower delinquency rate in the treatment group as compared with the control group. As a matter of fact ... a boomerang effect may have occurred (ie. a worsening of delinquent behaviour in the experimental group)". Toby concluded that "careful analysis ... in early identification and intensive treatment of predelinquents shows that intellectual confusion lurks beneath the surface plausibility of early identification and intensive treatment" (p. 174).

Despite the promise of juvenile court diversion programmes, and the role played by streetworkers to divert young people away from the courts through the use of community agencies, the conclusions from relevant evaluation studies dampens any such enthusiasm. Gibbons and Blake (1976) reviewed 9 evaluations of diversion projects and concluded that "clearly, there is insufficient evidence in the nine studies examined here for one to have much confidence in diversion arguments and contentions" (p. 420).

Quay and Love (1977) provide evidence that many young people may be "diverted" away from the criminal justice system but do not provide evidence of any actual decrease in delinquent behaviour nor of the longer-term impact of such diversion.

Lundman (1976) concludes that "programs which rely on diversion to reduce recidivism are not likely to be any more successful than other types of programs ... diversion is not likely to have

a significant impact on the rate of criminal deviance by juveniles" (p. 436).

And in Australia Wilson (1985) argues that "while many descriptions of particular (delinquency prevention) programme structures exist, no attempt is made to assess whether these characteristics lead to the programme goals being achieved". He cites Birchall, Lincoln and Flatt (1983) who "came to the conclusion that community service orders are not more effective than alternative treatments of similar children with similar offense histories" (p. 322).

The list of similar research findings is quite long (see also Fisher, 1973; Miller, 1962; Poorkaj and Bockelman, 1973; Geismar, 1972; Lundman, McFarlane and Scarpitti, 1976; Fine and Louie, 1979), and a review of all the research into these types of delinquency prevention programmes allows for only one conclusion: there is no substantial evidence indicating that we know how to design programmes that will prevent delinquency.

As Clifford and Mukherjee (1979) are forced to conclude: "It is strange, but incontrovertible, that, despite years of study, there are few crime prevention strategies applied over the centuries which can be categorised as effective - and practically none which can readily be regarded as both effective and just" (p. 25).

The fact that most of our attempts at delinquency prevention appear to have failed should not come as such a big surprise once we examine the logic underlying prevention. There are two major assumptions underlying most of the preventative programmes. The first is that the influences brought to bear on young people "at risk" are strong enough to overcome those influences, such as school, family or media, that might first have helped lead to "delinquent" behavior patterns. Yet given the limited resources we devote to preventative projects, and our limited understanding of the causes of delinquency, it would appear somewhat naive to actually believe that the programmes could be so effective.

The second assumption is that non-delinquent behavior is a reasonable alternative, or can be made into a reasonable alternative, to delinquent behavior. One aspect of this is the assumption of the majority of criminologists that young people will be happier if they are not delinquent (a common variant of this is the claim that "crime doesn't pay).

On the one hand, it is not at all self-evident that this assumption is valid, and on the other, even if it was valid, it would still be necessary to convince the young delinquent that this is in fact the case. Many, if not most, delinquents are engaged in a life-style that suits them, or at least is more immediately attractive than other life-styles available to them, and there is little objective reason to believe that they would be happier adopting a life-style more approved of by middle-class adults. Even if we ourselves were convinced however, it would be a daunting task to convince those who are happy with, or resigned to, their existing life-styles. The excitement and adventure, the escape from the drudgery of school work, the desire for easy money, things many of us strive for, are available through the life-styles of many young people we label "delinquent". Being delinquent has a logic of its own - a logic that regularly overshadows the supposed logic of delinquency prevention.

In view of all the above comments, streetworker's use of the concept of "Preventative Youth Work" must be seriously questioned. This is not to say however, that the programme itself is not valuable, it is merely to suggest that the rationale for the programme should be reconsidered. Many of the streetworkers, as is clear from discussions and interviews, would agree with most, if not all, of the criticisms of delinquency prevention contained herein - it is important that the theory and rationale underlying projects accord with the practice (or vice versa) wherever possible.

WHAT IS STREETWORK?

> The task of the streetworker is to locate and identify gangs of boys who are involved in delinquent activity and who have, so to speak, broken off their relations with the law-abiding world...he is then expected to establish a relationship with them that will help them give up their delinquent interests in favour of conventional and lawful pursuits."
> (Kobrin, 1964)

There is a long-standing concern in Western societies with the "proper socialisation" and "adequate welfare" of young people. Since the 1950's that concern has been focussed especially upon young people spending significant portions of their time "on the streets". Being "on the streets" could involve hanging around street corners, milk-bars, amusement parlours, pubs - in short, any place where young people might congregate without being subject to the discipline, control or influence of parents, teachers, or structured programmes organised by youth workers, church leaders, police or other adults.

Young people may be "on the streets" for a variety of reasons ranging from a desire to escape parential or teacher scrutiny, though a need for peer group companionship, to an escape from boredom. For many only a relatively small portion of their leisure time is spent on the streets, but for some streets become their security, the home where they meet and socialise with those who are closest to them. But even for most of these, the period of their life that is focussed on "street activity" is only a relatively minor phase, soon to be replaced by "work, wives and (more conventional) worries".

Youth on the streets in the '50's rapidly became viewed as a major "problem". The growth of "gangs" (more a phenomena of U.S. cities than Australian), and the sensationalising of gang phenomena created a level of concern and fear far beyond what the reality warranted. Elsewhere I have argued that there appears a certain fear (and perhaps envy) in older people concerning groups of un-supervised young people (van Moorst, 1980\?). Nevertheless,

"crime and delinquency" was more obviously associated with groups of young people on the streets than with other groups of young (or older) people. To what degree this was merely the result of the greater visibility and hence vulnerability of people on the streets compared to those engaging in delinquent acts from some other base or the result of greater actual involvement in such behavior (or, as is most likely, both) has not been effectively established. Inter-mixed with this was the development of a "Youth culture"; a media-promoted, profitable new consumer market strongly promoting a "youth consciousness" and identity.

A number of responses arose to this perceived problem, the inevitable moves to repress young people on the streets were partly balanced by the establishment of more clear-sighted and humane community welfare programmes. It was found that many services for these young people were either not available or quite inadequate. Furtheremore, even when relatively adequate the services were often inaccessable because young people did not know about them, did not trust them, or did not have the skills or confidence to use them. Hence, many of the more structured welfare and recreational programmes did not attract the young people for whom they were established. It soon became clear (although many agencies and politicians have yet to learn the fact) that for the above and other reasons many of the young people in the streets were not particularly interested in the structured programmes offered them (this trend appears far more widespread amongst young people today than it has ever been - for an earlier study of this see The Youthsay Project, 1972).

From the above constellation of social phenomena developed the mixture of motives and practices that became known as "streetwork". For some, the streetworker's role was to provide a "link" between young people and the service and welfare agencies, or to encompass these services in his or her own role. Thus some streetworkers would concentrate on linking young people up with existing services (changing those services where necesary) while others would provide those services (e.g. counselling, legal, recreational) themselves. For those like Solomon Kobrin streetwork became a means of controlling or preventing delinquency.

Malcolm Klein wrote of street-gang work in 1971:

> Although varying in form, detached work programs are grounded in one basic proposition: Because gang members do not ordinarily respond well to standard agency programs inside the agency walls, it is necessary to take the programs to the gangs.

A number of writers have identified two major trends in streetwork with the traditions of either the U.K. or the U.S. Generally speaking there has indeed been some divergence between these two countries in their streetwork philosophies, with the U.S. placing its major emphasis on delinquency control, while in the U.K., although this was seen as a major component of streetwork philosophy, the thrust was more towards a rather loosely conceived "service delivery". Whereas the U.S. tended to see streetworkers as "soft cops" for society, the U.K. saw them as "roving social workers". In practice, streetworkers were often all of these things and more besides.

Australian streetwork philosophy has inherited both views, although its practice is more along the lines of U.K. streetwork philosophy. It should be stressed at the outset that what streetworkers do on the streets bears only a limited relationship to the idealised philosophies of arm-chair social planners. Nevertheless, it is equally important to understand that streetwork is both a method and a philosophy. Implicit in the practice of streetwork is a belief that the traditional agencies and institutions are unsuited to "solving the problem" or "meeting the needs" of young people in the streets. It must also be recognised that the expressed streetwork philosophies are often directed towards funding bodies such as governments or large agencies which tend to have a pre-occupation with the "problem of youth" and the need for social control. Hence funding submissions are often slanted towards these concerns whereas the streetwork practice may well be envisaged as being more directed towards "service delivery" than towards delinquency control. To the extent that this disjunction between espoused philosophies and actual practice occurs it can only add to the confusion that

already exists in the rationales behind streetwork; and as pointed out in a previous paper (van Moorst, 1978) this can lead to an unfortunate conflict in expectancies and roles amongst funding bodies, management and workers.

TOWARDS A DEFINITION

"Outreach work is that aspect of youth work which seeks to contact and involve young people who are not contacted, either by choice or design, by existing community services."

(Outreach Work, Seminar Report, Y.M.C.A., 1975)

There are many different definitions of streetwork (or outreach work or what used to be ambiguously called "Detached Youth Work"), and while there is substantial overlap, there is also potential contradiction. The purpose here is to indicate some of the problems which reflect directly on the day-to-day work of the Outreach worker and which permeate the various models of Outreach work within which people are trying to operate in Melbourne. In this light it is worth looking at the various definitions that have been circulated over the last few years in Australia.

In his description of the Outreach project conducted by the Y.M.C.A. in Hawii in 1968/69, Raymond Oshiro saw the detached worker as the "liaison between the youth and 'outside world'". He describes the project as "a community service which starts with a problem, not a program", a project which aims itself at "a group of young people who are described as delinquent or partially delinquent" in order "to achieve a conventional adaptation". (reference\ ?)

Jim Donovan, the Director of the National Centre for Youth Outreach Workers in the U.S.A., described Outreach work as "a work style based on the concept of aggressive concern for individuals, action oriented advocacy, and the collaborative facilitation of change necessary to make the total life experience and self-worth

of the individual positive". Most significantly he adds that it is an approach "that concommittantly works at 'putting on band-aids' in the direct services sense, and on 'practicing preventative medicine' in the advocacy and institutional change sense of working at the elimination of the causes that produce the problems we are continually expected to deal with". (reference \?)

A number of immediate problems arise from these definitions. Apart from their general vagueness, both views incorporate the previously discussed notions of "youth at risk" or "pre-delinquent or delinquent youth". However, while Oshiro implies a fairly traditional approach, namely that of creating social conformity, Donovan implies a more ambiguous (and probably ambitious) approach which places some emphasis on the development of the individual young person.

Here we have the first potential contradiction: the aim of using Outreach as a form of delinquency prevention versus the aim of using Outreach as an aid to the personal growth of young people. In short, there is a potential conflict between what we may call "social control" on the one hand and "personal growth" on the other.

This conflict, which underlies much of the history of youth work and social work (as well as aspects of education), is clearly felt by the streetworkers working for the Y.M.C.A. in Victoria. While idealistically speaking it might seem possible to reconcile the two, by hoping that "personal growth" will miraculously lead to a decrease in "delinquent behavior", there is little reason or evidence to believe that this is likely to occur under present social circumstances. More importantly, different agencies and streetworkers will place greater emphasis on one or other view, leading to possible conflicts of expectancies, as well as possible role conflicts for the workers.

The second potential conflict can be seen in Donovan's approach to Outreach work. He, along with most (though significantly, not all) writers on Outreach and related programmes, suggests two

roles for the Outreach worker: that of "band-aid applier" and that of "agent of social change". The band-aid role of street work, crisis intervention, and general case-work is fairly well understood (in terms of intentions if not in terms of real effects). The social change role in Australia can be seen on two inter-related levels: the level of general advocacy for change, combined with the more in-depth role of "community development". As became clear following the Australian Assistance Plan's attempts with "Community Development Officers", the concept of "community development" is hardly simple or well thought through (see Mowbray, 19\?; Crow and Crow, 1984). The problem, however, does not stem simply from this lack of clarity, it stems primarily from the almost inevitable role confusion that dual responsibilities tend to create. This dual role expectancy has been observed as a major aspect of Outreach work in Melbourne. From discussions with Y.M.C.A. Outreach workers it is clear that a degree of confusion has regularly accompanied these dual roles - confusion about the relative importance of each, and hence the amount of time spent on them, confusion about the expectancies of others concerning each of these roles, and an amount of frustration deriving from this confusion and from the inevitable feeling that there is so much to be done in either role and so little time to do it in.

The problem must also be seen in broader terms. Mr. Joe Fabre from the Y.M.C.A. in the U.S.A. spoke at a seminar aimed at establishing greater understanding of Outreach work (reference\?) he said that he felt that "an Outreach worker's primary objective" must be "to enable these kids to get a sense of positive worth and self-esteem regardless of how society works" (my emphasis). Although this might sound enticing at first, such a statement does not really withstand close scrutiny. It represents a denial of the fact that Outreach work, no matter how it might present itself superficially, cannot help but be a political process. Outreach work cannot avoid questions of who has and who does not have power, who has and who does not have material and social resources. When Raymond Oshiro wishes to use Outreach work as a means for intervening in the lives of "pre-delinquent" youth in order "to achieve a conventional adaptation"

to what he considers to be the appropriate values and norms, he is partly talking politics - the politics of who defines "delinquent", in whose interests will such definitions be made and enforced, and is "adaptation" or conformity the most appropriate solution. When Jim Donovan speaks about the "elimination of the causes that produce problems" he is similarly speaking of politics - the politics of what really are "the problems", and who determines what are seen as "problems", what are the real "causes" and who determines this, and in whose interests are such decisions made in the first place?

Different people will provide different answers to the above questions, but to deny that such questions exist, and that answers to them must be sought, does not make the questions and difficulties disappear. It simply ensures that one particular set of answers becomes seen as the only set and remains unchallenged and unexamined. Outreach work does not cease to be political simply because Outreach workers and those who initiate such programmes refuse to acknowledge or examine the politics of what they are doing. Outreach cannot assume that it can go its merry way, assuring itself that it is doing good for young people, "regardless of how society works". For many people, it is precisely <u>because</u> society works in a certain way that Outreach is necessary. Would an Outreach programme work in a Fascist society? Is it possible that Outreach programmes may never work in our society because it becomes almost impossible to give kids "a positive sense of worth and self-esteen" in a society that emphasises competition and being a winner, that emphasises profits and success, and that thereby penalises in both overt and covert ways the "losers", the "unsuccessful" and the "failures"? Can Outreach ever work when the band-aids are so small and the injuries so large?

Whatever the answers, the <u>questions</u> must be seriously asked and strenuously examined. From comments made by Outreach workers it would appear that after a period of work in the field, these questions inevitably raise their head in one guise or another. And in such a context, the potential conflict between the street-work role and community development role becomes felt more in-

tensely.

THE APPROACHES TO STREETWORK

Although there are many ways of categorising and analysing the various approaches to streetwork, for our purposes four distinct but overlapping approaches can be discerned.

1. Delinquency control or prevention
2. Crisis intervention and casework
3. The protection or satisfaction of the personal rights of young people
4. The development of the personal growth of young individuals

As will be shown below, most streetwork programmes incorporate some degree of each of these four elements. But each programme has eventually to provide a focus, a primary direction in which to strike, and it should become obvious through this chapter that in many important ways not all four can be incorporated within one coherent programme. It is not that they are necessarily in opposition or mutually exclusive, but in practice the conflicts and confusions would threaten to break up any programme that tried to give equal importance to all four purposes. Before analysing each of these purposes in detail it is desirable to explain a little further how each of them is related to streetwork.

1. Delinquency Control or Prevention:

Unlike their U.S. counterparts*, Australian streetworkers have been loathe to emphasise the counter-delinquency role that has always accompanied streetwork. Whereas in the U.S. this was the

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* The U.S. approach can be seen in numerous publications, e.g. Klein, 1971; Kobrin, 1964; Donovan, undated; Spergel, 1966; Austin, 1957; Oshiro, 1968, and the U.K. approach is documented in e.g. Goetschins and Task, 1967; Morse, 19\?; Marks, 1976; Whyte, 19?\).

prime moving force, the raison d'etre as well as an openly admitted aspect, in Australia, as in the U.K., there was an uneasiness about the counter-delinquency role, a feeling that this aspect was somehow less wholesome and admirable than the more service-oriented element of streetwork. Nevertheless, depite this unwillingness to fully endorse the U.S. concern with "delinquency control", most Australian statements about streetwork consider delinquency control as a relevant, and in some cases, a major concern.

For example, a statement by the Brisbane Youth Service outlining their "detached youth work"* programme saw their streetworker as being involved with a particular sector of young people because "this particular proportion of the adolescent population is 'at risk', and contributes more than its share to the crime rate in the city, as well as to other social problems" (Brisbane, undated).

A funding submission prepared by the Melbourne Y.M.C.A. shows its concern for "specific trouble spots" in the Western Suburbs and designates as its target area "four of the worst areas for youth crime and violence". It proceeds to outline what it calls a "resocialization process" intended to "reduce the incidence of conflicts" and to "reduce negative role identities" (Y.M.C.A., 1974, pp.2 and 9).

In a draft policy paper prepared in N.S.W. concern is expressed that welfare services have "too often placed emphasis on rehabilitation or therapeutic programmes. Streetwork provides an opportunity to work in the preventative stage and thereby avoid expensive institutionalisation." It goes on to state that "streetwork is a preventative programme and it aims to prevent or avoid ac-

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* Throughout this report the terms "streetwork", "outreach work" and "detached youth work" have been viewed as interchangeable. There does not appear to be any coherent distinction in the various usages and it is not the intention of this report to become obsessed with semantic distinctions.

tivities which are destructive (and therefore expensive) to either the individual or the community ... The 'prevention' is accompanied by presentation of constructive alternatives and support in resolving difficulties which might lead to frustration and destructive behavior" (Sos, 1979).

Two final examples should suffice to show that social control, particularly delinquency control, has been a major consideration in the writings of most Australians involved in streetwork. Max Kau, director of the service to Youth Council of South Australia, and arguably the person who has done more to advance the practise and theory of streetwork in Australian than any other single person, expresses alarm at the risk that exists for young people in the streets: "The streets offer little protection from many destructive influences such as alcoholism, drugs, vandalism and delinquency" (Kau, 1979 b, p.21). In his agency's streetwork programme he outlines as one of the criteria for introducing streetwork into an area the existence of "symptons of social distress, i.e. police activity, drug/alcohol abuse, acting-out behavior, inter or intra group conflict" (Kau, 1979 a, p.3).

Another pioneer of streetwork in Australia, Trevor Waring from the Newcastle Youth Service, commented: "False ideologies and philos-ophies, pop idols and chemicals are gathering and guiding young people to uncertain goals, and thus I feel it is at this level, out there among such young people, that well-trained, well-motivated leaders ought to be working in a co-ordinated manner, guiding youth toward challenging goals fruitful to mankind". He explains that the streetworker will have "the responsibility of guiding, moulding, directing, helping and guarding a generation of people through their most impressionable and needful years" (Waring, 1971).

2. Crisis Intervention and Casework

Virtually all streetwork programmes place a strong emphasis on crisis intervention, although the motives for so doing may vary. The Brisbane Youth Service, with its strong emphasis on delin-

quency prevention nevertheless sees as one of its streetwork services "individual and crisis counselling for youth, and their families", and the Melbourne Y.M.C.A. with its similar perspective at that time (1974) saw one of the streetworker's tasks as being to "personally counsel individual group members in the area of their problems, i.e. the school dropout, the unemployed, the youth with drinking and drug taking problems, family problems, sex problems, etc.".

On the other hand the Newcastle Youth Service, which places far less emphasis on delinquency control, also sees itself "in the business of providing an information-cum-counselling service to the unattached" (Newcastle Youth Service, 1979). An emphasis on crisis intervention and counselling is equally apparent in the Service to Youth Council's streetwork programme (Service to Youth Council, 1975; Kau,\?1979). Indeed, the final stage of the 7 stages outlined by Max Kau for monitoring the effective relationship between the streetworker and the "client", is indicated when the client "asks for information and help" (Kau, 1979b, p.25). The same emphasis exists in other references (e.g. Sos, 1979; Crowe, 1979; Waring, 1971).

The motivation for crisis intervention may be as a means for reducing "social dysfunction", including delinquency, and as a kind of "bribe" offered by the streetworker, or it may be solely for the purpose of assisting the individual. In many cases it will of course involve elements of both.

3. Protection or Satisfaction of Young People's Rights

This particular motive is hinted at in a number of the papers quoted above, and is more emphasised in the U.K. (Marks, 1976) than in the U.S. Generally speaking youth on the streets, "unattached" youth, are seen as isolated from the normal services to which the rest of the community can turn for satisfaction or assistance. "This social isolation, we often claim, reduces the quality of their lives and/or creates a powerlessness to influence their social environment." (Kau, 1979b, p.24) It is the

right of young people on the streets to have access to the same services and advantages as the rest of the community: and it is the task of the streetworker to help satisfy this right.

Stemming from this may come a concern to provide better and more accessible services and the streetworker may be more concerned with such development than with individual counselling and intervention. There is an inherent tension between the role of personal counselling as emphasised in Newcastle (Newcastle Youth Service, 1979; Waring, 1971) and the "community development" role as stressed by others (Dodgson, 1978; Sos, 1979; and as a new trend in S.Y.C.'s service, Kau, 1979b). This tension has been forcibly expressed by streetworkers in Melbourne (van Moorst, 1978).

4. Development of Personal Growth in Young People

This aim of streetwork is also emphasised to a greater or lesser extent in most of the programmes, although its meaning is rarely clarified. A resolution passed at an Outreach conference in Melbourne showed the participants' concern to contact "unattached" young people and to "establish relationships... with a view to developing a sense of worth, self-esteem, achievement, enjoyment and self-reliance. Outreach is primarily concerned with personal development rather than with social reform" (Y.M.C.A., 1975).

Apart from the obvious normative nature of concepts of "growth" there are several related concepts worth noting. A number of writers emphasise the streetworker's task of providing an appropriate adult model which the young people can respect and emulate (e.g. Oshiro, 1969, p.2; Kobrin, 1976, p.\?, S.Y.C. p.30; Schur, 1973, p.98). Sos (1979, p.14) speaks of the streetworker as possibly being "the first and only sympathetic adult figure in the person's life".

Another aspect that comes into the "personal growth" emphasis is an unexplored concept of "the individual". For instance the Newcastle Youth Service (1979, p.1) states that at the adolescent level "individuality is most important and yet, ironically in the

'70's, most threatened". While notions of the "individual" permeate most of our welfare literature, and are a dominant feature of our general culture, it is not at all clear that the concept as presented is anything more than an ideological device, charged with emotion while distorting the reality of the complex interrelationships of people with each other, their culture, and their environment.

Finally, it is perhaps valuable to delineate two dimensions in our categorisation of streetwork: the first is the motivational dimension and the second is the action itself. Clearly most of the possible actions open to streetworkers could be taken for a variety of motives. A Streetworker could engage in counselling a young person either to create greater self awareness for its own sake or in order to prevent "anti-social" activities (or both); conversely it is possible to counsel a young person against "anti-social" activities not in order to prevent the act so much as to protect the young person or to facilitate his/her personal growth.

It must be recognised that while we can create a dichotomy between "social control motives" and "individual service motives" in reality it is not a dichotomy but a continuum.

It is in the light of the above definitions and questions that any model of Outreach work must be assessed. The purpose of the models presented in the next section of the report is to give more detailed meaning to the definitions of Outreach work, and to provide a tentative framework within which Outreach work can be understood and developed.

TWO MODELS OF OUTREACH WORK:

There are a number of ways that a model of Outreach work can be constructed. For instance, a model of how Outreach programmes relate to community agencies, or how the various channels of responsibilities and communication are structures for Outreach work, could be developed. The two models developed here are firstly a model of suggested aims and effects, and secondly a model of the developmental steps and structures involved in an Outreach programme.

Both these models are only tentative, and neither are intended to restrict the possibilities for Outreach work. They are presented here in order to outline some of the hopes, problems and possibilities of Outreach work, as well as illuminating some of the assumptions that underly it. Hopefully the two models will provide a clear basis for understanding Outreach work, for establishing new programmes, and especially for evaluating their effectiveness.

The models developed here are derived from the day-to-day experiences of the Y.M.C.A. Outreach workers in Melbourne as well as from the aims and hopes expressed in the general literature and the funding submissions for Outreach. Therefore there will be alternative models, involving different intentions and different environments. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the two models discussed here are sufficiently general to represent the essence of Outreach, especially in an urban context.

MODEL 1: AIMS AND EFFECTS

The Aims and Effects model does not represent what <u>should</u> be, but is rather an indication of what <u>could</u> be. It is an attempt to clarify what Outreach programmes could hope to achieve in theory - whether or not such hopes can be or have been realised is a matter that later sections of this report will attempt to evaluate.

As shown in Diagram 1 below, there are three relatively distinct aspects to Outreach work: the personal relationship with the youths*, the helping or "case-work" role, and the agency relationship role. Each of these aspects involves a series of intended "effects" which ultimately attempt to achieve three relatively distinct consequences: a change in behavior of the youths; realistic, immediate assistance and problem-solving for the youths; and a change in or development of the agencies that are, or should be, involved with youth.

Traditional street work concentrated on the first two aspects, i.e. the personal relationship with youths and the case-work or helping of youth. The relationship with agencies is a more recent development, stemming out of the problems frequently encountered by street workers.

The "Individual-Relationship" Role

As can be seen from Diagram 1, it is assumed that the relationship that the Outreach worker establishes with the youths is that of a trusted adult who can provide advice and assistance as well as being the sort of adult who provides a "model for emulation". Oshiro, along with many other supporters of Outreach, places considerable emphasis on this last aspect:

> "For many of these youths their relationship with the detached worker has been a new and rewarding experience. They have seldom or never had a genuine relationship with a stable adult male. He becomes someone they can trust and emulate." (REFERENCE\?)

Oshiro's view inevitably raises a series of important questions. For instance, what is a "genuine relationship " and who decides

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* At this point it is not intended to question the actual "target group" - it is being assumed that a target group has been identified in accord with the general assumptions of the project.

what constitutes a "stable adult male"? Assuming for the moment that these questions can be satisfactorily answered, and furthermore that Oshira is correct in assuming that "many of the youths" have been deprived of a relationship with a stable adult male (the pseudo-Freudian assumptions underlying such theories often border on being highly sexist), there is another major problem to be faced.

Generally it has been assumed that the purpose of establishing personal relationships with these youths is to facilitate a change of attitudes. What needs to be recognised is that attitudes are generally formed (and changed) over a considerable period of time. More importantly, they are the result of a variable interraction between a whole set of factors, namely, the family, school, work, significant adults (of which the Outreach worker is likely to be only one amongst a number), the peer group or groups, the media, and the general environment*. How influential can an Outreach worker be expected to be in such a complex situation? Is it reasonable to expect any substantial change in attitudes as a result of the activities of an Outreach worker? While this is partly an empirical question, it can nevertheless be seen that many of the optimistic hopes for Outreach workers (as substantial agents for attitudinal change) are doomed to be disappointed.

When examining the actual directions of the attitudinal changes being sought, it can be seen that these are basically of two types: changes of attitudes from "anti-social" to "social", i.e. changes in attitudes in order to enhance <u>social control</u>; and secondly changes of attitudes from "insecure" and "socially incompetent" to "secure" and "socially competent", i.e. changes in attitudes in order to facilitate <u>personal growth</u>. As indicated earlier, both of these changes involve a series of social and political assumptions which must ultimately be examined.

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* In a more substantial discussion of these points it would be desirable to examine the phenomenological notions of "subterranean values" as articulated by Matza and Sykes and of Cicourel's "interpretive procedures". (REFERENCES\)

It should be noted at this point that in practice it may be very difficult indeed to continually distinguish between attempts at increasing personal growth and attempts at strengthening social control. Obviously at times the two will overlap. Nevertheless, at a fundamental level the question must be continually raised as to whether the reason for saying or doing a particular thing is ultimately to help the individual grow, or to facilitate social control. Honest answers to this question are not always easy to come by in the day-to-day operation of Outreach work, especially for those who basically reject a social control approach.

Undoubtedly, many Outreach workers and most policy makers would like to think that the two ends could be achieved simultaneously; that by helping individual growth and competence we will also be furthering greater social order and control. Unfortunately there is little evidence to support such a hope. As shown above, we have had little obvious success in changing "delinquent" attitudes, even when we made substantial efforts and there is no reason to suppose that the attitudinal change we were not able to create when we tried hard should now magically appear as an indirect consequence of our attempts to create individual growth and development. Furthermore, we have to face the dilemma of which purpose to pursue when a situation of increased confidence and competence leads to increased "delinquent" behavior. There are many instances of such occasions, and the negative results noted in some of the "preventative youth work" literature frequently stems from such dilemmas. In the final analysis neither our theoretical or practical requirements permit us the continued luxury of fence-sitting. We must decide that, in the event of a conflict we will come down on one side of the fence or the other: either social control or individual growth and development takes priority.

The desired end-point of establishing relationships and changing attitudes is generally to change behavior. Again the ultimate aim could be either to facilitate greater social control or to facilitate individual well-being. In addition, it is important to recognise that a change in attitudes may not in itself be sufficient to change behavior. Behavior is constituted not only by

attitudes and values but also by needs, pressures and general environment. A person who believes that stealing is wrong may nevertheless steal to survive at a level he/she thinks appropriate. There is no direct, one-for-one relationship between attitudinal change and behavioral change.

The Helping Role

Helping youth by providing resources of various types, through crisis intervention, and through being an "advocate" on their behalf, appears to be a more clear-cut task. It is at least a task that various forms of youth work and social work have been concerned with for the best part of a century. Today, of course, it is not seen solely in the "band-aid" terms of yesteryear: today the hope is for more fundamantal change and the helping role is usually only undertaken in conjunction with the other roles of Outreach work.

Nevertheless, in practice it can already be seen in Victoria that the workload necessitated by the helping role and by crisis intervention continually threatens to overwhelm any other role that the Outreach worker might in theory wish to perform. In view of this it is important to recognise the limitations to the helping role that many commentators have noted. These limitations are partly summed up by a Street Corner Legal Office worker in the U.S.A.:

> "You seldom get to help your client in any basic way out of the interminable mess he lives in. You stay the eviction for one more week; get him a few more dollars on welfare, maybe keep the disturbed kid in his home a few months longer on probation before he gets in real trouble and is put away in training school. But so what, big deal. We don't get jobs for people; or build them houses; or give them real hope. We just take the edge off the 'big lie'."
> (qouted in Law Enforcement Task Force, 1969)

Added to these limitations is the fact that even if all youth workers in Victoria were to engage full-time in Outreach work, still only a small proportion of those youths considered in need

of help of one sort or another would actually receive it.

It is also worth noting at this stage that even though the helping role has traditionally been directed at helping individuals, it is possible also to direct it towards helping groups of youth. For example, instead of helping individual youth get out of trouble for riding mini-bikes in prohibited places, it may be possible to get a group of such youth to fight for adequate facilities and for an end to police persecution; instead of being an advocate for youth requiring legal aid or for youth wishing to stop Council's closure of "amusement parlours", it would seem desirable to help organise these youths to be advocates for themselves, as a group.

This leads to a point which must be examined closer - is it possible that the "helping role" is, in a subtle way, in contradiction to the "individual relationship role"? By providing help, by being an advocate <u>for</u> (rather than <u>with</u>) youths, the Outreach worker may be subtly undermining his/her attempts to encourage greater independence and self-confidence. This problem has for some time been recognised to exist with most social work and legal aid programmes. Although Outreach workers will be sensitive to these posibilities, the day-to-day reality of crisis intervention may well create a loss of perspective on this issue. Perhaps it is worth noting at this point the stand taken by a number of radical lawyers in the U.S.A.:

> "The lawyer who wants to serve poor people, must put his skills to the task of helping poor people help themselves ... (therefore) the lawyer does not do anything for his clients that they can do or be taught to do for themselves." (Wexler, 1971, p. 215)

<u>The Agency Relationship or Community Development Role:</u>

While this is a relatively straightforward role in one sense, its importance must not be overlooked. It is this role, at whatever level it is performed, that prevents Outreach work from being

"mere band-aid therapy". In many ways it could be argued that it is this function that distinguishes today's Outreach from earlier forms of street work and detached youth work.

The recognition of the importance of "community development" work has stemmed from the lengthy experiences of many youth workers. As was stated in 1974 in the UNESCO publication "Youth Work in Australia":

> ".. there is a rapidly growing awareness that more effective integration of all services for young people is vital; that education, employment, recreation, and social development should be much more adequately related to each other; and that the youth work field has a responsibility reaching far beyond the simple provisions of recreational opportunity and informal social education".

In many ways the Outreach workers became the shock-troops for such integration. In many instances they <u>are</u> the integrating factor, in other instances they discover the need or potential for integration, and the pressure of their "case-work" often provides the motivating force for purchasing such integration.

As mentioned earlier, this situation almost inevitably creates problems of priorities, role confusions, and possible conflicts with agencies' expectancies of Outreach. The answer to this problem, however, is not to simply retreat to the limited band-aid role. Such a surrender might provide short-term relief, but will probably provide evential frustration as well as reducing the possible achievements of Outreach programmes.

Also worth noting is the fact that "community development" can be undertaken at several levels. Firstly there is the level of integration and development of <u>existing services</u> to make them more suitable for, and accessible to, young people. Secondly there is the level of the development of <u>new services</u> (e.g. legal aid, court-diversion schemes, youth advocacy, drug assistance, alternative schooling, etc.). Thirdly, and far more controversially, there is the level of organising for <u>structural change</u>, i.e. or-

ganising in such a way that the actual social structure is challenged. For instance, if legal aid services for young people are required then rather than having a "service" provided, it may prove possible to involve young people in running a service which simultanesously challenges the laws themselves (through test cases, etc.) and educates young people about the nature of the law and its enforcement in our society. Similarly, instead of running "unemployment programmes" along recreational and diversionary lines (as is the case with most C.Y.S.S. programmes), such programmes would be aimed at organising unemployed youth to fight for jobs, for training schemes, for better benefits and conditions, or integrating unemployed youth with progressive unions.

From the above discussion of the three primary roles played by Outreach workers it should not be inferred that these roles are separable. Although they can, and must, be analysed separately, in practice there is substantial overlap, and any particular activity of an Outreach worker may comprise any combination of the three roles.

MODEL 2: DEVELOPMENT AND STRUCTURE

The Developmental and Structural model aims to indicate the general steps involved in establishing, running and phasing out an Outreach project*.

Diagram 2 provides an outline of the model, and is divided into three, chronologically distinct, stages. Stage 1 is the stage whereby the Outreach programme is established after research has indicated that Outreach work, rather than some other form of youth work, is what is actually required in the area. It is at this point that the agency's research is carefully carried out,

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* This model was adapted from an initial draft prepared by John Barnett, YMCA Outreach Worker, for the YMCA Outreach Conference held June 13, 14, 1978.

that realistic budgets are prepared, that appropriate conditions for the Outreach worker, including adequate back-up services, are negotiated, and that initial moves are made to educate local agencies, councillors, etc., about the purposes of Outreach. This education programme should not be an attempt to "sell" Outreach by exaggerating its potential and its intentions - realistic attitudes towards Outreach, both in terms of its aims and of its limitations, should be fostered throughout. Once the Outreach worker has been selected by an appropriately constituted panel, it becomes the reponsibility of both the worker and the agency to continue the process of education.

Stage 2 is the operational stage. This is obviously the main stage in the project, and the bulk of the work and responsibility lies with the Outreach worker him/herself. It is here that the dual role again arises between the street work role and the community development role. For a number of fairly obvious reasons it is desirable that the Outreach worker attempt to establish a community-based support committee which can be a major force in the community development aspect of Outreach as well as providing the Outreach worker with a back-up force. At this level the agency no longer plays the central role, although its support can be crucial. Not only should it provide professional support, but it should be prepared to engage in political and social action to carry the work of the Outreach worker a step further. For instance, if a problem arises concerning police-youth relationships the agency should be prepared to take action at whatever level is appropriate on behalf of, or in conjunction with, the Outreach worker(s) concerned*. The aims of this stage of the programme are largely encapsuled in Model 1 above.

Stage 3 is the evaluation and wind-up stage. It should not be assumed however, that evaluation occurs only when the project is finishing. Evaluation of programmes such as Outreach should ideally be an ongoing process - if possible it should be built into a number of such programmes from the beginning in order to

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* As occured several times for the YMCA and was handled with at least some success.

provide an adequate test of the whole concept of Outreach. The phasing out of a programme implies that the programme has either achieved its purposes or that it has nothing further to offer in that area. This can be the result of various factors such as a substantial increase of services and youth-support schemes other than Outreach, a substantial population movement involving the target group, a general maturation of the target group, a discrediting of the Outreach worker or the agency to a degree that makes further efforts futile, etc. Only adequate evaluation can begin to illuminate which of these factors are at play and whether it is appropriate to phase-out the programme. Obviously, stage 3

is the joint responsibility of the agency, the worker and the support committee. In particular, it is the agency's task to attempt to ensure that adequate resources are available for the research that is required during this stage.

CONCLUSION

While Model 1 looks at the aims and intended effects of the Outreach worker's activities, Model 2 looks at how such a programme would ideally be developed. Here it becomes clear that the agency under whose auspices the programme is being conducted, must play a large role throughout the project. It is the agency's responsibility to get the programme off on the right foot, to provide a suitable working environment and adequate back-up services, and to provide on-going professional as well as political support. In addition, it can be seen that the agency must be able to make available adequate research capabilities throughout the project.

Many questions about the agency's role, as well as the funding body's role, still need to be answered. In particular, the question of general training or in-service training, and the question of a "career structure" for Outreach workers, must be considered.

The above models provide a useful, albeit abstract and idealised, introduction to the aims, development and structural aspects of

Outreach work. Before examining the methods that Outreach workers attempt to employ to achieve such wide-ranging goals, it is worth looking at the way that several Outreach workers have described their own role.

THE WORKERS' INTERPRETATIONS OF ROLES

" her prevailing role was one of adviser, information giver, someone with whom to share a puzzlement, question, difficulty or idea, someone who helped a person to explore the possible consequences of a choice or planned action, someone who helped one to negotiate systems ... a listener and friend ... a facilitator, perhaps to avoid a person being arrested, being hungry, failing job interviews, etc."

(Kuitters, 1980, p.14)

Jackie Kuitters, one of the pioneering Outreach workers in N.S.W., saw the above role as including the role of informal "teacher" and placed particular emphasis on the role of facilitator which she contrasted to the role of change agents. "The worker was not there to bring about a 'change', rather she was there to 'facilititate'; to make their situation easier; when their chosen lifestyle led to difficulties, to be the advocate or the bridge between them and society" (p.56). Earlier she had stressed that "as soon as the worker wanted to effect change in a person or see results the frustration and dejection set in" (p.14).

A pioneering project conducted in South Australia during the 1960s saw the streetworker as deliverying services in the streets and integrating youth with more traditional services where possible. The aim "being the offering of casework services to young people on city streets not initially requesting service" (Killington, 1970, p.8). An evaluation of the S.A. pilot project placed considerable emphasis on attitudinal and behavioural changes as a primary goal, in contrast to Kuitters (p.15) who rejects the "street sweeper" role. However, like Kuitters, the evaluation concluded that "the programme has emphasised the difficulties involved in attempting to assist and bring about change in youth with established delinquent patterns ... this programme had low success with them" (Murray, 1970, p.25).

The Victorian YMCA Outreach Project saw that "Outreach youth work

is that aspect of youth work which seeks to contact and involve young people who are not otherwise reached, either by choice or design, by existing community services". (Dodgson, 1978) Several years later the YMCA's "Draft Outreach Program Document" stated that "there is a need for alternative methods of (welfare service) delivery ... for youth at risk ... One method which continues to prove successful ... is Outreach Youth Work" (YMCA, 1981).

One of the Victorian Outreach Workers, after describing the alienated, delinquency-prone young people he saw as the primary group to be contacted, stated that "it is the task of an Outreach Youth Worker to frequent youth 'territory' and over a period of time to meet those young people, talk with them, and listen to them and where required, either provide or refer whatever services are needed, or if unsatisfactory change existing ones" (Coxhead, 1981).

A Brunswick Outreach Worker emphasised that streetwork should give "the freedom of choice to the young person by making the worker available but not compulsory. This availability often meant that many vulnerable young people were reached who never came to the attention of formal agencies ... people who may never approach any kind of social agency, but who can be effectively reached at street level". Accordingly "My approach involves integrating and building within the present street structures, not generating new ones. I see it as equally relevant to maximise the strength of a person in the scene they have chosen as it is to provide options and present alternatives" (Taylor, 1979, pp.3-4, 10). Taylor also saw one of the main values of Outreach work lying in its "research" potential: "the nature of the people we deal with, the level of interaction, and the kind of information we have access to qualifies us to speak with some authority on the direction that present and future welfare programs should be taking" (Ibid).

This research function, perhaps best seen as a form of "action research", was recognised by most Outreach workers: "One of the consequences of Outreach work is the unearthing of problems and

needs that were previously hidden or ignored. In a sense Outreach workers are also social researchers. However, in most cases the 'research' incidently engaged in by Outreach workers is unsystematic and limited to small groups or numbers of individuals. Much of the information gathered as part of Outreach work is therefore lost ... the time for systematic follow-up can rarely be afforded" (van Moorst, 1978, p.13).

The extent to which workers' roles should include a substantial "community development" component has also been the subject of significant debate amongst Outreach workers. While most of the above statements about roles include such a role, either explicitly or implicitly, there is nevertheless an uneasiness amongst some workers. The uneasiness revolves partly about the ambiguity in the term "community development" and its lack of conceptual specificity. Primarily, however, it revolves around the practical application of such a role, a role "that is very demanding on the worker" (Special Youth Development Projects Review, 1982, p.19; see also van Moorst, 1978, p.13).

Kuitters warns that, while there is potential in the role for community development, "care should be taken that the actual face-to-face work with 'unattached' young people retains a high priority; the other involvement in community work could become a sort of escapism from the face-to-face youth work" (1980, p.54).

Despite the conceptual and semantic ambiguity in the roles presented by the workers in the above quotes, it can be seen that there has been a shift in emphasis away from the social control roles towards a social support role. While social control has not been struck off the agenda, social support appears to have a greater priority. This positive sign is, however, blurred by the contradition entailed in the "target groups" as seen by the workers. Although Outreach youth work could be directed at any "young people not otherwise reached" by community services, as suggested in the early YMCA document, the reality is that most workers show greatest interest in "young people at risk", thereby defining the target group largely in the terms of a social control model.

] · any conclusions can be drawn from the above roles and models it is important to examine the actual methods used by workers and the tasks undertaken in practice. In a very real way "the proof of the pudding is in the eating" and the practice of Outreach work will either serve to clarify the actual roles or will further confuse the whole nature of this style of youth work. At the outset it must be remembered that different workers, dealing with different communities and environments, different age groups and different backgrounds, will inevitably utilise different methods and engage in different tasks. The essence of Outreach work is in its flexibility. Nevertheless, some common methods and tasks should be discernible if any discreet style of work is to be implied by the term Outreach Youth Work.

THE PRACTICE OF OUTREACH YOUTH WORK

> "Although varying in form, detached youth work programs are grounded in one basic proposition: Because gang members do not ordinarily respond well to standard agency programs inside the agency walls, it is necessary to take the programs to the gangs. Around this simple base of a worker reaching out to his client, other programmatic thrusts then take form - club meetings, sports activities, tutoring and remedial reading projects, leadership training, family counselling, casework, employment training, job finding, and so on".
> (Klein, 1971, p. 46)

The many descriptions of what Outreach workers, detached workers or streetworkers do are not conducive to brief summaries, partly because the descriptions are as diverse as the number of workers, and partly because the descriptions are inextricably tied to their authors' assumptions about goals and effects, thereby often making them highly subjective and normative. A more fruitful approach will be to examine the actual tasks undertaken, as outlined in the diaries of some outreach workers in Melbourne.

Although the diaries were not kept in a form to facilitate quantification, and while workers differed greatly in their work style and time priorities, it would seem that on average the workers' activities and time could be divided as follows:

(a) Crisis Intervention: This was clearly the major single activity of most workers. The needs of many of the youth that the workers related to in their jobs were so pressing that for both friendship and professional reasons the workers had little alternative but to devote something like 50% of their time (and often considerably more in some periods) on crisis intervention. As will be further discussed below, this has serious implications for other aspects of their work.

The bulk of the crisis intervention is either legal or familial

in nature, although problems with school authorities also feature fairly often. The legal intervention often involves bailing some youth out of the local police station or being present when s/he is being interviewed by the police. Pre-sentencing reports and giving character references in court are also frequent occurrences, and on several occasions the Outreach worker has become the probation officer of someone s/he was representing.

In many ways the worker may end up as a kind of "roving legal aid officer" for young people in trouble with the police. This form of advocacy comprised the bulk of the case studies forwarded by the Outreach workers for this study, although the methods of handling such cases differed substantially. For some of the workers the role is virtually one of a case worker, providing the court with family background, young person's history and problems, and suggesting positive alternatives to incarceration. Often the worker will have spent considerable energy trying to solve the young person's employment, housing or family problems in order to convince the court that a positive approach is likely to be successful.

An Outreach Worker from one of Melbourne's western suburbs explained that he felt his role was "not from choice but because of the demand for this legal sort of support...The role I've assumed here is what I consider a 'middle man' role...Most other institutions and workers don't take the time or interest to talk to the kids as individuals; they also tend to remain in isolation when dealing with the kid: they do their little share and then it's passed onto someone else so that there's no continuity. The position I tend to be in is getting to know the kid, spending time with the kid, acting as an advocate in terms of finding out information from the institution or the agency that's dealing with a particular kid and then passing that information back to the kid so that he knows where he stands, so that he knows what's happening to him. A lot of the frustration and stuff comes because of the fact that the kids are isolated and don't understand what's been happening to them through the system".

While the intention of most of the workers is to also teach the

young person how the system works, to try and give them insights into society and themselves, the legal system is generally too alienating, formalised and convoluted to provide a useful arena for "empowering young people". There is little evidence in the case studies, interviews or other research material to support the contention that the discussions with the young people about the legal system, the police, Turana and other prisons, etc. had any substantial effect on the powerlessness of young people in the face of these institutions. The attempt is often made, and should continue to be, but expectancies should not be high.

A regular comment made by many of the workers concerned their lack of actual training in legal matters and in "youth advocacy" methods. Most had to learn it through hearsay and practice (this was further borne out by the survey's responses to the question of training -- see below).

The second most frequent type of crisis intervention involved family conflicts. Often the young person had been kicked out of home (for a variety of reasons) and would come to the outreach worker for advice or assistance. Sometimes the worker would achieve some sort of conciliation (depending upon what the young person wanted or was prepared to be counselled to accept) and other times this would prove impossible or undesirable. Emergency housing was often a subsequent requirement and, in lieu of effective emergency housing for many young people (or older people for that matter), many outreach workers have had to take young people to their own or friend's home for several nights until something more suitable could be found. This has in several cases created further problems between the worker and the family, the worker and her/his friends, and sometimes the worker and the young person involved. It can also create undesirable expectations amongst others in the peer group and even feelings of rivalry.

Some of the family problems can be quite traumatic for the worker also, and some cases can become very threatening, not only emotionally but also physically. Workers have been physically threatened by parents (usually the father), especially where the young person is female, wanting to leave home, but comes from a

culture that refuses to permit this. One case study involved two violent fathers from European cultural backgrounds "protecting" their fifteen-year-old daughters who had decided to leave home. The outreach worker was eventually forced to physically retreat from the area for a time just to let things cool down.

As a result of such crisis intervention the worker often builds up very strong relationships with some of the young people involved. Such relationships often survive for many years, long after the young person actually desires the worker's assistance. On the other hand, because the worker is therefore sometimes seen as a kind of "trouble shooter for kids in trouble", there are other young people who keep their distance, not wishing to be "stigmatised" by such an image. Several workers noted that this occurred, although none considered it to be a problem in their work. It simply ensured that the 'target group' was largely self selected, something most outreach workers would prefer.

(b) Helping Youth: The second most time-consuming activity was helping young people in non-crisis situations. This was particularly difficult to quantify because it frequently overlapped with both crisis intervention and general relationship building and maintenance.

The "helping role" spanned a very broad range of activities from counselling to literacy help, from confidence building to helping fill out forms, teaching how to use a telephone and how to apply for jobs. It might involve advocacy at the Department of Social Security or at school, it might involve helping obtain medical assistance, drug counselling, etc. However, in many cases it also involved providing recreational services such as camping or surfing or running a disco. Such recreational activities were sometimes justified as a means of building and maintaining relationships with the target group, but often they were felt to be worthwhile for their own sake. Two workers seemed to spend more time on recreational activities than any other activity.

The circumstances under which such a helping role might be carried out vary according to the type of help, the young people

involved and the worker's own style. Frequently it was informal in nature and provided as a natural part of a friendship relation between the young person and the worker. At other times it would be more formally organised with the worker arranging to meet the young person to assist them with their literacy or to meet at the local pinball centre to discuss who to see about a particular problem. Some workers spent a significant amount of time in more formal settings (eg youth clubs, discos) and they would provide assistance within such a setting, in some cases having a special office or other space provided for such work.

(c) Relationship Building and Maintenance: The relationship building aspect, although obviously of primary importance and very time-consuming when a project is just beginning, never entirely disappears. There are always changes in the composition of peer groups as well as new individuals who come into an area and might come to the notice of the worker. Nevertheless, once a project is well established and the worker has built up a worthwhile relationship with the 'target group', the bulk of this time is spent on relationship maintenance rather than building. Such maintenance inevitably overlaps with the other aspects of the worker's activities and it is not really possible to separate it in order to quantify the amount of time spent on it.

Building relationships with young people depended very much on the work-style and philosophy of the outreach worker. As will be discussed in more detail in the next section, some workers believed in a fairly passive role, sitting in a milkbar or amusement centre for weeks on end waiting for young people to "sus them out" and then approach them. Others had a more active approach and would approach young people and tell them what they were doing.

Similarly, workers varied considerably in the methods used to maintain their relationships with young people. Inevitably the methods depended substantially on the environment within which the worker had to meet young people, the types of difficulties facing them and the resources available. Workers concentrating on young people in the drug scene would use quite different methods

to workers who primarily worked with young people in schools (still often regarded as outreach work although quite distinct from the work focussing exclusively on the streets).

(d) Community Development: This would include meetings to research needs, establish alternatives, prepare submissions, etc. It often also led to becoming a member of various committes in order to maintain the viability of a new development, although this role would be handed over to the local youth wherever possible. Despite the expressed desires of most outreach workers to develop community alternatives for young people, only a small amount of time was available for most of the workers to devote to such projects, and much of this tended to be more in the area of "youth advocacy" (including police-community liason committees, CYSS committees, etc.) rather than the actual development of alternative structures. Few workers could find time for the more broad-ranging, macro aspects of social change, such as youth income security, young people's legal and social rights, and other areas requiring more united social and political action. Instead, the worker's relationship with the young people in the area nearly always led to "individual advocacy" rather than political action. Community development would have been lucky to have received more than 10% - 15% of the workers' time.

(e) Project Maintenance: A substantial, and generally resented, amount of time had to be devoted to project maintenance. This would include agency meetings, report writing, record keeping, submission writing, etc. Probably between 15% and 20% of the workers' time was devoted to project maintenance.

Similar results to those above were obtained from the Outreach Survey (see Appendix 1) of 33 Outreach workers in Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia. As can be seen from Table 1 below, crisis intervention and helping individuals and groups took the major time of the workers (33.5%) and general interaction with individuals and groups took another 25.8%.

The table includes several part-time workers and several who were classified as 'Outreach workers' but who were in actual fact

youth club workers or administrators. On average the outreach workers were working considerably more than 40 hours per week (average of 44.6 hours per week) and 36% worked more than 60 hours per week (including time "on call" in several instances). None were paid any overtime, and only 50% considered that they were given time off in lieu of the extra hours worked. When asked if their supervisor or employer was aware of the extra hours

TABLE 1

TIME ALLOCATION OF OUTREACH WORKERS

(N=33)

	Av. No. of hrs
(a) Assisting individuals with problems	9.3 (max. 30)
(b) Defending individuals or groups from various actions by authorities	3.9 (max. 12)
(c) Interacting with groups of young people on their 'home ground'	5.7 (max. 35)
(d) Interacting with 'individual' young people on their 'home ground'	4.5 (max. 32)
(e) Participating in community decision making (committees, meetings, etc.)	4.4 (max. 30)
(f) Participating in agency decision making (meetings, conferences, etc.)	4.3 (max. 20)
(g) Facilitating unstructured group activities	2.5 (max. 18)
(h) Establishing or running structured group activities	2.0 (max. 20)
(i) Travelling to and from work	2.9 (max. 8)

worked 70% said they were, 12% were unsure and 15% believed the supervisor was not aware of this.

In view of the intense nature of the work, especially the crisis intervention and helping roles, combined with the unstructured relationship building and maintenance tasks, the long hours are a cause for concern in the minds of many of the workers, and have led to substantial fears of "burnout" amongst many of them.

STYLES OF WORK

Over the years there have been many debates about the appropriate workstyles for streetwork or outreach work. Most of these have remained unresolved, and will remain so while there is such a large diversity of situations and personalities involved in the field. The only agreement appears to be that no overall formula or prescription for success exists. Indeed, flexibility, and often ambiguity, appear to be hallmarks of such work. There has developed a kind of "anarchic individualism" in this style of youth work which has provided both strengths and weaknesses: the individual strengths required to stand up to the more traditional expectancies and pressures from sections of the community, the strengths required for the stresses and strains of the job and for the individual initiative that makes up such a vital part of the outreach worker's role; the weaknesses created by lack of overall co-ordination, lack of unity and a resultant lack of overall social and political muscle, combined with a myriad of ego-centric workstyles that frequently defy theoretical cohesion and effective evaluation, and that make goal-achievement a vaguer task than it need be.

As part of this study a series of work style characteristics were abstracted from the various discussions, interviews and debates, and several of these were included in the questionnaire.

(a) MAKING CONTACT:

Most descriptions of Outreach Youth Work agree about the necessity for a new worker to get to know their general environment, its problems and services, and the general activities and hangouts of the local youth (see for example Kuitters, 1980, Coxhead, 1981 and YMCA, 1981) before making direct contact with the youth in the "target group".

Coxhead (1981, p.1) suggests that "Spending time observing local youth in their leisure time generally gives you a good idea as to which hotels they frequent, which discos they go to, which shops, schools and other areas they consider to have a territorial basis". But, he adds, "'Checking out the kids' and making contact with them before the youth worker has a knowledge of local resources, is in the long run likely to damage his/her credibility rather than enhance it".

Ian Fuhrmeister, an outreach youth worker in Melbourne's northwest working class suburb of Dallas/Broadmeadows, saw the contact phase as a time of "reaching-out, being vulnerable, wasting time, going where they are, becoming part of the furniture, saying little, observing lots, being somewhere regularly, being open" (1980?\).

While there is a general agreement about what the contact phase must involve in terms of preliminary and explorative activities, there is considerable debate about the degree of active intervention in the young people's environment that workers should initiate in this phase. Some projects encourage a very passive approach during which the worker simply sits around a local milk bar, amusement centre or other 'hangout' waiting for young people to 'sus him/her out'. This may take several weeks, or even months, during which the worker makes no contact on his/her own behalf, but simply becomes accepted as "part of the furniture". The alternative approach is far more active, and would have the worker directly approach the young people in one or other of their 'hangouts' and introduce him/herself and explain his/her role as an outreach youth worker.

There are arguments for and against both approaches, and no research appears to have been undertaken to establish which is the more valid. Those who support the passive contact phase argue that to take an active approach leads to suspicion in the minds of the young people. It leads them to see the worker as just another adult, a "do-gooder", come to intervene in their lives. They would see the role as a judgemental and manipulative one rather than as supportive, non-judgemental and non-manipulative. Even if several weeks go by before the young people are curious and trusting enough to come over to see what this person who 'just hangs about' is doing there, it is a time during which they can see that the worker is not there to impose on them. And even if, after the initial explanations have been made, it takes another month before the young people make more substantial contact with the worker, whether to have a tentative discussion or to ask for more substantial assistance, such contact will be freely entered into, on the terms of the young person rather than the adult worker, and will therefore be far more valued and valuable.

The proponents of the more active contact phase argue that there is an ethical imperative to tell the young people what is going on as soon as practical. To refrain from actively approaching them and telling them what is going on is to deceive them. It is also to waste a considerable amount of time. The proponents of the active approach argue that young people aren't so vulnerable and suspicious that a direct approach isn't practical. Indeed, to sit around without any explanation for weeks on end is at least as likely to arouse suspicions as would the direct approach. If the young people don't want anything to do with the outreach worker they have many ways of making this apparent, and any substantial relationship between the worker and the young people will still be one that is freely created and utilised by them, on their terms, and is dependent on the worker's overall style of work, not the initial contact phase.

Although the debate has been expressed in rather extreme terms, the reality of most outreach projects lies somewhere between the

two extremes. When asked to rank themselves on a 7-point scale ranging from active at the bottom to passive at the top of the scale, the respondents to the questionnaire averaged 3.4, showing they were on the active side of the continuum. One third of the respondents ranked themselves as 1 or 2, or quite active in their contact phase whereas only 12% ranked themselves as 6 or 7, or quite passive. The other 45% fell somewhere between, considering their approach as partially active, partially passive.

(b) APPEARANCE:

Another area of some debate has been the way that a worker should present him/herself to young people. Should the worker dress or speak the same as the young people? Should the worker adopt similar fashions, hairstyle, cultural tastes or behaviour as the young people he/she is working with? Or should the worker purposely differentiate themselves from the young people's peer group by adopting different fashions, speech, etc.? Those who argue for an integrating approach claim that if the worker is to be accepted by the young people he/she should appear as much like them as possible. In this way it is easier for the young people to identify with him/her and they are less likely to see the worker as an alien influence or outsider. In contrast, those who argue for a differentiating approach believe that it is important to not only be honest but to be seen to be honest. By differentiating oneself from the youth peer group the worker is making it clear to the group that he/she is not pretending to be something he/she is not, and is not trying to "suck up to the group". Therefore the worker should make a conscious effort to be seen as different from the peer group rather than simply taking a "lassez faire" approach.

Again there is little research material to guide workers and the majority tend to the position that it is best to simply "be oneself" rather than either pretending to be one with the peer group or purposely differentiating oneself from the peer group. When asked to indicate on a scale of 1 to 7 the majority of respondents took the in-between approach with 57% responding with

3,4 or 5 on the scale. No-one responded with 1 on the scale and only 12% responded with 2, indicating that few workers thought that an integrating approach was appropriate. On the other hand 21% responded with either 6 or 7 on the scale, indicating a greater tendency towards a differentiating approach.

(c) DIRECTIVE OR NON-DIRECTIVE:

The philosophy of outreach youth work has tended towards a non-directive approach where the worker's role is a non-advisory one aimed at increasing young people's own decision-making skills. The worker would provide young people with information and would encourage discussion of the various options and their consequences. Young people would be expected to learn to take responsibility for their own decisions, even if it means learning from their own mistakes.

The opposing view, although not as popular in outreach work philosophy, is often featured in the actual practice of such work, and was quite pronounced in several discussions with practicing outreach workers. This approach is considerably more directive and sees the role of the worker as including an advisory component. Some workers expressed the belief that if young people could learn from the mistakes of others rather than their own then this should be encouraged. In other words, providing advice and encouragement (or discouragement) was often an appropriate aspect of the relationship between the worker and the young person. It should not detract from young people learning to make decisions or to accept responsibility for their own decisions but avoids what some workers saw as a patronising attitude towards young people. In addition several workers believed that if young people could not come to the workers for honest opinions and advice then there would be little respect for the worker in the long run.

When asked to indicate their position on a 7-point scale 21% recorded a relatively uncompromising non-directive approach (either 1 or 2 on the scale) and only 12% took the opposing, directive approach (6 or 7 on the scale). The majority took an in-between

or semi-directive approach (3,4 or 5 on the scale -- the average was 3.6 or slightly towards the non-directive side of the mid-point).

(d) PROVIDER OR FACILITATOR:

Many discussions of outreach work present the worker as a major "resource" person, providing services (counselling, recreational, welfare, etc.) for the youth of the area. Some projects make the provision of such assistance to young people their major aim, and in view of the earlier discussion about the amount of time outreach workers spend on 'crisis intervention', the role of provider clearly features significantly in most projects.

In contrast, the major thrust of outreach theory is against the provider and towards a facilitator role. Rather than the worker providing major resources for the group the worker's task is to facilitate young people finding or developing their own resources. Whereas the provider role is seen as often creating a dependency relationship, the facilitator role creates greater skills and thus greater independence.

Once again the majority of workers stood somewhere in between the two extremes, arguing that circumstances, general environment and the immediate needs of young people often made the philosophically attractive facilitator role impractical and forced the worker to also take on the provider role in order to both maintain credibility and to protect or assist the young people themselves. From the survey there were no respondents who saw themselves completely in the provider role and only 6% who could be classified as subscribing to this role (scoring 2 on the scale). On the other hand, more than a quarter (27%) saw their role as primarily that of facilitator (scoring 6 or 7) with the rest somewhere in between (the average was 4.7 or to the facilitator side of the mid-point).

(e) CASEWORK OR CHANGE AGENT:

One of the chief debates, and an apparently unsolvable dilemma,

is the extent to which an outreach youth worker should be primarily a caseworker or a change agent. The role of caseworker coincides to some extent with the role of provider. It sees crisis intervention, service provision, counselling, etc. as primary objectives for the worker. The role of change agent can be seen either as changing the individual or of changing the community or both. Outreach work philosophy places the bulk of its emphasis on the change agent role, primarily focussing on individual change rather than community change. Traditionally, the aim of outreach has been to assist social control by changing the behaviour petterns of young people "at risk". Hence the change agent role is primary, and any casework should simply become a means to this end, not a role in its own right. Nevertheless, the British approach to outreach work has not been so single-mindedly social control oriented and has an implicit casework role in its significant emphasis on "supporting young people" in their own environment.

As mentioned earlier, most workers find that they cannot avoid a considerable amount of "casework", although most would not wish to see it categorised in this fashion, preferring to label it more generally as "youth support". On the other hand, most workers desire to play a significant "change agent" role, involving both community change and individual or peer group change. The outreach work environment, including the resource environment, makes it extremely difficult to achieve a satisfactory compromise between the two roles, and this has caused significant frustration and sometimes role confusion amongst workers.

When asked how they viewed their role the vast majority opted for an in-between position with 70% registering 3,4 or 5 on the 7-point scale. Only 6% saw themselves as primarily "caseworkers" (registering 2 on the scale) and 12% as primarily "change agents" (6 on the scale).

(f) GOALS:

As mentioned in the discussion of Model 1 above, the goals of

outreach youth work can be described in various ways. For this part of the study outreach workers were asked to indicate how they saw their goals in terms of several dichotomies drawn from the theories and models mentioned earlier.

The first of these asked the workers to indicate on a 7-point scale whether they saw their role primarily as trying to create personal growth in the young people they worked with (through eg. setting an example, counselling, etc.), or whether they tended towards a goal of social change (eg. community development). It must be recognised that these two (like many of the other dichotomies discussed in this chapter) are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The majority (74%), as would be expected with a question of this nature, saw their goals as somewhere between the two extremes, and clearly intended to aim for some of each. At the "extremes" we find that 12% saw personal growth as their primary goal (recording 1 or 2 on the scale) and a similar 12% saw their goal as primarily one of social change (recording 6 or 7 on the scale).

The second showed far more conclusive attitudes. The workers were asked to indicate whether personal growth or social control was their primary goal. As mentioned in the previous section, there had been a significant rejection of social control as a goal of outreach work in Australia, and the results of this questionnaire bore this out very strongly. No workers saw social control as a primary objective (no respondents recorded 5,6 or 7 on the scale) and only 18% were in the middle, scoring 4 on the scale. On the other hand, 40% saw personal growth as their primary goal (recording either 1 or 2 on the scale) and another 37% were similarly, though less strongly, inclined (recording 3 on the scale). The average was 2.5, indicating a very strong personal growth orientation and an overwhelming rejection by the workers of the traditional social control focus of outreach work.

Subsequent questions attempted to obtain greater detail about the workers' aims concerning either personal growth or social control oriented changes in young people's attitudes and behaviour. The

table below summarises some of these proposed changes:

TABLE 2

CHANGES IN YOUNG PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES SOUGHT BY OUTREACH WORKERS

Clearly, the table supports the conclusion that the personal growth aspects of outreach work feature much higher on the priority list of workers than do the social control aspects, most of which were not seen as especially important. Nevertheless, the social control aspects cannot be ignored in the priorities of many of the workers, partly because the dichotomy between social control and personal growth, while theoretically defensible, becomes blurred when it is found in practice that the well being of many young people frequently depends upon their being able to behave in a more "socially acceptable" manner. This does not endorse the social control assumptions made by many adults but simply assumes that to protect young people from conflict with the authorities, and the harmful consequences of such conflict, young people may sometimes have little choice but to conform to adult expectancies, at least to a degree. Outreach workers therefore sometimes feel obliged to act in a manner that may give the appearance of being "agents of social control" when in reality they believe that the only way to protect a particular individual or peer group is to encourage a greater degree of socially acceptable behaviour, even though the worker would not wish to see this as a major aim or a desirable end result of his/her work.

When a similar question was asked about the workers' aims concerning changes to the community and its agencies it was clear that such social change was a major aim for the majority of workers, as shown in table 3 below.

Obviously the social change role was considered an important priority by the majority of the workers, and most believed that many of the problems facing young people lay with the attitudes, policies and structures of the community and its agencies. Nevertheless, as mentioned earlier, only a relatively small amount of the workers' time and energy was actually devoted to such social change or community development.

TABLE 3

(g) WORKING WITH THE PEER GROUP:

The social control model of outreach work often sees the dimunition of the influence of the peer group, or even its actual dissolution, as a major strategy for the worker. Interviews with outreach workers indicated that a significant number saw the break up of peer groups as an important, though rarely achievable, element of their work. These workers saw the peer group as exerting an undue influence over the young people they were working with and often believed that without this influence the young people concerned would be more in control of their own lives and probably more law-abiding.

One outreach worker stated during interviews that he saw as one of his goals "the breaking up of these kids' peer group". Another stated: "I take camping very seriously with these guys because it gets them away from the whole thing, perhaps away from the peer groups...it's just a matter of giving them an alternative because once they get with their mates during the day they are in trouble".

It should be understood however, that for most of these workers the purpose of diminishing the impact of the peer group was not so much one of social control as one of individual growth. The peer group was seen as having a deliterious effect on the individual's ability to make his or her own decisions and control his or her own lives.

In contrast to this approach is that of several other workers who saw their role as working with, rather than partly against, the peer group in order to "make the peer group a positive experience, to encourage sharing and co-operation, by strengthening peer group relations". Whereas the first approach tended towards seeing the young people as individuals who would be allright if only they weren't influenced by their mates, the second approach sees the young people as social beings whose strength and identity may well derive from the very peer groups that also "lead them into trouble".

When the workers were asked to indicate their approach in terms of working with "individuals" or working with the "peer group" on a scale of 1 (individual) to 7 (peer group) the majority saw their work as involving both aspects. Sixty one percent scored in the mid-range (3,4 or 5) with 15% working primarily with the individual and 12% primarily with the peer group.

When asked to rate themselves on a scale of 1 to 7 on whether their goal was primarily one of creating individual independence or of creating inter-dependence through strengthening the peer group the tendency was more towards individual independence than group inter-dependence. While the majority (67%) were in the middle of the range (3,4,or 5), indicating a mixed approach, 18% were primarily concerned with individual independence but only 3% saw group interdependence as a primary concern (the average score was 3.5 or to the individual side of the mid-point).

TARGET GROUPS:

As mentioned in earlier parts of the report, the selection of target groups for an outreach worker depends largely on the philosophy underlying the project. Projects with a strong social control orientation will be particularly concerned with young people "at risk of becoming delinquent or deviant". Projects with a youth support orientation could select a broader range of peer groups according to the needs of the young people themselves rather than the needs as seen by the authorities for some form of control of young people's behaviour. Nevertheless, despite the youth support orientation of most outreach workers, the social control orientation of the funding bodies and management agencies appears to have ensured that target groups have been largely selected according to social control criteria.

Hence we find that the vast bulk of the projects are in working class areas and are concerned with young people often seen and described as "pre-delinquent". This in turn explains the large amount of time devoted to crisis intervention, especially of a legal variety. Although there is little doubt that young people in working class areas are in need of a lot of support, such needs are not confined to the most visible, "pre-delinquent" groups. Indeed, an argument could be raised that those young people who are not part of any established peer group, who drift around, spend a lot of time in front of the home television arguing with the rest of the family, and are generally quite isolated and miserable, are more in need of the worker's support than the present target groups. They are also more difficult to contact and work with in most circumstances.

The workers who responded to the questionnaire were asked to estimate the socio-economic status of the families of the young people they were working with:

Working class	60%
Lower middle class	16%
Middle class	10%
Upper and upper middle class	7%
Unsure	7%

Of these, 59% were living at home and 41% away from home. Over half (59%) were young males and 41% were females. The age groups varied considerably between the different projects. Approximately 15% of those young people contacted by the workers were under the age of 14 years, 36% were 14 to 16 years, 34% were 17 to 20 years and 13% were 21 years and older.

The ethnicity of the young people was as follows:

Aboriginal	2.6%	
Australian		64.0%
English speaking migrants		11.7%
Greek		4.9%
Yugoslav		4.6%
Italian		3.2%
Turkish		3.1%
Other		4.5%

In other words, approximately three quarters were from english speaking backgrounds, although a specifically Greek outreach programme (Melbourne based) was not included in these figures.

The largest number (41%) were unemployed, with 28% students, 13% in full-time employment and 10% in part-time employment.

The main contact places for workers to meet up with young people in the chosen target groups were as follows:

Streets	94%	
Hotels		61%
School		30%
Discos/dances		27%
Homes		24%

Public housing estates	12%
Youth centres	12%
Sporting facilities	6%

(percentages do not add up to 100 because several places would be relevant for any one peer group. "Streets" included milk bars and amusement centres).

When asked how frequently 'major' problems existed amongst the young people the following averages were obtained:

TABLE 4

	VERY OFTEN	OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY	NEVER
Family instability	33.3%	45.5%	18.2%	0%	0%
Relationship with adults	36.4%	39.4%	18.2%	0%	0%
Financial	36.4%	39.4%	15.2%	6.1%	0%
Employment and vocational	39.4%	30.3%	18.2%	6.1%	0%
Confidence and motivation	30.3%	39.4%	21.2%	3.0%	0%
Illegal acts not discovered by the authorities	33.3%	21.2%	24.2%	12.1%	3.0%
Lack of access/use of community and welfare resources	24.2%	36.4%	27.3%	3.0%	3.0%
Drugs and alcohol	21.2%	39.4%	27.3%	6.1%	0%
Schooling	12.1%	51.5%	24.2%	3.0%	0%
Accomodation	15.2%	27.3%	36.4%	12.1%	3.0%
Sexuality	15.2%	21.2%	42.4%	15.2%	0%
Recreation	15.2%	18.2%	33.3%	18.2%	3.0%
Relationship with peers	12.1%	42.4%	21.2%	15.2%	3.0%
Personality & personal resources	9.1%	48.5%	24.2%	12.1%	0%
Police harrassment - criminal	6.1%	33.3%	33.3%	21.2%	0%
Cultural and ethnic values	6.1%	21.2%	33.3%	24.2%	6.1%
Police harrassment - welfare	6.1%	18.2%	42.4%	24.2%	3.0%
Physical disabilities/health	6.1%	6.1%	36.4%	39.4%	6.1%

The workers indicated that during a typical two-week period the approximate number of young people worked with averaged 97, a

large number in view of the problems faced by so many of them.

In his 1976 report on outreach work Peter Kalmund (1976) divided young people into four types: the "can copes", the "temporarily disorganised", the "simply disorganised" and the "seriously disorganised". The present survey also asked the workers how the young people they worked with fitted into these categories, defined as follows and with the following results:

(a) CAN_COPE: (generally capable, resourceful and willing to make adequate use of facilities and/or services in the community. Are stable in interests and relationship patterns. Can manage most personal needs via own initiative) 15%

(b) TEMPORARILY_DISORGANISED: (unsettled on a "temporary" basis, eg. due to period in individual developmental phase of adolescence) 27%

(c) SIMPLY_DISORGANISED: (those heading towards serious difficulties eg. problems with authority figures. Those who are suffering isolation, loss of identity, self respect, the unemployed/unemployable) 34%

(d) SERIOUSLY_DISORGANISED: (those requiring extensive guidance and support usually over long periods. Having serious problems/difficulties eg. inability to express feelings, relieve inbuilt frustrations. Behaviour leading towards possible institutionalisation) 22%

These categories are hardly without problems, but it is not the intention of this report to examine in detail the categories themselves except to point out the rather functionalist and psychological orientation of them, with the resultant emphasis on the individual rather than the individual in his/her social context.

In his review of government funded outreach projects Kalmund

found (p.19) that the respective proportions were as follows:

Can Cope: 20.8%

Temporarily Disorganised: 33.8%

Simply Disorganised: 31.4%

Seriously Disorganised: 14.0%

There is a substantial difference between the projects that Kalmund surveyed and the projects in this study: Kalmund's sample was more involved with the 'can copes' and the 'temporarily disorganised' while the workers in this study placed greater emphasis on the 'simply disorganised' and the 'seriously disorganised'.

Kalmund suggests (p.20) that outreach work should be particularly targetted at the 'temporarily' and the 'simply' disorganised which constitute "the areas that the Outreach Worker...could realistically be working in, to cater for the needs of young people not normally met by usual and traditional channels".

Kalmund questions the emphasis many workers appear to place on the 'can copes', and to the extent that the categories and responses in the surveys can be interpreted in this manner*,

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* Several problems occur with interpretation: firstly, although the categories were defined in the questionnaire, they still require subjective adaption to the worker's own circumstances. Hence they invariably become relative categories, and their application will differ from one worker and one worker's context to another. Secondly, while the worker can choose the broad target group with which to work, s/he cannot afford to strongly discriminate once such a group has been selected. It is highly unlikely that any group would be so homogenous as not to include a significant proportion of 'can copes'; therefore, unless this proportion was clearly identified in the surveys, it becomes difficult to make recommendations about priorities. It is highly likely that the proportion of 'can copes' will always remain at approximately 10%-20% except where a relatively homogenous target group is selected (eg. heavy drug users).

similar concerns could be expressed here. This is not to say that the 'can copes' might not warrant the attention of an Outreach Worker, but rather that the priorities should be more strongly directed towards the other young people.

Kalmund similarly expresses some concern about the potential emphasis on the 'seriously' disorganised: "If the Worker was to gravitate mainly into this area of work...it would be considered as defeating the necessary role of the Outreach Worker in the community, mainly because of the heavy concentration of time and ongoing indepth relationship which would undoubtedly be required. It could also be viewed as adopting a welfare orientation and role in total".

However, while Kalmund's concern about the 'indepth relationship' and commitment that such an emphasis might involve is fully justified, this should not necessarily lead us to discourage outreach work based on such a concentrated effort. It should, however, alert us to the fact that projects concentrating on the 'seriously' disorganised might require more intense levels of government support, extra skills and experience, and a clear set of goals and strategies. These have often been lacking.

PLACE OF CONTACT:

The majority of young people worked with were clearly contacted "on the streets" and related venues. Nevertheless, a significant number of young people were referred to the worker by others. Workers were asked to indicate how often young people would be reffered to them by the following people or agencies, as well as how often a young person would seek them out for a particular reason (ie. self referral):

TABLE 5

	VERY OFTEN	OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY	NEVER
Self referral	24%	27%	24%	3%	0%
Friends of youth	12%	37%	27%	6%	3%
Family of youth	0%	27%	37%	15%	6%
Social worker	3%	18%	49%	15%	0%
Teacher	3%	15%	15%	43%	9%
School	9%	6%	21%	40%	9%
Legal aid/lawyers	3%	9%	9%	43%	18%
Police	3%	0%	21%	43%	21%

As shown, the majority of young people were either self referrals or were referred by their peer group. A relatively small number of referrals came from family, social workers or teachers, and a negligible amount from legal and police sources. In view of the nature of the work this is not surprising, and it is a positive finding in terms of the aims and philosophy of outreach.

This finding was further supported by the evaluative study conducted by Jana Andrews as part of this project (Andrews, 1980 -- reprinted here as Appendix 2). Although the sample was small and the methodological constraints severe, she was able to conclude that the outreach target group consisted of highly alienated youth (as measured by the Lovegrove Community Alienation scale) and that their alienation score was similar to that found by Lovegrove for delinquents in his 1973 study.

In short, all the evidence points to outreach workers succeeding in contacting the types of target groups that their goals and purposes had indicated they would, albeit with rather distinct social control overtones.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF OUTREACH WORK

"In this interpersonal approach to youth work it is generally not possible to perceive the effects or results, or if they can be perceived it is not possible always to draw conclusions about the worker's role in this".
(Kuitters, 1980, p.55)

"(The project has) been effective in offering constructive activities and diverting youth from activities which may have otherwise proved harmful to themselves and the community"
(Vincent, 1982, p.4)

The problems of evaluating the effectiveness of outreach youth work, both in general terms and in the case of specific programmes, are substantial. The points raised by Kuitters are quite valid, and most of the comments about the "success" or effectiveness of programmes tend to boil down to the judgements and experiences of the individual workers.

In a simplistic sense, any evaluation must refer back to the goals or models of outreach and the individual variations of these as developed by specific programmes. In reality, few of the programmes have clarified their goals and models sufficiently to make such criteria for evaluation easily accessible. Throughout this study discussions to clarify goals and models, with a view to developing criteria for evaluation, led to long debates, shifts or actual changes in goals, all with very little noticable impact on the actual practice of the workers. Generally speaking, most workers and programme "managers" desired a myriad of goals for their work, often naively accepting potentially conflicting goals. Interviews and lengthy discussions with the workers support the tentative conclusions of Peter Kalmund (1979): "It will be noted that I have been particularly critical of the relatively naive approach which several of the workers have tended to adopt; where there has been an evident lack of a theoretical and conceptual soundness to their practical base"; Kalmund goes on to sug-

gest that specific attention may have to be given to "worker training, support and extension of a virtually non-existent conceptual framework and base" (p.46).

None of this should be taken to mean that the workers do not have a substantial empathy for the circumstances of young people and a critical outlook on the social environment within which young people live, merely that such an outlook requires substantial systematisation and development if workers are to have the broader theoretical foundation on which to base their practice. Nor does it mean that outreach work is not effective or does not assist the people it is aimed at assisting. On the contrary, as the evidence of this study shows, outreach work has had a significant impact on many of the individual youth it has made contact with, and it has had a lesser, but by no means insignificant effect on the communities within which the projects have been located. Nevertheless, much of this effect has not been of the fundamental type that many workers had aimed for.

The evaluative data for this study comes from several sources: case studies, interviews with workers and other community members who might be expected to have a useful perspective (eg. teachers, welfare workers, police) and discussions with young people in contact with outreach workers.

The case studies collected for the study were primarily of an individual "casework" nature, with very few cases of "community development" being documented. While this is largely reflective of the actual practice of outreach work, other sources indicate that there is more "community development" being undertaken than shown by the case studies.

More than 90% of the case studies (see Appendix 3 for a summary of several of these) involved crisis intervention, family intervention, police and court work. The vast majority involved young people, especially males, who had been in trouble with police and many of whom had substantial drinking problems. The worker provided friendship, guidance, direct assistance (such as legal aid, court or institutional intervention, accomodation), and

generally provided intense periods of time during which the young person could discuss and consider what was happening and what the options might be. The case studies underline the highly intensive nature of such crisis intervention or casework and its limitation to only a few individuals. Many of the workers commented that such work frequently interfered with the building of less 'problem oriented' relationships with young people and with the practice of community developmental work with and for young people.

The case studies recorded a significant degree of effectiveness in counselling. Many young people were given new perspectives on their own values and behaviour and on their relationships with others. This in turn frequently led to more productive or less destructive behaviour. Many young people were reconciled with their family (and vice versa), were assisted in obtaining, and in retaining, employment, were enabled to continue or resume schooling, and were assisted through the legal tangles their conflicts with authority had often created. There is evidence that young people were given greater self awareness and confidence through their relationship with the worker.

The following case is fairly typical, and raises many questions about "effectiveness" and about goals and methods. The case involved a 17-year-old male in one of Melbourne's middle-class suburbs:

"Don was sixteen when I first met him to help him get emergency accomodation when a rival gang fired some shots through the window of the flat he was living in with some other people. He's probably the toughest in that gang of kids, or at least that is the image he tries to maintain. Later I went to court for him. He was facing charges of car theft, assault, resisting arrest and indecent language. That (helping with the court case) seemed to make him closer to me and he'd see me voluntarily quite often after that. He's got a really out-of-control temper and when he does his block he goes right off the handle. One time, at the local youth centre, he belted up one of the guys on the committee that runs the place. I was pretty lucky to be able to break up

that fight, and that was only because we'd been talking all day about his temper and his lack of control. He'd started to think about what he does and we were able to sit down and talk about it again afterwards. I've been wondering though, perhaps he initiated the whole thing in the first place so that I would pay more attention to him. Anyway, once again I was spending just about every day with him -- he was unemployed at this stage. He used to come in and see me every day for some of the time and sometimes throughout the whole day. He attacked a guy in the office I work in and chased him up the stairs. The guy ran and hid in the room next to mine and Don began kicking the door down. He had just about kicked it down when I came out of the office. He had a knife and he was jabbing it into the door. Because I'd spent so much time with him I was able to calm him down and we talked the whole thing over at great length. About five weeks ago I went to court for him again; this time it was malicious damage, throwing a missile at a policeman, abusive language, resisting arrest and several other charges. He was put on probation until he was 18 years, and that seemed the turning point as far as he was concerned. He then made definite attempts, which he hadn't really done before. He eventually got a job and since then he's virtually kept out of the area. He phones me up once or twice a week and he hasn't had any problems since. He's got a girlfriend and he doesn't hang around with those guys any more. I don't know if he'll make it through his probation but I think he will. He's doing everything he can to ensure he will. He's not hanging around with the same crowd at all, he spends most of his time with his girlfriend, and he's got a job that he likes. I think for the first time he's got a bit of ambition. The job is at a service station and they told him that perhaps he could go for an apprenticeship, so he's got something to strive for, something he wants to do. You tend to try not to make statements about whether he's going to make it or not, but I think he's got a good chance. I've probably had more success with him than I have with any other kid that I've worked with, but that's probably because of the intensity and because there was so much room for improvement. I certainly haven't spent as much time with a lot of other kids as what I have with him".

While the bulk of the case studies involved individualised crisis intervention, a few cases constituted a form of general crisis intervention, cases where what was done was intended to tackle a problem commonly faced by many young people. One such case involved the glue sniffing problem that was so pronounced amongst many young people in the late seventies. Most of Melbourne's outreach workers were in constant contact with young people who were beginning to experiment with glue sniffing. Several of those who worked for the YMCA outreach programme decided to take some joint action about the problem and proceeded to organise a campaign to have the contents of commercial glues changed so that they would no longer be suitable for sniffing. They organised meetings with manufacturers and other businessmen, and received promises that the contents would be changed wherever possible. Although little was ultimately achieved, because the manufacturers eventually claimed that they could not manufacture many of the glues without fairly strong solvents, it was an interesting alternative to the individualised approaches that usually characterise outreach work. Similar generalised intervention has occurred over problems in police-youth relations, often leading to "police-community liason" committees being established. Again, the long-term effectiveness of these methods is highly questionable, and the more recent moves towards Youth Advocacy programmes are considerably better thought through. Nevertheless, one might have wished for a greater emphasis on such combined efforts by workers at a generalised level of intervention, rather than the individualised, and hence usually isolated, forms of intervention.

Case studies that might be seen as representing "community development" include moves by several workers to have emergency accomodation established in their region, to obtain greater access to legal aid for young people, to establish additional recreational facilities in some areas, etc. These often involved community-based initiatives with commiteess aimed at extracting a response from one or other level of government (usually local government). At other times they involved community-based management committees for facilities or services, and sometimes direct involvement in local or state government committees or structures. Invariably, such efforts took considerable time and were

often resented because of the extent they "interfered" with the more personalised work. There is no doubt however, that many outreach workers have made valuable contributions to their communities in developing better facilities, services and attitudes for youth, and in this manner have made important contributions to the well-being of many young people who would otherwise have been largely neglected. Nevertheless, again one might have desired a more united effort in obtaining facilities and services in view of the relatively universal need for a better deal for young people.

Several evaluative conclusions can be derived from the case study material: firstly, the highly individualised practice, while effectively assisting many young people in a variety of ways, reduces the workers' effectiveness in achieving more lasting change in the overall position of young people. Secondly, the intense nature of the most effective outreach work ensures that only a small number of young people in need are likely to obtain such assistance. In turn these factors ensure that a combined effort by outreach workers to tackle the broader problems facing young people is unlikely to eventuate until workers can reduce what has for many become a heavy "case load".

The case studies provide strong evidence that much outreach work is a spontaneous response to the immediate needs of alienated and/or oppressed youth, usually lacking any effective strategy for a more united attempt to achieve lasting social change, including the "empowerment" of young people.

There was no real "hard" evidence in the case studies to indicate the extent, if any, of the types of attitudinal change that outreach models and theories call for. Some workers were sceptical about such change occurring as a result of their efforts, others believed that their efforts would only be a part of the broader circumstances without which change would not occur and yet others believed that their efforts alone had achieved substantial change in the attitudes of some of the young people they worked with. All such assessments were very subjective in nature. The only objective attempt at measurement as part of this study is reported

in Appendix 2 and was undertaken by Jana Andrews, Lance Pendergast and the author. The study involved 24 young people followed up over a period of four to eight months and tested for changes in attitudes considered to be "anti-social" or "delinquent". The conclusion from the study was that no significant change could be observed over this span of time.

The interviews and reports of the workers also allow some tentative conclusions about the effectiveness of outreach work. Despite the philosophies expressed by outreach projects, several were far more concerned with providing recreational services for their own sake, rather than as a means for establishing contructive relationships with the young people. One project spent considerable time preparing a "youth recreational services directory", and one worker indicated that, as a result of such activities she had "no time for actual street work" during the previous month.

Another project devoted its energies about equally between outreach work and evangelic religious activity, and an ethnic programme devoted a significant portion of its outreach energies to recruiting attendance at their disco.

Until there are clear guidelines for what should and what should not be regarded as outreach work, as opposed to other forms of youth work, it will remain difficult to argue whether the above examples fall within its ambit.

When outreach workers were surveyed about their assessment of the effectiveness of outreach work the results were mixed. Table X below shows that the workers were not particularly confident about their effectiveness: very few saw their work as either "very effective" or as "very ineffective", with the majority being unsure, and the second largest group seeing themselves as "effective". The main exception to this was in the area of "personal growth" where the majority saw themselves as "effective" and fewer were unsure. It was particularly in the area of "social control" that the workers did not see themselves as especially effective, along with the specific categories of

"ability to work" and "alienation".

TABLE 6

WORKERS' ASSESSMENT OF OWN EFFECTIVENESS

(% of workers seeing themselves in each effectiveness category)

	VERY EFFECTIVE	EFFECTIVE	NOT SURE	INEFF-ECTIVE	HAVE OPPOSITE EFFECT
SOCIAL CONTROL:					
(a) From delinquent to non-delinquent	0%	15%	36%	3%	0%
(b) From anti-school to pro-school	0%	9%	18%	6%	0%
(c) From anti-parent to pro-parent	0%	21%	12%	3%	0%
(d) From aggressive to non-aggressive	3%	12%	24%	3%	0%
PERSONAL GROWTH:					
(a) From lacking self-confidence to self-confident	3%	49%	18%	3%	0%
(b) From lacking self-awareness to self-aware	3%	46%	24%	0%	0%
(c) From negative self-esteem to positive self-esteem	0%	43%	30%	0%	0%
(d) From dependent to independent/inter-dependent	0%	33%	33%	3%	0%
(e) From inactive to active in leisure	0%	30%	21%	6%	0%

(f) From lacking social skills to having social skills	0%	40%	27%	0%	3%

BOTH PERSONAL GROWTH AND SOCIAL CONTROL:

(a) From dishonest to honest	0%	27%	27%	0%	0%
(b) From intolerant to tolerant	3%	27%	21%	3%	0%
(c) From inconsiderate to considerate of others	3%	37%	24%	0%	0%
(d) From bored to non-bored	0%	27%	33%	6%	0%
(e) From unable to work to able to work	0%	12%	30%	18%	0%
(f) From alienated from the community to non-alienated	3%	15%	40%	6%	0%

The trends displayed in Table 6 are supported by another question in the survey which asked workers to indicate what percentage of the young people they had worked with had shown an improvement when they last saw them. The results are summarised (as averages) in Table 7 below.

With the exception of "personal growth", more than 50% of the young people were observed to have undergone no change or to have changed for the worse. This is consistent with the trend in the previous table, as is the result for young people's employment status and capabilities. Of course, such results may well be more a reflection of the socio-economic environment than of the workers' effectiveness.

Additional information was asked of the workers about the influence of their work, if any, on the incidence or severity of the major problems faced by the young people (as outlined in Table 4 above). Of those who answered this question only 21% gave an unqualified "yes" as their answer. A further 15% gave a qualified "yes" and another 15% were "hopeful" but not confident of having reduced the problems. While only 6% believed that their work had not eased the problems, the largest number (27%) were unsure, noting improvement in some circumstances but no improvement (and sometimes a detioration) in others. It would seem therefore that 42% of the workers believed that their work had a positive influence on the problems faced by the young people, but that this influence depended upon the circumstances and was far from being unqualified. This would appear to be a realistic appraisal in view of the other assessments noted above, and in view of the overall data gathered for this study.

TABLE 7

OBSERVED "IMPROVEMENT"

(% of young people observed to change)

	Improved a lot	Improved somewhat	No change	Became worse
Attitudes to community	7%	36%	50%	7%
Attitudes to school	5%	21%	59%	15%
Attitudes to police	6%	19%	61%	14%
Personal growth	21%	41%	34%	4%
Relationship with family	6%	34%	56%	4%
Relationships with adults	9%	34%	53%	4%
Legal status	13%	28%	55%	4%
Alcohol & drug-taking behaviour	10%	27%	56%	7%
Delinquent behaviour	14%	32%	47%	7%
Employment	5%	18%	70%	7%

In summary therefore, it would appear that Outreach workers believe, with substantial justification, that their work makes a positive impact on young people in terms of their personal growth, is an effective, but very time-consuming and hence limited, crisis intervention agency, and effectively reaches those young people not usually reached by other forms of youth work. Despite the problems and limitations outlined above, Outreach work has shown itself to be a flexible, imaginitive and courageous form of youth work. Many of the limitations to its effectiveness could be substantially reduced if the overall resourcing of this style of work was improved and if the problems caused by lack of community understanding and bureacratic support were more strenuously tackled. It is towards these questions that the next chapter looks.

PROBLEMS FACING OUTREACH YOUTH WORK

COMMUNITY-BASED PROBLEMS:

One of the ongoing problems facing any non-traditional form of community work is obtaining understanding and acceptance within the community. The history of residential care programmes in Australia is a clear example of the difficulty facing programmes that fail to obtain effective community understanding and co-operation. Although Outreach work does not require the same degree of broad community support to be successful it nevertheless needs understanding and co-operation from community agencies and people in those agencies. Without such co-operation even more of the worker's time would be spent in 'compensationary activities', that is, activities compensating young people for the lack of support and facilities available to them from those community agencies that do not fully understand their particular needs.

The Outreach workers in this study were asked to indicate the amount of understanding and co-operation they felt that they received from various community agencies. As can be seen from the table below, there was little "full understanding", although agencies that did not fully understand nevertheless appeared to give full support in some cases. Hence the number of workers who felt they received "full co-operation" is often greater than those who felt they received "full understanding". Clearly, lack of understanding is not always an obstacle to co-operation.

There is clearly a limited level of understanding of Outreach work amongst community agencies, and it is difficult to differentiate amongst most of them. It would seem that agencies like the Social Welfare Department and local welfare services were seen by more Outreach workers to be supportive than local councils or the C.E.S. while the police were generally seen as the least understanding and co-operative.

This last factor is particularly disturbing in view of the large

amount of Outreach workers' time that involves dealings with the police. One worker observed, after several incidents involving the police and young people that "the events of the past few weeks have highlighted to me the need for the concept of outreach, and my credibility, to be seen in high regard by the Police" (Hankinson, 1979).

TABLE 8

COMMUNITY AGENCY CO-OPERATION

	UNDERSTANDING			CO-OPERATION		
	FULL	SOME	NONE	FULL	SOME	NONE
Local Welfare Services	12.1%	75.8%	6.1%	33.3%	48.5%	6.1%
Police	6.1%	63.6%	21.2%	6.1%	66.7%	18.2%
Local Council	18.2%	54.4%	18.2%	24.2%	45.5%	15.2%
C.E.S.	15.2%	51.5%	21.2%	24.2%	39.4%	24.2%
Municipal Recreation Officer	18.2%	45.5%	9.1%	18.2%	42.5%	9.1%
Dept. of Youth, Sport & Rec.	15.2%	36.4%	27.3%	30.3%	18.2%	24.2%
Social Welfare Dept.	15.2%	48.5%	9.1%	33.3%	36.4%	9.1%

OUTREACH WORK CO-OPERATION

	UNDERSTANDING			CO-OPERATION		
	FULL	SOME	NONE	FULL	SOME	NONE
Administrators of employing body	30.3%	48.5%	12.1%	45.5%	27.3%	15.2%
Supervisor	45.5%	39.4%	0%	51.5%	36.4%	0%
Other colleagues	48.5%	42.4%	3.0%	48.5%	39.4%	3.0%

Most of the workers displayed substantial concern about public understanding of Outreach and most favoured a range of proposals for tackling the problem. Survey respondents were asked to indicate their attitudes towards sixm ways of possibly "gaining wider support and greater professional respect for street work". The results are summarised in table 9 below:

TABLE 9

GAINING WIDER SUPPORT

	AGREE STRONGLY	AGREE	DON'T KNOW	DISAGREE	DISAGREE STRONGLY
(a) Pamphlets and literature about street work	6.1%	45.5%	24.2%	12.1%	3.0%
(b) Independent body of street workers (eg. Task Force, Association)		27.3%	21.2%	33.3%	6.1% 3.0%
(c) Short courses, seminars about street work		12.1%	54.5%	21.2%	3.0% 3.0%
(d) Professional training for street workers		6.1%	36.4%	30.3%	12.1% 9.1%
(e) Professionally trained supervisors		9.1%	42.4%	15.2%	18.2% 6.1%
(f) Street work resource centre/library		24.2%	45.5%	9.1%	0% 3.0%

There was substantial support for most of the options, especially the 'resource centre' and the 'independent body of street workers' (which has been established for Victorian workers since the above survey was completed -- see the final chapter). The only significant opposition was to the idea of 'professional training for street workers', and this coincides with the workers' general disdain for the courses that were available at the time of the survey (a situation that many workers believe has not improved much since).

COMMUNITY RESOURCES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE:

As mentioned above, without effective community support much of the workers' time is spent in 'compensatory' work rather than the

'developmental' work (whether individual or community) that is more frequently seen as the primary aim of outreach work. Another factor that may lead to an excessive amount of compensatory work is the frequent lack of community resources, so that, even with full support, the resources are not available to young people and the worker has to spend a substantial amount of time compensating for this lack. This is not only very time consuming but often frustrating when the worker has to go through numerous bureaucratic battles, often in vain, and has to search far and wide to find the resources to meet a young person's needs.

As was stressed in 'Model 2' above, such community support should have been established prior to the Outreach worker having been employed, and the outreach agency has the prime responsibility for ensuring that the worker is not simply thrown into a 'sink or swim' situation. Coxhead (1981, p.8) makes a similar point: "Without doubt...it is the employing body who must provide workers with support...and (this) should be established prior to the worker's employment". On the other hand, the agency can only provide as much as is available, and one of the first tasks of a new Outreach worker may be to develop resources and back-up support additional to that initially provided through the agency's efforts in the local area.

Virtually every worker interviewed expressed her/his frustration with the lack of community resources, and their concern was borne out in many of the case studies. The survey also indicated some of the gaps in community facilities.

Particular concern was expressed about the lack of emergency accomodation available for young people. 21.2% of the workers indicated that there were no such facilities in their area and another 33.3% stated that any such assistance for young people would have to be personally organised by the worker, often by taking the person home or placing her/him with friends. At the time of the survey only 15.2% indicated that there was a youth hostel in their area and 12.1% had some access to a youth halfway house. Another 12.1% said they had some use of private homes and 9.1% used a local boarding house. In view of the widespread need

for emergency accomodation in the course of outreach work this lack was clearly a serious one (although there has been a significant increase in youth accomodation since then it is equally clear that the gap between resources and need has still not been filled).

The second concern noted by the workers was the lack of counselling assistance available in their communities. Most of the workers (42.5%) had access to local welfare department personnel, although few were particularly satisfied with the appropriateness of this for many of the cases they had to deal with. More than a third (36.4%) said that their local resources for counselling were 'non-existent or negligible'.

Although all survey respondents had access to local solicitors or barristers few were satisfied with the extent of free legal advice available for young people. Often the concern was not simply with the availability of lawyers but with the lack of effective advocacy on behalf of young people both before and during legal proceedings. Many workers felt that a new approach to legal assistance for young people was required.

PROJECT-BASED PROBLEMS:

The study identified many problems with the various outreach projects (although care must be taken in generalising about such problems). The most obvious problem for most projects was that of under-resourcing.

An earlier paper (van Moorst, 1978) expressed the need for developing 'outreach teams' rather than having workers in relatively isolsated roles with several roles to perform and with demands on time (and sometimes on skills) that cannot be effectively met. Itwas suggested in that paper that there should be "two workers in each area, one to concentrate on street work, the other to focus on the community development aspect of Outreach...the two workers are to constitute an Outreach team, not two individuals simply going thier own ways" (p.13).

This recommendation was seen as highly desirable by many workers

and by several administrators. but the lack of resources made its implementation impossible. As was acknowledged: "undoubtedly this would initially create budgetary problems. However...it is better to do the job properly in a few areas than half-heartedly in many".

A second recommendation that was not implemented due to lack of resources concerned the need for effective research and development back-up for Outreach workers:

> "One of the consequences of Outreach work is the unearthing of problems and needs that were previously hidden or ignored. In a sense Outreach workers are also social researchers. However, in most cases the 'research' incidently engaged in by Outreach workers is unsystematic and limited to small groups or numbers of individuals. Much of the information gathered as part of Outreach work is therefore lost...It is to provide this systematic follow-up, to give greater impetus to the community development aspect of Outreach, that an adequate research back-up is required...As part of any Outreach budget there must be a significant allowance made for such research" (pp. 13-14).

There is little doubt that many Outreach projects have suffered from chronic under-funding. At the time of the survey no Outreach workers were paid overtime and only 50% were able to take time off in lieu. When asked in what way the workers would like to be "promoted after a number of years of street work well done" 64% answered that they would appreciate an "increase in salary" while only 30% were interested in some form of "supervisory responsibility". It should be stressed that this response from the workers does not reflect any kind of mercenary attitude -- it is a direct reflection of the relatively poor pay for long hours and of the frequent drain on that pay as a direct result of the job (eg. giving money to young people, paying for their accomodation or meals, etc.). Although the financial situation of workers has improved as a result of trade union action within the field and the establishment of more effective award rates of pay, the

salaries are still relatively low.

Effective budgetting for Outreach work must budget for a team approach and effective research support wherever possible as well as enabling appropriate pay for work done and sufficient general resources to provide direct assistance to young people where required (such as for accomodation, food, transport or recreation). This has not been provided for most projects.

Other problems associated with many of the projects concerned:

(a) SUPERVISION:

Interviews with several workers revealed substantial concern with the 'quality of supervision' of their projects. They felt that their supervisors had little understanding of their work and provided insufficient feedback or 'leadership' and guidance.

The majority (85%) of workers surveyed had a supervisor and 27% of the supervisors had expensive experience in street work with 21% having 'a little experience'. However, 33% had no experience at all. In addition, 64% of the workers in the survey considered adequatesupervision to be 'very important' and a further 21% considered it to be 'important'. As table 10 below shows, although there was obvious grounds for improvement, the overall level of supervision was seen as satifactory for most workers:

Perhaps the most surprising element of the workers' experience with supervision is the lack of supervisors' visits to the area of work. Similar comments, sometimes in the nature of complaints about supervision, were made in the interviews with and reports by the workers.

In most cases the workers were tollerant of, rather than pleased with, the extent and nature of their supervision, and most desired greater support and back-up, including regular discussions and developments of their work styles and directions.

TABLE 10

EFFECTIVENESS OF SUPERVISION

	ALWAYS	SOMETIMES	SELDOM/NEVER
(a) Was the supervisor regularly available for discussion?	48.5%	36.4%	9.1%
(b) Did the supervisor help clarify you problems?	24.2%	54.5%	15.1%
(c) Did the supervisor provide useful perspectives and advice?	33.3%	48.5%	12.1%
(d) Did the supervisor provide back-up services?	24.2%	51.5%	18.2%
(e) Did the supervisor challenge your ideas and methods of street work?	12.1%	48.5%	33.3%
(f) Did the supervisor play a major role in defining the direction of your work?	12.1%	42.4%	39.4%
(g) Did the supervisor visit your work area?	9.1%	33.3%	51.5%
(h) Did the supervisor defend you when having difficulties with bodies like councils or police?	57.6%	21.2%	6.0%

(b) ADMINISTRATION AND ACCOUNTABILITY:

At the time of the study most Outreach work in Victoria was partly funded by the Department of Youth, Sport and Recreation (YSR) and partly by local councils. Outreach programmes were accountable, directly or indirectly, to both state and local

government. In addition, most workers considered themselves accountable to to their 'community', to the young people they worked with, and often to their immediate employing agency.

Most workers resented suggestions that they should report regularly and fully to governmental bodies and annual reports are prepared, generally without much enthusiasm, primarily to ensure continued funding. It is generally assumed, with some justification, that the funding bodies know little, if anything, about Outreach work, and therefore their interference would be detrimental and can best be avoided by telling them as little as possible. Accountability to the Department of Youth, Sport and Recreation was sen by the workers as merely providing information to 'faceless bureaucrats', a process hardly appealing to the sort of person that becomes an Outreach worker.

For quite a while this became a vicious circle: because it was not seen as worthwhile to communicate seriously with local and state government personnel this in turn meant that more enlightened and sympathetic departmental staff were not likely to be created in the future either. As a result political or policy decisions could well be made without the departmental understanding and expertise to determine its impact on Outreach work.

In recognition of the diverse, and often confused, accountability requirements of Outreach work it was recommended (van Moorst, 1980) that a more effective accountability and co-ordinating structure be established to protect Outreach work as well as to streamline administrative requirements.

A further question that was regularly raised by workers was the establishment of community-based support/management committees. Most workers believed them to be a valuable source of support and a useful link with the community and, sometimes, its resources. Kuitters (1980, p.74) echoed the attitudes of most workers involved with this study: "Most definitely a Detached Youth Worker needs a support group...A support group is needed as a sounding board, somewhere to share ideas, to receive ideas and be given some guidance, a chance for further development in the job".

On the other hand, several workers found their commmunity management group to lack understanding of their work and to be more of a hindrance than a help. A suggestion for effective 'training' of management committees was enthusiatically received by most workers. Those workers who did not have any form of community-based management/support group had usually attempted the establishment of such a group but had not found sufficient people to enable this, or had not been able to sustain the group. One of the problems noted by several workers was the time-consuming task of keeping their group informed and sympathetic.

Of the workers surveyed, 75% had some form of community-based support group and another 18% stated that they would like one. The majority of the groups (46%) met on a monthly basis, 6% bi-monthly, 9% weekly and 15% were held at the worker's instigation rather than on a regular basis. The composition of the groups varied but it included parents, lawyers, councillors, municipal recreation officers, other local professionals, and in one case, a member of the local police force.

One of the major issues of administration faced by the workers was the time-consuming task of report writing. Although the workers recognised the necessity for such reports, their cynicism towards those who would receive and read (or simply shelve) such reports, and their own priorities in time allocation, made the creation of effective reports a relatively rare event. Coxhead (1981, p.7) remarked that "I have been funded for five and a half years...yet in that time, with over a dozen reports submitted I have only once received feedback (from the Department of Y.S. & R.)". Most reports were as brief as possible except for the annual report, which was usually required to obtain further funding and therefore often became a glossy presentation aimed more at 'selling the service' than accurately reflecting the nature and difficulties of Outreach or the problems facing the youth in the area. Rarely were reports used as a means of actually facilitating Outreach work or promoting socio-political awareness and change. Annual reports were often joint efforts between the worker and her/his supervisor, reflecting the fund-raising orien-

tation and perhaps also the relative lack of confidence on the part of some Outreach workers in their report writing skills.

Interviews with workers and observation of their work styles leads to the conclusion that the very qualities that are required for an effective Outreach worker, namely independence and individual strength, often make such workers resentful of the need to report to others or to meet bureaucratic time-lines. There was often tension between the individual 'anarchism' required of the workers and the bureaucratic and socio-political requirements for survival and community development. This tension was not easily resolved, especially in the case of report writing, where questioning of time priorities and of confidentiality, especially in view of the under-staffing and under-resourcing of Outreach projects, were fully justified.

On the other hand, none of this should be taken to mean that the workers did not provide reports or see themselves accountable. The problem lay more in the comprehensiveness and usefulness of reports and the diverse lines of accountability that existed. It must also be recognised that several workers provided some excellent reports about their work, often retrospectively or as part of a study project for which they had leave from their normal Outreach work.

The survey results support the above comments. The largest number of workers (46%) prepared reports every month, 27% every week, 9% every three months and the rest either annually or 'rarely'. When asked if they obtained 'reasonable feedback' from the reports only 30% said 'yes' while 66% said they did not. More than 60% of the workers stated that they would not be prepared to devote one hour per day to 'keeping records for monitoring and evaluation purposes', with only 27% indicating they would be prepared. The most acceptable time allocation for record-keeping was 2-3 hours per week; 46% agreed to this while 42% did not (some believing it too little time and others too much).

In general, the problems of administration derived largely from the underfunded nature of the projects, thereby denying the

workers effective back-up and support for administrative purposes, including report preparation and record keeping. This, combined with an effectively philosophy of accountability and of the aims of administrative tasks, makes the Outreach worker's task more difficult than it need be.

(c) TRAINING:

One of the most vexing problems of Outreach work is that of training, especially in view of the theoretical problems within the field outlined earlier. As shown in table 9 above, many workers opposed the idea of 'professional' training for Outreach work. On the other hand, 40% of the workers surveyed indicated they were disatisfied with the training they had received (or not received) for street work. The survey showed that most of the workers were 'self-trained' on the job, combined with training from the previous street worker who they were replacing. The table below shows the type of training most prevalent:

TABLE 11

SOURCES OF TRAINING

(a) on-the-job self-training	73%
(b) learning from previous worker	64%
(c) reading about street work	64%
(d) only a brief discussion of work	42%
(e) no training at all	12%

TYPES OF TRAINING

(f) training in counselling	49%
(g) training in groupwork	33%
(h) training in legal aspects	30%
(i) training in community development	24%
(j) training in planning	24%

(k) training in administration 21%

There was a significant desire expressed by the workers for various types of training, mostly suitable for in-service methods, as shown in table 12:

TABLE 12

DESIRED TRAINING

(a) training in legal aspects 46%
(b) training in youth advocacy 36%
(c) training in building volunteer support structures 30%
(d) training in community development 27%
(e) training in administration 27%
(f) training in planning 24%

Very few workers were interested in further training in counselling (only 9%) or in groupwork (15%) and only 15% showed any interest in 'training in politics' (left undefined in the questionnaire).

The high interest in legal training matched the extent to which the woprkers had encountered legal problems whereby they were themselves vulnerable. Two thirds of the workers had written court reports and represented someone in court, and 40% had prepared probation reports. While 90% of these indicated appropriate skills for the report preparation, only 74% felt confident in their skills for representing a young person in court (representation here does not usually mean legal representation bu the making of verbal reports, giving evidence, etc.). More than one quarter of the workers (27%) had been searched by police and one third of these had not the appropriate skills to handle the situation. A surprising 49% said that they had been

'harrassed by police' and 31% felt they did not have the skills for such situations. Similarly, 46% admitted that they had been 'accessories before the fact' and 49% had been 'accessories after the fact', with a quarter of these not feeling they had the appropriate skills. Clearly, the workers' belief in the need for effective legal training, and in-service updating of such training, is fully justified in their own experiences, let alone those of the young people they work with.

Overall, only 27% of the workers indicated that a 'lack of training support' was <u>not</u> a problem while 46% saw it as a 'mild' problem and 12% as a 'serious' problem.

This concern with the inadequacy of youth work training has also been stated more recently by the Youth Affairs Council of Australia (1984):

"It is clear that there is no policy, no co-ordination and few resources with respect to youth affairs training"

As pointed out in an earlier report (van Moorst, 1980) many Outreach workers have been somewhat anxious about the question of training and some opposed it as yet a further move towards the 'professionalisation' of Outreach, something which they see as undesirable. As pointed out in that report, however, it is often only through adequate understanding and appropriate training that 'professionalism' (seen here as the bureaucratic accreditation, careerism and opportunism that is seen to adhere to so many of the professions) can be avoided.

Over the past decade there have been numerous reports about training for youth workers (eg. Ewen, 1980; S.A. Interdepartmental Working Party, 1980; S.A. Youth Workers' Network, 1980; Y.A.C.A., 1984). Many of these have included discussions and recommendations relevant to Outreach training, and it is not the purpose of this study to try to resolve the various issues. However, in passing, a few comments are worth making.

The bulk of the discussion of Outreach training, and most other

youth work training, especially that coming from the workers themselves, has focussed on the need for in-service rather than pre-service forms of training. As one reporter commented:

"The youth sector is not drawn together by similarity of function (unlike teachers or lawyers for example), but by similarity of client group. Youth work is necessarily a multi-disciplinary profession...Accordingly, each given youth work situation requires a new and often quite specific package of skills and resources on the part of the worker...(Hence) training should be an ongoing and accepted part of any work in the youth sector...Ongoing, inservice training should be an ethical commitment on the part of all youth sector professionals"
(Quixley, 1984)

While there is a lot to be said for this argument, and there is undoubtedly an overwhelming requirement for effective in-service training for Outreach workers (a requirement largely ignored in the rush to establish accreditation courses in youth work), there are additional training needs that may be better served by either pre-service training or by extended in-service training. The lack of an adequate theoretical framework displayed by most Outreach projects and their workers has been mentioned in several parts of this report. To overcome this lack requires a more intensive period of (interactive) learning than is usually available for workers already on the job. On the other hand, this does not imply a need for the traditional, pre-service 3-year youth work course.

Several principles for Outreach training can be discerned from this and other studies:

(a) Outreach work training must be based on the recognition that the prime 'asset' in Outreach work is the worker her/himself, and that therefore every opportunity should be made available to make the worker as effective as possible. Whereas industry long ago

recognised that the investment in a wage or salary must be matched by investment in appropriate technology and skills to ensure that such an investment in wages was not wasted, the Human Services sector has yet to learn this, especially in the case of youth work. Projects remain underfunded and the investment in the workers' wages is often minimised in value due to a refusal to recognise that an appropriate investment in training (the equivalent of an investment in technology and training in industry) is required;

(b) Outreach workers require a broad and flexible education not a narrow 'vocational' or 'professional' one;

(c) In view of the broad range of understanding and skills required in Outreach work substantial use of in-service rather than pre-service learning will be required;

(d) All in-service training, especially extended programmes of learning, should be integrated into an effective career structure for Outreach workers. Appropriate credit should be given to both formal and informal learning experiences;

(e) Training programmes (along with any accreditation procedures) should be conducted under the direct auspices of youth workers, who are in the best position to determine their educational needs;

(f) As suggested by the Youth Affairs Council of Australia (1984) "All training whether for young people, workers or organisations should have as its main aim the empowerment of young people and the achievement of social and economic equality".

PERSONAL PROBLEMS

Outreach work places severe strains on the worker. Not only is it very time-consuming but it requires an intense emotional commitment to young people and a willingness to forego many of the comforts and stabilising aspects of other forms of work. The regular 'emergencies' in young people's lives that place demands on the

concerned Outreach worker, and the day-to-day necessity of sharing the less structured life-style of young people on the streets, inevitably has a de-structuring effect on the worker's own life-style. Most workers find this relatively easy to cope with in the first year or two; after all, this is what they expected when they engaged in such work, and many prefer such a life-style anyway. However, the intensity of the demands and the emotional commitment often takes its toll after several years, especially if the worker is no longer as idealistically confirmed in the direction her/his Outreach work is taking her/him.
The threat of 'burnout' has hovered over many Outreach workers and was one of the primary concerns that led to the development of this study. Coxhead (1981, p.7) suggests that "there seems to be a state of paranoia in the youth work field regarding burn out".

Burnout, a rather vague term relating to 'an exhaustion of personal resources', must be analysed in the overall context of the worker's environment and the constellation of pressures that are draining her/his personal resources. It is not something that can be seen in isolation, nor can it be attributed simply to 'individual causes'.

Below is a summary of some of the many personal problems expressed by the workers during the course of this study.

FEEDBACK FRUSTRATION:

One of the causes of 'burnout' may well be the lack of effective feedback about the worker's performance. It goes without saying that the nature of Outreach work makes for a greater need for feedback and reassurance than most forms of community work. Coxhead (1981) cites "two main reasons (for burnout): excessive hours, usually combined with lack of relevant support" (p.7).

According to the workers surveyed 27% hardly ever receive any feedback and 46% only received it at a later stage. When asked who acknowledged their work only colleagues (according to 58% of workers), friends (49%) and young people (46%) provided frequent

acknowledgement. At the other end of the scale, acknowledgement hardly ever came from the police (61%), councillors (49%), the media (37%) and teachers (37%). Parents were seen by 64% of the workers as providing acknowledgement only 'sometimes', as to a lesser extent were the media (61%) and teachers (46%).

The 'relevant support' came primarily from colleagues, followed by supervisors, organised support groups and friends, as shown in table 13 below:

TABLE 13

SOURCES OF SUPPORT

	A LOT	SOME	VERY LITTLE
(a) colleagues	55%	30%	6%
(b) supervisor	39%	36%	12%
(c) friends	30%	39%	24%
(d) organised support group	33%	18%	30%
(e) other 'helping profession' workers	24%	42%	24%
(f) young people themselves	3%	61%	30%

Whether the above levels of support are adequate is hard to judge. Undoubtedly it could be improved in many areas, especially in terms of providing effective feedback. In many instances the workers have been forced to rely on fellow workers as a kind of ad hoc support group due to the feeling that their employing body and supervisor were not providing the appropriate level of support.

In view of the importance placed on community-based support groups by Outreach workers (eg. Kuitters and Coxhead) the amount of support that many workers feel to be forthcoming from such groups is disappointing.

PRESSURES ON WORKERS' PERSONAL LIVES:

The pressure on workers' personal lives placed on them by the tough demands of Outreach work can be partly summarised in the survey table below. In each case workers were asked whether they felt it constituted a problem for them, and it is clear that their personal lives were significantly affected by these pressures.

TABLE 14

PERSONAL PROBLEMS

	SERIOUS	MILD	NON-EXISTENT
(a) work interfering with personal social life	49%	36%	0%
(b) work interfering with personal leisure	36%	52%	0%
(c) too much pressure	21%	58%	12%
(d) work interfering with family life	21%	36%	27%
(e) lack of professional support	21%	24%	42%
(f) lack of training support	12%	46%	27%
(g) lack of personal support	0%	55%	33%

WORK SATISFACTION:

One gauge of the pressure on workers, though only a partial measure at best, is the degree of work satisfaction felt by them. When asked "are you satisfied in your job?" 18% stated that they were 'very satisfied', 46% were 'satisfied', 24% were 'unsure', 6% were 'disatisfied' and only 3% 'very disatisfied' (15% declined to answer).

In contrast to the above indications of satisfaction, 18% saw the occurence of "waning enthusiasm" as a "serious problem" with a further 39% considering it a "mild" problem. Only 33% did not see "waning enthusiasm" as a problem at all.

When asked what aspects of their work was most important to them the vast majority of workers stated "helping others" as their first (42%) or second (21%) priority. The next most supported was "the personal contact" with 36% seeing it as their first and 27% as their second priority. In contrast, "salary", "flexibility of hours" and "career" featured insignificantly in the workers' view of what they valued most in their work. In other words, the support and resourcing that workers require does not appear to lie primarily in the area of salary and career structure, but lies in the area of supporting their 'helping role' and the maintenance of the personal aspects of the job.

When asked if they intended to continue as a street worker if possible, 42% said they would, 33% said they might while 9% were unsure and another 9% said they would not continue. One third of the workers indicated that they had the intention of "specialising in some particular aspect of street work or youth problems" with another 15% indicating they might specialise (33% were unsure and 12% had no such intention). The areas of specialisation suggested by the workers included the area of 'juvenile justice' (a 'buzz word' within sections of the youth work industry at the time, more recently replaced with the concept of 'youth advocacy'), drug-dependency work, administrative work in the youth work field and "other youth work".

Despite the fact that salary was not seen as a major aspect of work satisfaction, when asked in what way they would like to be promoted after a number of years in the field, the majority (64%) desired an increase in salary while only 30% were interested in supervisory responsibility and only 9% were prepared to abandon Outreach field work for managerial responsibility (it should be noted that at the time of the survey few workers were getting an award wage of any kind, and only Victoria had even established an

award -- the wages were quite low for most Outreach workers).

What appears to derive from the above is that a career structure for Outreach workers is not the foremost concern, and that any such development must enable the worker to maintain a field role rather than an administrative one (something many career structures don't do, forcing the worker to abandon their work in order to obtain advancement). One of the major tasks in the development of such a structure must be to develop effective recognition or accreditation procedures, under the auspices of the workers themselves, for the work experiences and skill development involved in Outreach work.

There is little doubt that the fear of burnout (and probably the reality also, although this has not been documented at this stage) is real amongst many outreach workers. There is equally little doubt that the solutions will only be found through a concerted effort to rpovide more effective resourcing and support on the one hand, and to develop a sounder philosophy with a better theoretical approach to inform Outreach practice, on the other.

WHERE NEXT?

In the 6 years since the original data was gathered much has happened, and little has changed.

The following brief and inevitably superficial summary of developments in the field of youth work and Outreach work will give some idea of the degree of change that has occurred and of the prospects for further developments.

1. THE REDUCTION OF GOVERNMENT FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE:

Financial support for Outreach work came in the form of a government subsidy equal, in 1976 when they commenced, to the cost of the worker's salary. The sponsoring body, such as the YMCA or church groups, were responsible for raising the overhead and support costs. This was usually achieved through a co-operative effort with a local council.

Over the years inflation eroded the value of the subsidy so that by 1984 it constituted only 55% of the worker's salary, thereby creating a much greater burden on the sponsoring bodies.

As a result of the inadequacy of the government's subsidy scheme many smaller organisations, and even large ones like the YMCA, have been forced to withdraw from Outreach work, leaving it to large, better funded bodies, such as local councils, to take up the work.

Consequently, much of the experience in Outreach work that these smaller groups had has been lost, and many workers now face employing bodies with little understanding of the essence of Outreach. Many workers have complained about the tendency of local government to expect the worker to engage in either service planning (eg. youth housing projects) or service delivery (eg. recreation activities) for young people. The specific focus of Outreach work therefore may become lost in the more immediate and direct work demanded by the larger and more bureaucratic employer

bodies.

Indeed, it would appear from information gathered by the newly formed Youth Development Workers Coalition (see below) that only about 50% of the subsidies now go to Outreach work, the other half going to a 'youth development' role, primarily oriented towards the planning of 'youth services'. Within the context of local government such a re-orientation is hardly surprising, and in view of the diverse roles and vague philosophies that have accompanied much of the Outreach work, the workers would have been hard pressed to resist such trends, even if they had so desired.

This reduction of financial support from the state government has inevitably meant even fewer resources for the implementation of the recommendations of the early 1980s stemming from this and other studies.

2. TEAM WORK APPROACH:

The recommendation that Outreach work should be undertaken as a team approach (a recommendation initially made in 1978 as part of the preliminary work for this study, and re-iterated many times by many workers and reviews) has still not been acted upon.

The Youth Development Workers Coalition (YDWC) has made a strong statement to this effect and has added the recommendation that, rather than two workers (one focussing on street work and one on developmental work), there should be a third added to the team in many circumstances. This third worker would be a 'specialist' worker, focussing on very specific problems or target groups (eg. ethnic youth, young women, long-term unemployed youth). Such a development would be useful in many environments and would provide a far more integrated approach than presently exists in the area of youth services. Unfortunately, in view of the government's intransigence over the previous recommendations, the addition of a third worker may not prove to be very realistic in the near future. On the other hand, it is not likely to prove any less successfull.

3. TRAINING:

The problems of Outreach training have not been solved and the controversy has not abated.

The pre-service training of youth workers has progressed quite rapidly, with considerable emphasis on the certification of workers through the extension of initial certificate courses into full tertiary degree courses. It is not within the scope of this study to reflect on the adequacy of such courses, but it is worth mentioning that the workers involved in this study, along with many others in the youth work field, have serious misgivings about several of such courses and do not see them as a positive development, especially as they are seen to be at the expense of alternative, and for them, more appropriate forms of training.

In stark contrast, the development of in-service courses, the type of training consistently desired by the workers and recommended by virtually all studies and reviews of Outreach work, has been minimal.

Several in-service courses have been undertaken by the YDWC during 1985-86 and the Youth Affairs Council of Victoria (YACVIC) is attempting to establish a "field-based and field-controlled in-service training institute" for a broad range of youth work and related community work. This is a positive development stemming from the negative responses of governments and educational establishments over the past decade, and may at last provide the forms of training required and do so under the auspices of the youth work field instead of forcing it to become another part of the academic tertiary industry.

4. THE CO-ORDINATION OF OUTREACH WORK:

In the 1980 Discussion Paper (van Moorst, 1980 -- see Appendix 4) there was a strong recommendation for the establishment of a "Victorian Outreach Co-ordinating Committee" made up primarily

from the Outreach field. The proposed Committee would have had a broad influence on the Outreach field and would have consolidated its development. Such a Committee was not established due to both financial and political reasons.

However, since then the workers themselves have established a co-ordinating body, although with slightly different orientations to the initial recommendation. This body, established in 1983 and formally constituted and financed the following year, is the "Youth Development Workers Coalition" (YDWC).

The YDWC was broadly constituted to assist with the development of youth policy, training of workers and to act as an advocate on behalf of its members. Membership comprised of those workers employed under the Special Youth Workers Subsidy (which provides the Outreach subsidies along with Youth Development Workers subsidies) with a provision for associate membership for others in the youth work field.

The YDWC has been a major factor in promoting Outreach work and related youth work over the past two years and has organised effective worker input into government and other bodies' deliberations. It has close links with YACVIC and with the newly created "Youth Policy Development Council" (a government body attempting to develop policies aimed at social change rather than at social amelioration, and another positive sign amidst the depressing plethora of pseudo-policies and programmes developed by governments over the past few years).

At the beginning of 1985 the YDWC obtained financial support from the government and was able to employ a worker to assist its task. While this should be regarded as a positive step it must be recognised as totally inadequate. The YDWC cannot fulfil its role with inadequate staffing and support, and one salary is far short of what is required. Once again it would appear that the government is trying to obtain effective youth work on the cheap.

While the YDWC is an important development it does not totally serve the purposes outlined for such a body in this study. Unless

it is more adequately resourced the co-ordinating and supportive role required to enable Outreach work to achieve its potential will not eventuate. The YDWC will run the risk of over-viewing the death of Outreach work, unable to effectively combat its executioner. The lack of understanding amongst local and state government bureaucrats, the inadequacy of Outreach theory even amongst its practitioners, and the relative comfort of alternative styles of work may well herald the disappearance of Outreach work amongst youth unless the YDWC is capable of acting as a butress for the workers in the field.

5. GOVERNMENT DEVELOPMENTS:

Apart from the developments already mentioned, there has been a dramatic growth of official government concern with the 'problems of youth'. We have been faced with International Year of Youth (IYY), the 'Youth Guarantee' (Victoria only), the 'Priority One' election programme, the 'Youth Training Scheme', and several others.

Despite all this concern, young people do not appear to be any better off: the levels of youth unemployment have not improved significantly, the income security of young people is under greater threat than ever (both in the arena of youth wages and of the youth dole) and the scapegoating of youth continues as always.

The youth work field, while obtaining more funds than in the past, has seen these funds spread ever more thinly as a result of governments trying to squeeze the greatest political advantage out of every dollar. Consequently most projects are severely underfunded, ensuring that young people are still not getting the support that they should.

This is not the place to scrutinise government policies and motives (for some such analysis see the Coalition Against Poverty and Unemployment, 1986 and van Moorst, 1984). However, the spate of youth policies and programmes should not be taken at face value: the proof of the pudding is in the eating.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study of Outreach work has been to evaluate the philosophical, theoretical and practical components of a relatively new and potentially far-reaching form of youth work.

In the first part of the report the historical development of Outreach theory in the United States, with its strong emphasis on functionalism and social control, was contrasted with the United Kingdom's greater emphasis on individual development. The impact of these theoretical approaches on the development of Australian Outreach work was discussed and several models of Outreach work developed. The workers' own conceptions of the goals of Outreach work were discussed, followed by the various styles of work practiced by different Outreach projects in Australia.

The actual practice of Outreach work was outlined, based on the 1979-80 survey and numerous interviews and case studies collected over the same period. An evaluation was attempted within the limitations of the data available.

To briefly summarise the findings of this report would not do justice to the ideas, comments and concerns expressed by the Outreach workers throughout the study. Nevertheless, several things stand out from the information presented:

* outreach work is an effective and valuable form of youth work, contributing significantly to the well-being of many young people;

* the theory and practice of outreach work requires considerable development if outreach work is to achieve its potential in helping young people;

* outreach projects have been chronically under-funded at the cost of the effective development of this style of work and ultimately at the expense of both the workers and the young people they work with.

Since the period of data collection (1979-80) there have been some positive developments but few fundamental changes in the field of Outreach work. Hopefully the (perceived) relative decline of enthusiasm for Outreach work is offset by the growth of more effective Outreach and youthwork organisations and networks. Clearly, the two major problems outlined above, namely the development of a better theoretical base and the provision of proper resources (which need to be tackled in reverse order) still require a satisfatory resolution.

Although it would be tempting to make a broad range of specific recommendations, such a task is better left to the workers in the field and to their coalition, the YDWC. Instead I would like to finish this report with some brief observations about the political and social implications of Outreach work that warrant explicit reiteration.

THE POLITICS OF OUTREACH WORK

Unlike traditional youth work, which tended to provide services *for* young people, Outreach work attempts to *empower* young people to do for themselves. Similarly, whereas traditional youth work tended to act *on behalf of* young people, Outreach work has supported the concept of "Youth Advocacy" where workers attempt to empower young people to *be their own advocates* as much as possible (see Albert van Moorst, 1985 for further information concerning "Youth Advocacy"). The whole purpose of modern, more radical youth work (of which Outreach work has proven to be amongst the vanguard), is to create the maximum possible *independence* for young people rather than the dependency that so often accompanied traditional youth and welfare work.

In short, Outreach workers have been at the forefront of the development of a new form of youth work, a form that takes us

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away from the welfarism of traditional youth work and directly towards the goal of social change.

However, while the ideas and concerns of the more radical youth workers are very progressive, there is a significant gap in the socio-political understanding that must of necessity accompany any successful strategies for social change. Of course, Outreach and other radical youth workers are hardly alone in this, indeed, much of the Australian left faces similar problems. Nevertheless, soutions must be sought if effective strategies for social change are to be developed.

A detailed political economy of youth has yet to be written, and the links of young people to the rest of the Australian political economy have yet to be clearly drawn. It is clear to most practitioners and theorists alike that no effective empowerment of young people can occur, nor will socio-economic justice, socially useful work, and similar needs be provided for, under a capitalist system. A system based on privatised ownership and profit will treat the bulk of its population, and especialy its youth, as human-capital. Clearly, the orientation of Outreach work is the opposite to this.

To do justice to the efforts of Outreach workers and to the needs of young people in this community it is imperative that workers 'take time out' to help develop a better understanding of the political and economic issues underlying their work and thereby to develop more enduring strategies for social change. Perhaps such a programme could become the primary task of the proposed in-service training institute in the near furture.

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