Contents

List of Figures and Tables xi

Notes on Contributors xii

Acknowledgements xvi

List of Acronyms xvii

Introduction xix

Angela Scriven and Judy Orme

PART I

ISSUES CONCERNED WITH THEORY AND PRACTICE 1

Angela Scriven

1 Health Promotion: The Empowerment Imperative 3

Keith Tones

The meaning of health promotion 3

Milestones in health promotion 5

Health promotion, empowerment and reciprocal determinism 7

The dynamics of self-empowerment 10

Settings and strategies 14

References 16

2 Partnership Working and Interprofessional Collaboration: Policy and Practice 19

Sally Markwell and Viv Speller

Partnership working 19

Public health development and interprofessional collaboration 23

References 28
PART II

HEALTH SERVICE 33

Judy Orme

3 The Role of Health Authorities in the Promotion of Health 35

Lee Adams

The policy context 35
Promoting public health 37
The role of health authorities now 38
Conclusion 41
References 41

4 The Role of the Primary Care Group in Promoting Health 43

Gill Velleman and Elizabeth Williams

Opportunities for health promotion 43
References 49

5 Community Nursing: Crossing Boundaries to Promote Health 51

Cheryl Wright

The 10-year agenda of change 52
Forces for change 53
Needs assessment 54
Integrated nursing teams 55
New challenges and opportunities for nurses 56
Interprofessional education and training 58
Health Improvement Programmes 58
Health Action Zones 58
Healthy Living Centres 59
Clinical effectiveness 60
Community development 60
Conclusion 61
References 62

6 The Role of Specialist Health Promotion Services 65

Alyson Learmonth

Role and function of specialist health promotion services in the UK 65
Multi-disciplinary public health and partnership working 68
The role of primary care collectives 71
Evidence of effectiveness and innovation 72
Conclusion 75
References 75
Contents

7 The Potential for Health Promotion in Hospital Nursing Practice 77
Sue Latter
Hospital nurses as health educators 78
Expanding the health promotion role for hospital nurses 79
Collaborative working within the hospital 80
Collaboration with the community 81
The way forward 82
References 85

PART III

LOCAL AUTHORITIES 87
Judy Orme

8 Health Promotion, Environmental Health and Local Authorities 89
Peter Allen
The difference between local government authorities and health authorities 89
Role models 90
The contribution of local authority environmental health services to health promotion 90
Discretionary powers 91
Campaigns and projects 92
Conclusion 94
References 94

9 Social Services and Health Promotion: Towards Independence and Empowerment 95
Linda Jones and Wendy Rose
Linking social services to health promotion goals 95
Social services: priorities and pressures 96
The changing context of health promotion 97
Children and families 97
Looked after children 98
Services for older people 99
People with special needs 101
References 103

10 Promoting Physical Activity with Local Authorities 105
Robin Ireland
Promoting physical activity in government 106
Other government opportunities 107
Effective physical activity interventions 111
References 111
Contents

PART IV

EDUCATION AND YOUTH ORGANISATIONS 113

Angela Scriven

11 The Influence of Government Policy on the Provision of Health Education in Schools 115

Angela Scriven

Professional consensus on health education 115
The National Curriculum and its impact on health education 117
Changes in educational funding 120
LEA health education advisers 121
The initial training of teachers 122
References 124

12 Health-promoting Schools as Learning Organisations 128

Alan Beattie

Guidelines for planning 129
Progress in implementation 131
Lessons from evaluation 133
Frameworks for future development 135
References 140

13 The Role of the School Nurse in Promoting Health 144

Stephen Farrow

Historical context and organisation 145
Role of school nurses 146
Medicals or screening interviews 147
Current workload and training needs 148
Expanding aspects of the current job 148
Health promotion opportunities 150
Health promotion constraints 151
References 152

14 Health-promoting Universities: An Overview 156

Mark Dooris and Jane Thompson

The settings-based approach to health promotion 156
A case study: University of Central Lancashire 159
Professional perspectives: key issues involved in developing and implementing health-promoting university and college initiatives 164
References 166
## Contents

15 **Health Promotion in Youth Work Settings**  
*Sue Robertson*  
Accessing and involving young people 171  
Interagency work 171  
Government targets 173  
Information and advice 173  
Peer education initiatives 174  
The youth work contribution 175  
References 177

### PART V

**THE VOLUNTARY SECTOR**  
*Angela Scriven*  
16 **The Voluntary Sector and its Contribution to Health Promotion**  
*Yvonne Anderson*  
The diversity of the voluntary sector 181  
The context of reform 183  
The scope for health promotion 184  
Constraints posed by funding 186  
References 188

17 **A Self-help Approach to Health Promotion**  
*Jan Myers and Kate Marsden*  
The connection between self-help and health promotion 189  
Defining self-help 190  
Linking self-help and the promotion of healthy living 191  
Linking health promotion with other health and welfare policies 192  
Promoting active alliances 193  
Patient participation: a central role in health promotion 194  
Looking to the future 195  
References 196

### PART VI

**WORKPLACE**  
*Judy Orme*  
18 **Overview of Health Promotion in the Workplace**  
*Norma Daykin*  
The effects of work on health 201  
Changing conditions of work and their implications for workplace health promotion 203
The focus and impact of workplace health promotion 204
Promoting health at work 206
References 208

19 Trade Unions and Health Promotion 211
Tom Mellish
Background to trade unions 211
A National Health and Safety Dividend 214
A National Health and Safety Partnership 215
Access to occupational health services 217
And finally… getting back to work 219
References 220

20 Organisational Health: A New Strategy for Promoting Health and Well-being 222
Jennifer Lisle
Occupational health provision 224
Organisational health policies: a comprehensive approach 225
Improving health in the workplace 226
Promoting mental health at work 228
Occupational health provision: services and support 229
Relationship with employees 230
Types of occupational health provision 230
Some ways in which an OHS can assist 231
The need for proactive organisational health provision 233
References 234

Author Index 236

Subject Index 242
PART I

ISSUES CONCERNED WITH
THEORY AND PRACTICE

INTRODUCED AND EDITED BY ANGELA SCRIVEN

Part I of this book examines issues surrounding theory and practice in health promotion, and as such is intended to introduce a range of ideas and arguments that create a context for what follows in the remaining sections.

Tones, in the first chapter, opens with a wide-ranging discussion of the concept of health promotion. While recognising that any analysis of the meaning of health promotion has traditionally resulted in dispute, Tones offers us a contentious view, describing health promotion as a militant wing of public health. In doing this, he presents his own well-established formula for health promotion, which is a combination of healthy public policy and health education. His justification for this explanation involves taking the reader on a potted history of the international policies that have shaped the development of health promotion to its current position. His assessment of empowerment is detailed and enlightening, making a strong case for moving beyond an ideological commitment to a technology incorporated seamlessly into health promotion work.

There are clearly issues in this chapter that have resonance in other parts of the book, such as the voluntary sector elements, Anderson in Chapter 16 presenting a case for the participative nature of voluntary services, reflecting the more empowering models of health promotion. Moreover, the section on the education and youth work setting, which offers an assessment of the health-promoting school and the new National Curriculum guidelines for personal and social education, reflects the action competencies and empowerment debates presented by Tones.

Marwell and Speller continue the discourse around recent developments in health promotion, with a particular emphasis on policy relating to partnership working. This chapter provides an important backdrop to the specific chapters on professional settings that follow. The various policy documents that give direction to the wide range of current initiatives that come under the aegis of health promotion are identified, outlined and evaluated. The authors present the background to the current position in which individuals, groups and organisations are not only encouraged, but also expected to work in collaborative ways to achieve goals outlined in the new public health
agenda. The difficulties and pitfalls of engaging in collaborative partnerships are examined in some depth. The impression given is that there is still much to do to overcome these difficulties, including the development of programmes of education and training that facilitate new ways of working that will harmonise and integrate health promotion activities across professional and organisational boundaries. The new Verona Initiative is outlined and clearly offers exciting opportunities for improving the quality and scope of partnership working. Overall, Tones and Marwell and Speller provide excellent insights into the range of debates that permeate the current environment in which health promoters operate. These chapters form a necessary framework from which to study the professional perspectives that are the focus of this book.
CHAPTER 1

Health Promotion: The Empowerment Imperative

KEITH TONES

This chapter will briefly review the essentially contested concept of health promotion and examine the formulation that the World Health Organization (WHO) has developed, largely since the launch of the movement to achieve Health for All by the Year 2000 (HFA2000) at the 30th World Health Assembly in 1977. More particularly, it will consider the empowerment imperative contained within this formulation and provide an ideological model of health promotion based on the assertion that health promotion’s primary concern should be with helping people to gain control over their lives and their health. An examination of both community empowerment and self-empowerment will be followed by a brief reference to the ways in which these principles might be applied to health promotion settings and methods.

The meaning of health promotion

Health promotion is an essentially contested concept: it is used in a variety of ways by different individuals and organisations, typically in the context of special pleading or in support of some cherished viewpoint or philosophy. It is not uncommon to consider health promotion as being synonymous with health education, or to view health education as part of health promotion. The term ‘health development’ is, on occasion, used as being equivalent to health promotion, and recently the concept of health promotion has been seen to differ little from that of public health. Indeed, health promotion is sometimes considered to be part of public health or, conversely, public health is sometimes viewed as a component of health promotion. Over 10 years ago, Green and Raeburn (1988: 30) provided a rather appropriate description of the ways in which various individuals and groups made their bids for ownership:

Ideologues, professionals, interest groups, and representatives of numerous disciplines have attempted to appropriate the field for themselves. Health and education
Health Promotion professionals, behavioural and social scientists, holistic health and self-care advocates, liberals, conservatives, voluntary associations, funding agencies, governments, community groups, and many others all want something from health promotion, all want to contribute something, and all bring their own orientation to bear on it.

In order to avoid further ideological argument, health promotion will, for the purpose of this chapter, be considered to be a kind of militant wing of public health. Its essential components are twofold and give rise to the following formula:

\[
\text{Health Promotion} = \text{Healthy Public Policy} \times \text{Health Education}
\]

The term ‘healthy public policy’ is borrowed from the Ottawa Charter, its major purpose being to create legislation, economic and fiscal measures and various forms of social and environmental engineering in order to make the healthy choice the easy choice. Without appropriate health policy, health education will in many instances be unable to influence healthy choices. On the other hand, without health education, it will frequently be impossible to develop and implement healthy public policy, especially those policies which are politically problematic. Health education is readily defined as follows:

Health education is any intentional activity which is designed to achieve health or illness related learning, i.e. some relatively permanent change in an individual’s capability or disposition. Effective health education may, thus, produce changes in knowledge and understanding or ways of thinking; it may influence or clarify values; it may bring about some shift in belief or attitude; it may facilitate the acquisition of skills; it may even effect changes in behaviour or lifestyle. (Tones and Tilford, 1994: 11)

In the model of health promotion proposed below, the purpose of healthy public policy and health education should be to empower individuals and communities, and reduce or remove the various barriers preventing the attainment of health for all.

A comprehensive account of health promotion and its history is beyond the scope of this chapter, and more complete analyses may be found elsewhere (see, for example, Anderson, 1984; Tones, 1985; Minkler, 1989). However, since the empowerment imperative is central to the WHO’s conviction about the purpose of health promotion and its definition, the following important milestones marking progress from the 1977 initiation of HFA2000 will be briefly noted.
Milestones in health promotion

At one level, it could be argued that the roots of health promotion are to be found in the WHO’s original and classic definition of health (WHO, 1946), with its holistic emphasis on well-being. It is, on the other hand, important also to note the change of emphasis embedded in HFA2000: health is no longer viewed as the ultimate purpose of health promotion but instead a means to an end, namely the attainment of a socially and economically productive life. This clearly begs the question of the nature of social and economic productivity, but it is nonetheless a rather more manageable concept than perfect well-being!

The most obvious precursor to health promotion is undoubtedly the Declaration of Alma Ata (WHO, 1978), which, inter alia, asserted that the existence of gross inequalities between advantaged and disadvantaged peoples was politically, socially and economically unacceptable. The proposed solution to this problem was to be Primary Healthcare (PHC). This is not to be confused with primary medical care since demedicalisation was to be an important thrust of PHC and, subsequently, health promotion. Moreover, given the perspective of the present book, we should also acknowledge how Alma Ata popularised the notion of intersectoral collaboration.

If Alma Ata and PHC were the prototypes, the emergence of health promotion as a major movement was formalised with the publication by WHO’s European Region of its concepts and principles in 1984. Kickbusch (1986: 438) described this event as ‘a new forcefield for health [which] integrates social action, health advocacy and public policy’. The first full blossoming of the principles incorporated in the 1984 publication was arguably to take place in Ottawa, when 200 delegates from 38 nations made a commitment to health promotion in what has, since that time, been celebrated as the Ottawa Charter (Kickbusch, 1986; WHO, 1986).

The specific features of the Charter may be consulted elsewhere, and its principles will feature in the more extended review that is presented below. It is, however, worth noting that although reference was made to the importance of developing people’s personal skills, health education was dislodged from the centre-stage position it enjoyed under the aegis of PHC and was virtually replaced by the enthusiasm for building healthy public policy. As we will note later, this was a fundamental flaw. The other most important ideological principle to emerge from Ottawa was its reiteration that the empowerment of individuals and communities should be a major focus of future work: community action must be strengthened and decision making facilitated by creating supportive environments. The theme of demedicalisation was also maintained and found expression in the argument for the reorientation of health services in order to both expand their scope and make them more user friendly.

Health promotion’s progress was maintained by both attempts to activate the 38 targets for achieving HFA2000 (WHO, 1985) and a number of subse-
quent conferences and major initiatives. A second international conference on health promotion was, for example, held in Adelaide (Green and Raeburn, 1988) which pursued ways of building healthy public policy, and, most recently, a third international conference was held in Sundsvall (WHO, 1991). The Sundsvall Declaration focused on the need to provide supportive environments for health and highlighted four aspects: the social dimension, the impact of cultural norms and social processes; the political dimension, the requirement on governments to guarantee democratic participation in decision making and make a commitment to human rights and peace; the economic dimension, the need to re-channel resources to achieve health for all; and finally, the need to recognise women’s skills and knowledge.

In addition to the conferences and declarations, attempts to translate rhetoric into practice are especially relevant to the aims of this book. The most significant of these was perhaps the Healthy Cities movement, which initially sought to establish test beds for health promotion in 11 European cities. A more extended discussion of Healthy Cities may be consulted elsewhere (see, for example, Fryer, 1988 and Kickbusch, 1989). Suffice it to say that this WHO-inspired development acted as a stimulus for the emergence of more than 300 local initiatives in various European cities. In addition to the focus on the city, the principles of health promotion were applied to a number of more specific institutions, organisations and contexts, a development that has become widely known as the Settings Approach.

The most recent and important of WHO’s milestones has been the Jakarta Conference (WHO, 1997, 1998). In short, the Jakarta Declaration reiterated the importance of the Ottawa Charter principles.

Ottawa: key principles

WHO has consistently advocated a positive and holistic view of health and asserted that it comprises mental, physical and social elements rather than merely being concerned with the prevention and control of disease. In addition, Ottawa and Jakarta have identified the following major concerns for health promotion:

- **Equity.** The ultimate concern of health promotion lies with the achievement of equity and social justice; avoidable inequalities in health between and within nations are intrinsically unacceptable. Equity is not only a worthwhile goal in its own right but a means to the end of preventing disease and premature death.

- **Empowerment.** Helping people to gain control over their lives is both a prime goal in its own right as well as the major means of achieving equity. In order to achieve this goal, a supportive environment must be created at all levels. This will be achieved in two main ways:
Health Promotion: The Empowerment Imperative

- building healthy public policy to address the major determinants of health and illness that reside in the physical, cultural and socio-economic environment in which people live and work;
- strengthening individuals’ personal competencies and capacities.

● The achievement of active participating communities.

● The reorientation of the health services. Health is too important to be left to the medical profession: there must be a reorientation and reframing of health services. Since medical services often do not meet population needs and can be disempowering, they should be reformed. Demedicalisation is an important goal of health promotion. Not only is it concerned with shifting the balance of power from doctors and the medical establishment towards patients and clients, but it also seeks to acknowledge the substantial contributions made by other services to health and illness. Services such as housing, transport, leisure and recreation, and economic development, may all influence health for good or ill. Since so many organisations, contexts, settings and services can influence health, collaborative working is, by definition, likely to maximise their impact. Intersectoral collaboration is therefore a key instrumental principle for maximising the health-promoting potential of these services and for influencing the development and implementation of healthy public policy.

Health promotion, empowerment and reciprocal determinism

The concept of empowerment is complex and, as with health promotion, comprises an amalgam of ideological and technical attributes. A full discussion is not therefore possible here, and a more complete analysis may be found elsewhere (Tones, 1992, 1994, 1998a; Tones and Tilford, 1994). Figure 1.1 seeks to demonstrate the relationship between health promotion, empowerment and the attainment of health.

In the last analysis, the concept of reciprocal determinism (Bandura, 1982, 1986) lies at the very heart of the empowerment imperative in health promotion. Reciprocal determinism is one of the central tenets of social learning theory and asserts that people’s capacity for action, and ultimately their health, is determined by the nature of their environment. On the other hand, however, it is usually possible for people to exercise at least some degree of control over their circumstances. The relationship between environment and individual is thus one of reciprocity, except for those individuals who are continually overwhelmed by so many negative events and oppressive circumstances that their degree of choice is effectively zero.

As noted earlier, health is ultimately determined by the existence of equity and social justice, and this is in turn rooted in people’s material, social, economic and cultural circumstances. Following the Ottawa mandate, the
creation of healthy public policy is the prerequisite for changing adverse environments in order to facilitate the achievement of health. Empowerment best describes how the barriers to implementing healthy public policy might be overcome.

In short, two interrelated forms of empowerment ultimately contribute to the achievement of health status; these are individual empowerment and community empowerment. Community empowerment is most readily characterised by the terminology of the Ottawa Charter as an active participating
community. Individual empowerment, or self-empowerment, might be defined as follows:

Empowerment is a state in which an individual actually possesses a relatively high degree of power: that is having the resources which enable that individual to make genuinely free choices. Power cannot be absolute – and even if it could, it would be undesirable since it would militate against the right of other people to make choices. Indeed, one of the key features of empowerment is that system of checks and balances which safeguards the rights of others.

Individual empowerment is associated with certain beneficial psychological characteristics of which the most significant are: beliefs about personal control – including realistic causal attributions – together with a relatively high level of self esteem based on a realistic self concept; valuing other people and their rights to self determination; possession of a repertoire of health and life skills. (Tones, 1994: 169)

Figure 1.1 shows a reciprocal relationship between community empowerment and individual empowerment. This relationship is based on the premise that an active, participating community to some extent comprises the sum of empowered individuals within that community. Certainly, empowered individuals are needed to mobilise communities in their quest to challenge adverse circumstances. On the other hand, an empowered community will also generate norms and a social support system that will reinforce individual empowerment, and individuals within an empowered community are more likely to acquire the competencies and characteristics that lead to self-empowerment.

Figure 1.1 also shows two related features of empowered individuals and communities. The first of these is a sense of community, a state characterised by four key dimensions:

- membership – a feeling of belonging;
- shared emotional connection – the commitment and belief that members have shared and will share history, common places, time together, and similar experiences;
- influence – a sense of mattering;
- integration and fulfilment of needs – a feeling that members’ needs will be met by the resources received through their membership in the group. (McMillan and Chavis, 1986: 9, cited from Tones, 1998b: 189)

We might note here that aspects of this sense of community and, indeed, the notion of an empowered community in general are closely related to the currently popular formulation of social capital (Putnam et al., 1993), a desirable state in its own right and a state that is considered to be health promoting and, at the same time, conducive to self-empowerment for its members.
Health Promotion

In Figure 1.1, individual empowerment has been associated with *sense of coherence*. This term was coined by Antonovsky (1979: 123), who defines it as:

a global orientation that expresses the extent to which one has a pervasive, enduring though dynamic feeling of confidence that one's internal and external environments are predictable and that there is a high probability that things will work out as well as can reasonably be expected.

While both a sense of community and a sense of coherence are related to empowerment, it is important to strike a cautionary note. Antonovsky uses the term ‘negentropic’ when describing the results of a sense of coherence. In other words, a sense of coherence militates against the perception of life in general. A sense of coherence, on the other hand, creates the impression that life is comprehensible: the world is ordered, consistent, structured and clear, and the future predictable.

However, while an empowered individual or community is likely to hold such views, it is possible also to conceive of individuals and communities who are not empowered also holding such beliefs! It is possible, for example, for oppressed masses to believe that their dreadful circumstances are the will of God (who, of course, moves in mysterious ways but tends to offer the tantalising prospect of future rewards in some better place); to quote Voltaire’s Doctor Pangloss, ‘All is for the best in the best of possible worlds.’ Marxists make a similar point in their reference to the concept of *false consciousness*. As we will note below, health promotion must be concerned with achieving social and political change; a sense of community and a sense of coherence must also be challenged where these are based on false consciousness.

The dynamics of self-empowerment

Figure 1.2 shows the relationship between some of the factors traditionally associated with the state of self-empowerment.

The reciprocal relationship between environment and individual is again prominently displayed. Beliefs about control are central to the empowered state, and the conviction that people are in charge of their destiny *in general* has been consistently associated with empowerment. This personality trait, associated with Rotter’s (1966) well-known construct of *perceived locus of control* has been extensively researched and associated, with several beneficial health outcomes.

The concept of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1982) is, however, more useful in devising health promotion programmes for individuals. In short, apart from acquiring an appropriate knowledge and understanding of the implications of health actions and having a positive attitude to the relevant health-related behaviours, people must actually believe that they are capable of carrying out those health actions. The best way to influence self-efficacy beliefs is of course
Health Promotion: The Empowerment Imperative

A prerequisite for success is the provision of training for the acquisition of essential skills, described here generically as action competencies. In Figure 1.2, action competencies are subdivided into three categories of skill. The first of these is labelled life skills and refers to general capabilities that can enhance people’s success and survival in everyday living. Life skills typically include a number of key social interaction skills in addition to specific psychomotor skills that might be needed, for example, to adopt a safe and effective exercise regime. Some of the more frequently described life skills have to do with relaxation, time management and assertiveness.

The term ‘health skill’ has been employed where the skills are associated with achieving preventative outcomes. Self-regulatory skills, on the other hand, relate to the long-established tradition of behaviour modification. This has been increasingly exploited to help people to control difficult decisions and the nega-

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**Figure 1.2** The dynamics of self-empowerment

- Environmental circumstances
- Action competencies
  - Life skills
  - Health skills
  - Self-regulatory skills
- Beliefs about control
  - Locus of control
  - Self-efficacy
  - and so on
- Self-empowerment
- Self-esteem
- Health

To provide individuals with experience of success (the second-best procedure being to provide them with credible models who have already experienced success and with whom they can identify)

A prerequisite for success is the provision of training for the acquisition of essential skills, described here generically as action competencies. In Figure 1.2, action competencies are subdivided into three categories of skill. The first of these is labelled life skills and refers to general capabilities that can enhance people’s success and survival in everyday living. Life skills typically include a number of key social interaction skills in addition to specific psychomotor skills that might be needed, for example, to adopt a safe and effective exercise regime. Some of the more frequently described life skills have to do with relaxation, time management and assertiveness.

The term ‘health skill’ has been employed where the skills are associated with achieving preventative outcomes. Self-regulatory skills, on the other hand, relate to the long-established tradition of behaviour modification. This has been increasingly exploited to help people to control difficult decisions and the nega-
Health Promotion

tive effects resulting from them, typically the loss of gratification and gain in discomfort from quitting unhealthy practices such as smoking or excessive alcohol consumption.

The resulting mix of skills and beliefs contributes both to beliefs about being in control of life and health and, more importantly, to acquiring the actual power to influence one’s environment. Moreover, through empowerment, the individual’s self-esteem is likely to be enhanced. Apart from being an important mental health goal in its own right, a realistically based and relatively high level of self-esteem is associated with making healthy choices in general. Figure 1.2 reminds us that self-esteem is not only influenced by empowerment, but is affected by a number of other factors, such as feeling respected and loved by significant others.

An empowerment model of health promotion

Figure 1.3 seeks to encapsulate the key philosophical and strategic elements of the health promotion enterprise envisioned by the WHO and the author of this chapter. It is based on the interpretation of health promotion as a synergistic interaction of health education and healthy public policy. In addition to generally demonstrating the centrality of education, it shows the ways in which individual and community empowerment influences the social, economic and environmental determinants of health through healthy public policy.

The Ottawa Charter emphasised the importance of lobbying, advocacy and mediation in achieving healthy public policy. Lobbying is a well understood procedure and needs no further explanation here. Advocacy is the form of lobbying that occurs when relatively powerful individuals or agencies act to produce change on behalf of those lacking in such power, such as dispossessed communities or patients experiencing the often intimidating encounter with doctors.

The Ottawa Charter recognised that there was often, and perhaps inevitably, a conflict of interest between health promotion policies and other political imperatives concerned with, for example, fostering economic growth. Accordingly, mediation between conflicting interests was an important aspect of the process of policy development. The importance of intersectoral collaboration at the macro level is also acknowledged in Figure 1.3 by demonstrating the influence of ‘coalitions’ of the ‘great and the good’ and the powerful on the policy creation process.

Reference was made earlier to the need not only to reorient the health services to make them more accessible and user friendly but also to broaden the definition of the ways in which services other than medical services contribute to health. Accordingly, the health policy is necessary in order not only to reorient but also to refra...
The contribution of health education cannot be overestimated; it involves a focus on the individual, a focus on the community and a focus on the health services. The individual focus differs dramatically from health education’s traditional and often ‘victim-blaming’ stance. Instead of seeking to persuade people to adopt preventative behaviours and comply with the prescriptions of health professionals, the aim is to empower by strengthening individual capabilities, as detailed above, and facilitating choice of action.
Health education still has a part to play in working with health services, but rather than persuading individuals to make appropriate use of those health services, it instead seeks to alert decision makers to the health promotion role of the services they manage. Again, health promotion specialists might be expected to provide training and resources to assist with tasks associated with that role.

Most importantly of all, however, health education has a critically important and radical function that can be encapsulated in the notion of community empowerment. At one level, it is charged with agenda setting. This is defined here as a process that alerts the public to important but politically sensitive health issues such as the fluoridation of water supplies. Its purpose is primarily to create a climate of opinion that will enable government, for example, to institute and claim the credit for change without risking electoral unpopularity.

Much more difficult to tackle are those fundamental health issues such as poverty and disadvantage which governments and other agencies are unwilling to address, either because of ideological conviction or, again, through fear of courting electoral disaster. Accordingly, the strategy of critical consciousness raising is needed to generate public indignation and concern about health in order to generate a pressure for change, or preferably public outcry, that those in authority cannot resist.

Settings and strategies

A discussion of the settings and contexts of health promotion is beyond the scope of this chapter and will receive further attention in the rest of this book. We will merely note here that the settings approach developed by the WHO differs in certain important respects from earlier conceptualisations, especially the view that schools or the workplace, for example, provide an ideal opportunity for delivering health education to an often captive population.

In short, the current view is that a genuine settings approach does not involve the mere delivery of health education but instead adopts an ecological approach in which the whole environment and ethos of a particular setting is geared to promoting health in a coherent and integrated fashion. Furthermore, a health-promoting setting should relate in a collaborative manner to the community in which it is situated.

The empowerment initiative is, of course, central to the settings approach and various specific empowering strategies might well be used within different contexts. Three of these will now be briefly summarised below:

- **Media advocacy.** The most important role for the mass media is in the support of interpersonal initiatives and, above all, in raising critical consciousness about health issues generally, a process now typically described as media advocacy. For a more complete discussion of this, see Tones (1996a) and Chapman and Lupton (1994).
Community development and critical consciousness raising. Figure 1.4 summarises the key processes involved in a community empowerment approach operating within a community development context.

Figure 1.4 (Tones, 1996b) incorporates Freire’s (1972) recommendations on what is sometimes called emancipatory education. This is a dialectical process that involves critical consciousness raising, subsequently leading to praxis, that is, the translation of critical thinking about social issues into action. Freirean dialectics are, however, supplemented by the
provision of supportive life skills, and community coalitions are established to provide support from people and agencies that exercise power in the given setting. The empowering role of the community worker/health promoter is consistent with community development practice.

- **The empowering face-to-face encounter.** Table 1.1 provides an analysis of an empowering encounter. The one-to-one encounter clearly involves two people. Only the task of the health professional is shown; the task of the client has been omitted for the sake of simplicity.

Table 1.1 is intended to remind us that face-to-face work is the most common health promotion situation and is to be found in virtually every setting. It seeks to demonstrate that empowerment strategies at the micro level should be embedded into these encounters. Empowerment is not just an ideological commitment: it is a technology that should be incorporated into all health promotion in an appropriate but seamless fashion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1.1</th>
<th>The role of the health professional in an empowering encounter</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Communication</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Check felt needs/need for information</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establish rapport using counselling skills: active listening and so on</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Take account of non-verbal messages</td>
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<td>Check for understanding</td>
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<tr>
<td>Check intelligibility of any written information provided</td>
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<tr>
<td>Take steps to maximise recall and provide aide-memoire if necessary</td>
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<td><strong>Motivation: facilitating decision making</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Explore existing beliefs, attitudes and skills; seek to modify beliefs, especially beliefs about control. Explore attitudes and underlying values</td>
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<tr>
<td>Provide information; provide skills: decision making, psychomotor, social and life skills</td>
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<tr>
<td>Check learning and recall</td>
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<tr>
<td>Analyse environmental circumstances</td>
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<tr>
<td>Negotiate and agree ‘contract’</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Provide support</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Provide opportunity for acquiring supportive knowledge and social and self-regulatory skills</td>
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<tr>
<td>Help mobilise social and environmental support</td>
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<tr>
<td>Act as advocate for social and environmental change</td>
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<tr>
<td>Check client’s progress</td>
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</table>

**References**


Health Promotion: The Empowerment Imperative


18

Health Promotion

Author Index

A
Abbott, S. and Gillam, S., 58
Abercrombie, N., 158, 159
Acheson, Sir. D., 37, 96
Adams, C., Bauld, L. and Judge, K., 59
Adams, C.E., 146, 147, 148
Adams, L., 37, 40
Adams, L. and Cunning, F., 37, 40
Aggleton, P., Whitty, G., Knight, A., Prayle, D. et al., 122
Alexander, D., 115
Alexy, B.B., 206
Allott, R., Paxton, R. and Leonard, R., 121
Amos, M., 41
Anderson, R., 4
Antonovsky, A., 10, 156
Argyris, C. and Schön, D., 138
Armstrong, D., 128
ASHEC News, 120
Ashton, J. and Seymour, H., 129
Ashworth, P.D., Longmate, N.A. and Morrison, P., 193
Assistant Masters and Mistresses Association, 117
Association of Greater Manchester Authorities, 110
Association of University Teachers, 159
Association of Voluntary Services Organisations, 181
Asvall, J.E., 223
Audit Commission, 52, 55, 56
Avon Health Authority, 43, 44

B
Bagnall, P., 145, 147
Bagnall, P. and Dilloway, M., 145, 146
Bamford, M., 224
Bandura, A., 7, 10
Baric, L., 129, 157, 158
Barnfather, J.S., 146
Bash, I. and Coulby, D., 120
Bassett, W.H., 91
Bays, C.T., 147
Beattie, A., 81, 131, 133, 134, 136, 137, 139
Becker, S., 100
Beebee, S., 171, 173, 174
Beishon, S. and Nazroo, J.Y., 109
Bernatchez, M., Grakist, D., Lachance, M. et al., 50
Bibbings, A., 100
Biddle, S., Fox, K. and Edmunds, L., 108
Blamey, A., Mutrie, N. and Aitchison, T., 110
Blodham, S., 121, 171
Blunkett, D., 119
Boisot, M., 139
Boisot, M., Griffiths, D. and Moles, V., 139
Bolton, P., 147
Borup, I.K., 151
Boulton, L., 99
BREAD Youth Project, 175
British Medical Association, 120
British Paediatric Association, 150
Brother, N., 146
Brown, T., 118, 121
Bunt, K., 224
Bunton, R. and MacDonald, G., 190
Button, L., 116
C
Cahill, J., 194
CAIPE, 24
Central Statistical Office, 95
Cervi, R., 98
Chambers, C., 174
Chambers, J., 20
Chambers, T., 73
Chapman, S. and Lupton, D., 14
Charity Commission, 182
Cheng, Y., Kawachi, I. and Coakley, E., 226
Chief Medical Officer’s Review of the Public Health Function in Scotland, 71
Church, J. and Wyman, S., 203
Code, T., 118
Coggins, A., Swanston, D. and Crombie, H., 109
Coghlan, A., 117
Cohen, P., 146
Collis, J., 148
Community Practitioners and Health Visitors Association, 57, 59
Connolly, C. and Corbett, D.P., 149
Cooper, H., 149
Council for the Education and Training of Health Visitors, 61
Cox, T., Leather, P. and Cox, S., 229
Cribb, A. and Dines, A., 83
Crichtlow, J., 173
Cromwell, P. and LeMoine, A., 149
Index

Crosswaite, C., Currie, C. and Young, I., 134
Curtwell, A., 174

D
Dalley, G., 102
Davies, M.B., 128
Davis, A., 107, 110
Daykin, N., 205
Daykin N. and Cockshott, Z., 204, 206
Daykin N. and Doyal, L., 203
de Ridder, 192
Dearing, R., 118
DeBell, D. and Everett, G., 145
Delaney, F., 26
Denham, S., Pearson, J., Hopkins, D.,
Wallbanks, C. and Skuriat, V., 118, 120
Denman, S., 115, 118, 119, 133
Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 106
Department for Education, 171
Department for Education and Employment,
21, 118, 119, 122, 123, 169, 175, 212
Department for Education and Science,
115, 120
Department for the Environment, Transport
and the Regions, 20, 22, 27, 36, 107, 223
Department of Health
A First Class Service: Quality in the New NHS, 60
Action for Health – The Ultimate Partnership Scheme, 21
Chief Medical Officer’s Project to
Strengthen the Public Health Function in England, 23
Child Health in the Community. A Guide to Good Practice, 144
Children Looked After by Local Authorities.
Year ending 31 March, 1998, England, 95, 98
Clinical Governance: Quality in the New NHS, 224
Guidelines on Smoking and Alcohol Consumption in Residential Care Establishments, 99
Independent Inquiry into Inequalities in Health, 96
Leadership for Health: The Health Authority Role, 36, 38, 41, 70
Making a Difference. Strengthening the Nursing, Midwifery and Health Visiting Contribution to Health and Healthcare, 51, 57, 58, 77
Making it Happen. Standing Nursing and Midwifery Advisory Committee, 54, 61
Modernising Health and Social Services, 20, 55, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 194
National Service Framework for Coronary Heart Disease, 43, 44, 73, 106, 109
National Service Framework for Mental Health, 73
Our Healthier Nation – a Contract for Health, 21
Partnership in Action (New Opportunities for Joint Working between Health and Social Services), 20, 97
Patient and Public Involvement in the New NHS, 41
Primary Care Act, 62
Primary Care Groups: Delivering the Agenda, 61
Promoting Better Health, 183
Quality Protects, 98, 99,
Saving Lives: Our Healthier Nation, 20,
21, 22, 24, 37, 43, 44, 51, 52, 53, 59,
68, 69, 73, 80, 89, 106, 115, 121, 122,
133, 137, 144, 145, 157, 169, 173,
189, 201, 206, 223, 227
Smoking Kills, 69, 99, 101
The Challenges for Nursing and Midwifery in the 21st Century, 55
The Government’s Objectives for Children’s Social Services, 98
The Health of the Nation, 20, 22, 37, 89,
115, 121, 129, 150, 157, 173, 185
The National Plan for the New NHS: Challenges Facing the National Health Service, 53
The New NHS: Modern, Dependable, 20,
35, 51, 71, 144, 183
Volunteering in Social Care, 186
Working Together for Better Health, 19,
24, 183
Department of Health/Home Office/
Department for Education and Employment: Working Together to Safeguard Children, 98
Department of Social Security, 96
Department of Transport, 107
Dixon, N., 139
Doggett, M.A., Faulkner, A., Farrow, S. and Shelley, A., 145
Dolan, R., Corber, S. and Zacour, R., 146
Index

Doonis, M., 157
Douglas, T., 26
Dowding, K., 157
Downie, R.S., Fyfe, C. and Tannahill, A., 79, 116
Doyal, L., 202
Drakeford, M., 101, 102
Draper, P., 79
Duggan, M., 40
Dutt, R., 102
Eakin, J.M. and MacEachen, M., 204
Edwards, F., McCallum, R. and Taylor, P., 227
Emmett, V.E., 116
Emrick, C.D., Tonigan, J.S., Montgomery, H. and Littie, L., 191
European Commission Resolution of the Council of Ministers of Education, 129
European Trade Union Technical Bureau, 213
Evans, A., 150
Evers, H., Cameron, E. and Badger, F., 100
Ewles, L., 65
Ewles, L. and Simnett, I., 138
F
Faculty of Public Health Medicine, 226
Fegly, B.J., Wessel, G.L. and Diehl, B.C., 148
Felton, G.M. and Parsons, M.A., 148
Ferguson, D., 224
Fieldgrass, J., 190
Forester, S. and Kline, R., 55, 56
Fosse, E. and Roesseland, A., 192, 195
Freire, P., 15
French, J., 70
Fryer, P., 6
Fuller, R., 97
Funnell, R., Oldfield, K. and Speller, V., 24, 26, 71
G
Gaffrey, E.A. and Bergren, M.D., 146
Gandlin, R., 128
Gatherer, A., Parfitt, J. and Vessey, M., 133
General Practitioner’s Committee, 56
Gillard, D., 117
Gillies, P., 73
Goodwin, S., 54
Gott, M. and O’Brien, M., 82, 84
Gradstein, D., Hofman, S. and Reuben, Y., 196
Green, J., 120
Green L.W. and Raeburn, J.M., 3, 6
Greenhill, E.D., 146
Grossman, R., and Scala, K., 26, 157
H
Hacker, K. and Wessel, G.I., 146
Hagland, B., Borendal, B., Petterson, B., Tillgren, P. and Watson, J., 28
Hagquist, K. and Starrin, B., 116, 119
Hamer, L., 110
Handy, C., 26
Hanford, L., Easterbrook, L., and Stevenson, J., 55
Hansen, L., 146
Hardeker, P., Exton, K. and Barker, M., 97
Hargadon, J. and Stainforth, M., 152
Harker, P., Platt, L. and Crutwell, A., 169, 175
Harries, J., Gordon, P., Plamping, D. and Fischer, M., 138
Harris, A., 54
Harrison, A. and Grettom, J., 144
Harrison, B., 202
Harrison, D., 157
Hart, N., 78
Hartley-Brewer, J., 120
Harvey, J., 121
Harvey, S., 202
Hawes, M., 145, 148
Health Canada, 227
Health and Safety Commission, 217
Health and Safety Commission/ Occupational Health and Advisory Committee, 224, 225, 230
Health and Safety Executive, 212
Health Education Authority, 25, 45, 118, 130, 133, 177, 204, 205, 211
Health Education Board Scotland/HBW/ Health Education Authority/HPANI, 132
Healthlines, 122
Health Task Group North West, 107
Health Visitors Association, 145, 147
Healthwork UK, 68
Heaven, P., 169, 177
Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 20
Hill, R., Williams, J., Britton, J. and Tattersfield, A., 149
Hollander, R.B. and Lengermann, J.J., 204
Holman, H. and Lorig, K., 194, 195
Holt, G., Boyd, S., Dickson, B., Hayes, H. and Le Metais, J., 118
Home Office, 52, 57, 176, 183, 184, 185, 187
Index

Hopson, B. and Scally, M., 116
Houghton, A., Ean, S., Archibal, G., Bradley, O. and Azam, N., 147
House of Lords session, 22
Hoyes, L., Lart, R., Means, R. and Taylor, M., 100
Huczynski, A. and Buchanan, D., 26
Hudson, B., 102
Hunter, A., 148
Hurrelmann, K., Leppin, A. and Nordlohne, E., 115
Hurrelmann, K. and Losel, M., 176

I
Igoe, J.B., 145
Improvement and Development Agency, 23, 24
Institute of Environmental Health Officers, 90
International Labour Organisation, 230
Ireland, R., 110

J
Jackson, C., 146,
Jackson, D., 150
Jameson, T., 39
Jamison, J., 120, 132
Jeffs, T. and Smith, M., 170
Joachim, G., 149
Johanning, E., Goldberg, M. and Kim, R., 203
Johnson, J., 150
Jones, L. and Naidoo, J., 136
Jones, M.E. and Clark, D., 147
Joyce, R., Toft, M. and Winstone, E., 121
Juhn, G., Tang, J., Piessens, P. et al., 146

K
Karasek, R. and Theorell, T., 228
Kelsall, J.E. and Watson, A.R., 150
Kickbusch, I., 5, 6, 157
Kiloran, A.J., Fenton, P. and Caspersen, C., 105
Kingman, S., 120
Kjarheim, K. and Andersen, A., 205
Klahn, L.K., Hays, B.J. and Iverson, C.J., 146
Klep, K.I., Oygard, L., Tell Grethe, S. and Vecillar Odd, D., 119
Knight, B., 181
Knott, M., 55
Kobokovich, I.J. and Bonovich, L.K., 148
Kuhn, T., 222
Kurtz, L.F., 191
Kyrouz, E.M. and Humphreys, K., 191, 193
L
Latter, S., 79, 82, 83
Latter, S., Yerreil, P., Rycroft-Malone, J. and Shaw, D., 79
Lawrence, N., 121
Lazenbatt, A., 53, 54
Learnmouth, A. and Watson, W., 73
Leigh, J.P. and Jiang, W.Y., 205
Levy, B.S. and Wegman, D.H., 202
Lewis, D.E., 116,
Lightfoot, J. and Bines, W., 149
Lightfoot, J., Weight, S. and Sloper, P., 152
Lisle, J., 222, 230, 233
Lloyd, L., 202
Local Government Association, 22
Local Government Management Board, 93
Lochhead, E., 146
Locwenson, R., Laurell, A.C. and Hogstedt, C., 207
Lovato, C.Y. and Green, L.W., 204
Lowe, R.A., 128

M
Macdonald, G., 97
Macdonald, G. and Bunton, R., 78
Mackenzie, C., 117, 118
Majrowski, W.H., Hearn, S., Rohan, C. et al., 150
Mancunian Community Health NHS Trust
Health Promotion Service and Manchester City Council Inspection and Advisory Service, 131
Mantz, J., 149
Markwell, S., 24, 26
Mattock, C., 147
McBarnette, L.S., 206
McBride, A. and Moorwood, Z., 80
McDonald, A.L., Langford, I.H. and Boldero, N., 152
McMillan D.W. and Chavis, D.M., 9
McNulty and Turner, 172, 176
Merseyside Connections, 107
Messing, K., 202
Meyer, J., 194
Miller, C., 69
Milner, S. and French, J., 67
Minkler, M., 4
Mole, S., 150
Moon, A.M., Mullee, M.A., Rogers, L. et al., 115, 199, 123
Moone, A.M., 133
MORI, 116
Morris, R., Reid, E. and Fowler, J., 120
Mullender, A. and Ward, D., 190
Murray-Parkes, C., 185
Naidoo, J., 205
Naidoo, J., and Wills, J., 80, 83
Naish, J., 54
National Association of State School Nurse Consultants, 146
National Curriculum Council, 117, 129
National Health Service Executive, 20, 23, 43, 54, 59, 60
National Youth Agency, 170
Navarro, V. and Berman, D.M., 207
Nelson, M., 148
New Opportunities Fund, 20, 172
Newell, T., 21
Neylon, J., 150
Noble, C., 121
Norton, L., 78
Nutbeam, D., 132
O'Conner, L., 118
O'Donnell, T. and Gray, G., 137
Office of Population Census and Surveys, 222
Oldman, C., 58
Orr, J., 147
Parker, R.A., 97
Parker, S.H., 150
Parsons, C. Stears, D. and Thomas, C., 134
Parsons, M.A. and Felton, G.M., 147
Partington, J., 117
Patterson, A., 150
Payne, S., 202
Pearson, A., 84
Pearson, D., 120
Pearson, P., 55
Peberdy, A., 133
Peckham, S. and Spanton, J., 54
Pedestrians Association, 111
Pedler, M., Burgoyne, J. and Boydell, T., 138
Perri, G., 181
Perry, G. and Markwell, S., 22, 28
Perry, P.A., Dean, B.S. and Krenzelok, E.P., 149
Phizacklea, A. and Wolkowitz, C., 206
Pickvance, S., 205, 208
Plamping, D., Gordon, P. and Pratt, J., 138
Policy Action Team, 169
Powell, M., 24
Pratt, J., Gordon, P. and Plamping, D., 138
Primary Health Care Group, 145
Primary Healthcare Development, 43
Pritchard, P., 54
Putnam, R.D., Leonardi, R. and Nanetti, R.Y., 9
Q
Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 118
R
Ranude, W., 35
Rasmussen, V.B. and Rivett, D., 123, 157
Raw, M., McNeill, A. and West, R., 44
Reisman, F., 192
Repetto, M.A. and Hoeman, S.P., 149
Reynolds, D., Hopkins, D. and Stoll, L., 132
Riddoch, C., Puig-Ribera, A. and Cooper, A., 108
Rissel, C., 186
Ritchie, H., 118
Rivers, K., Aggleton, P., Chaisc, E. et al., 133
Roberts, P.J., 147
Robertson, W. and MacDonald, G., 66, 67
Robinson, K., 172
Robinson, S. and Hill, Y., 81, 82
Rogers, E., 133
Roter, J.B., 10
Rowling, L. and Jeffreys, V., 115, 122
Royal College of Nursing, 60
Royle, J., Speller V. and Moon, A., 24, 58
S
Saffin, K., 150
St Armand, N. and Clavette, H., 190, 193
St Leger, L.H., 135, 138
Sallis, J.F., Baumann, A. and Pratt, M., 110
Sampson, E. and Marthas, M., 26
Sanders, D., 204, 206
Sass, R., 207
Index

Schilling, R., 230
Schilling, R.S.F., 227,
Scott-Samuel, A., 108
Scottish Health Education Group, 129
Scottish Office/Department of Health, 21
Scriven, A., 26, 115, 116, 121
Sefton Leisure Services Department, Sefton
Health Authority, 110
Senge, P. et al., 138, 139
Sherriff, T., 174
Sidell, M., Jones, L., Katz, J. and Peberdy,
A., 136
Simnett, I., 137, 159
Sinkler, P. and Toft, M., 155, 122
Slater, D., 117
Smith, A., Wadworth, E. and Johal, S.,
225, 228
Sidell, M., Jones, L., Katz, J. and Peberdy,
A., 136
Sefton Leisure Services Department, Sefton
Health Authority, 110
Senge, P. et al., 138, 139
Sherriff, T., 174
Sidell, M., Jones, L., Katz, J. and Peberdy,
A., 136
Simnett, I., 137, 159
Sinkler, P. and Toft, M., 155, 122
Slater, D., 117
Smith, A., Wadworth, E. and Johal, S.,
225, 228
Smith, C., Frankland, J., Playle, R. and
Moore, L., 132
Smith, C., Roberts, C., Nutbeam, D., and
Macdonald, G., 132
Social Exclusion Unit, 21, 45, 69, 98, 99
Society of Health Education and Promotion
Specialists, 66, 68
Speller, V., 20, 24, 25, 26
Speller, V., Learmouth, A. and Harrison D.,
73
Speller, V., Markwell, S. and Scales, I., 26
Sport England, 109
Sports Council/Health Education Authority,
105, 106
Sports Council Health and Recreation Team
(HART), 108
Sprague, S., 173
Springett, J., 134
Standing Conference on Public Health, 91
Stansfield, S., Head, J. and Marmot, M.,
229
Stanton, P., 146
Stoll, L. and Mortimore, P., 132
Stone, K., 98
Stonecipher, L.J. and Hynner, G.C., 206
Summers, A. and McKeown, K., 54

T
Thompson, A., 99, 100, 101
Thompson, J., 146
Thurber, F., Berry, B. and Cameron, M.E.,
146
Thyer, S., 144, 145
Times Educational Supplement, The, 121
Timpka, T., Svensson, B. and Molin, B., 54
Tinker, A., 100
Toffler, A., 190
Toft, M., Inman, S. and Whitty, G., 133
Tones, B.K., 4, 7, 9, 14, 15, 84, 85, 90,
116, 117, 134
Tones, B.K. and Tildford, S., 4, 7, 13, 78,
116, 133
Trades Union Congress, 211, 212, 217
Tchalik, Y., 108
Troya, K. and Carrington, B., 118
Toulouros, A., 157, 161
Toulouros, A., Dowding, G., Thompson, J.
and Dooris, M., 161
Tudor, K., 101
Tudor Hart, J., 205
Tudor-Smith, C., Roberts, C., Parry-
Langdon, N. and Bowker, S., 123
Turner, R., 138
Turner, T., 146
Twin, S. and Cowley, S., 54, 61
Tyrrell, J. and Harkins, D., 39

U
UK Youth, 170, 174
United Kingdom Central Council for
Nursing, 56
United Kingdom Central Council for
Nursing, Midwifery and Health
Visiting/Commission for Nursing and
Midwifery Education, 51, 56, 57, 83
United Kingdom Public Health
Association/Local Government
Association, 38
United Nations, 93, 157, 158
University of Reading, 26
US Department of Health and Human
Sciences, 105

V
Valios, N., 99
van Ryn, M., and Heaney, C.A., 78

W
Walker, 174
Walsh, S. and Tildford, S., 123
Walters, R., 195
Warner, M., Longley, M., Gould, E. and
Pucek, A., 57
Warnock, P., 172
Watson, J., Speller, V., Markwell, S. and
Platt S., 28
Watterson, A., 204, 205, 207
Weare, K., 136
Weindling, P., 207
Wheal, A., 174, 177
While, A.E. and Barriball, K.L., 144, 147
Subject Index

A
accidents, 37, 43, 52, 58, 100, 169, 228
Active for Life, 110
advocacy, 12, 194
media, 14
Agenda 21, 93, 160
local policies, 110
officers, 110
Rio Declaration, 157
United Nations Earth Summit, 157
see also sustainable development
alcohol, 172, 191, 202, 211 see also drug
and alcohol abuse
alcoholic, 190, 193
Allied Dunbar National Fitness Survey, 105
Alma Ata Declaration, 5, 54
asthma, 149, 174
Audit Commission, 52

B
Beacon scheme, 27, 110
best value, 27
council status, 27
pilots, 27
bereavement, 185, 191, 193
biopsychosocial model, 169
British Heart Foundation, 107
see also coronary heart disease
bullying, 177, 185

C
cancer, 37, 43, 58, 169, 204, 228
screening, 211

cardiac rehabilitation, 81, 191
self-help group, 194
cardiac specialists, 194
care services, 99
day care services, 101
for older people, 99–100
meals on wheels, 100
residential care, 98–9
resources, 101
training, 100
capacity building, 122
Chief Medical Officer’s Review, 68
child abuse, 98, 185
indicators of, 148
child protection registers, 95 see also child
abuse
children, 97
Act, 96, 98, 175
child health services, 144
health of, influence of school nurse
service, 144
citizenship, 118, 123, 184
clinical
effectiveness, 53, 60
governance, 36, 56, 60, 73, 74, 77, 224
framework for, 224
collaboration, 77 see also collaborative
working and partnerships
collaborative working, 80, 82, 84, 85, 87
Commission for Health Improvement, 36, 183
Index

Commission for Nursing and Midwifery Education, 57
community, 84
action, 96, 157, 186, 192, 195
care, 55
development, 15–16, 21, 41, 55, 59, 60, 61, 71, 96, 97, 185, 187
eempowerment, 8–10, 14
groups, 181
participation, 79, 82, 159, 186
planning, 39
plans, 36, 87
profiling, 61
Community Healthy Workplace Service, 218, 219
corporate involvement, 82
coronary heart disease, 44, 106, 108, 206, 229, 192
risks, 106
see also cardiac rehabilitation
counselling, 145, 205
counsellors, 81, 176
Crime and Disorder Act, 20
Crime and Disorder Act, 20
critical consciousness raising, 15

D
dementia, 194
dentists, 48
Department of Health, 93, 98, 106, 228 see also author index
depression, 191, 193 see also mental health
deprivation, 54, 88, 97 see also poverty
dieticians, 81
disability, 109
disabled groups, 170
disease prevention, 60
drug and alcohol abuse, 148, 149, 161, 162, 176, 177, 191 see also alcohol

eating disorders, 149, 185, 191
Education Action Zones, 169
Education Acts
Education Reform Act, 115, 117, 120
1944 Education Act, 144
1981 Education Act, 144
effectiveness, 72, 73
emancipatory education, 15
employment, 206
Employment Medical Advisory Service, 219
Employment Relations Act, 216
Empowerment, 3, 6–13, 15–16, 77, 83, 85, 159, 162, 170, 171, 206, 186–7
community, 8–10, 14
dynamics, 10–11
individual, 8–10, 19, 164
model, 12
role of health professionals, 16
environmental health, 87, 89–90, 92, 110
discretionary powers, 9
enforcement duties, 91
officers, 81, 89, 91–4, 110
eicnic groups, 109, 170, 173
Evidence Base 2000, 73
evidence-based practice, 74
exercise, 145, 161, 177, 191 see also physical activity

F
Faculty of Public Health Medicine, 68, 70
Falls Prevention in Older People, 48
families, 97, 144
family planning services, 46
First Assessment, 52
food, 161
hygiene, 91
inspection, 91
safety, 89, 91, 93
Freirean dialectics, 15

g
Gay groups, 170, 174, 175, 176
gender, 109, 170, 191, 191
general practice, 48
general practitioner, 35, 43, 46, 105, 108, 172
fundholding, 35, 57
globalisation, 203

H
Health Action Zone, 21, 37–8, 52, 59, 61, 138, 87, 97, 169, 183, 189
partnerships, 36
Health and Safety at Work Act, 93, 212
Health and Safety Executive, 212, 225, 228
health and safety
representatives, 212
training, 212
Health at Work in the NHS, 205
health authorities, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 57, 89, 90, 92, 94, 99, 110, 147, 177
mergers, 72
health development, 3
Health Development Agency, 23, 40, 68, 69, 71, 73, 74, 93, 171, 175
health determinants, 22
Health Education Authority, 90, 105, 108, 177
health education, 4, 13, 99, 144, 145, 148, 151, 156, 170, 175, 229
AIDS education, 146
diet, 145, 172 see also food
drug education, 121, 174
in schools, 78, 83, 84, 85, 115–24, information, 79, 96
substance abuse, 146 see also drug and alcohol abuse
young people, 169, 177
Health for All 2000, 5, 19, 26, 94, 96, 156, 226
agenda, 37, 38
health improvement, 33, 35, 40
Health Improvement Programmes (HImPs), 20, 36, 38, 39, 43, 52, 58, 61, 69, 71, 138, 87, 97, 106, 219
health indicators, 98
health needs, 53, 60, 61
assessment, 38, 54, 57
Health of the Nation, The, 37, 89, 175, 183
Health promotion, 41, 48, 49, 53, 55, 57, 60, 61, 66, 69, 70, 74, 77, 78, 80–5, 89, 94, 96, 97, 99, 100, 103, 144, 146, 148, 150, 151, 172, 225, 227, 229–30, 233, 181
access to, 206
activities, 147
approaches, 82, 87
barriers to, 34
concept, 3–5, 83, 183
clinics, 183
definition, 65
effectiveness, 160
history, 4–5
ideology, 3–6
implementation, 33
initiatives, 80
local involvement in, 41
manager, 70
needs, 102
officer, 82
perspectives, 165
programmes, 49, 204
practitioners, 90
primary, secondary tertiary, 184, 191
principles, 95
profession of, 175
purchasing, 151
service, 44, 49, 90, 206
specialists, 33, 37, 49, 66–8, 69, 70, 72, 73, 175
specialist units, 94
strategies, 204, 226
health-promoting hospitals, 82, 84, 157, 159
health-promoting schools, 113, 123, 128, 145, 157
buildings/environment, 128
evaluation, 133–5
health promoting universities, 114, 156–66
case study, 159
physical environment, 163
student development, 162
health promoting workplaces, 201–8, 222
health visitor, 46, 51, 52, 57, 58, 146, 151, 172
Health Visitors Association, 55, 147
healthy alliances, 80, 89, 96, 107, 171, 211
partnership working, examples of, 110
see also inter-sectoral collaboration
Healthy City, 6
conferences, 93
partnerships, 56, 87
projects, 37
Healthy Cities, 40, 82, 107, 161, 166
Healthy Living Centres, 20, 52, 58, 138
healthy public policy, 3, 6, 8, 12, 34, 157, 159, 162
Healthy Town and Community projects, 37
Healthy Schools Standard, 21, 122–4, 133
healthy workplaces, 21, 230 see also health promoting workplaces
heart disease, 37, 43, 44, 58, 169, 228 see also coronary heart disease
Heathrow Debate, 55
higher education, 56
roles and function, 158
home care services, 96
homeless, 54, 99
home safety, 48, 91
hospitals, 81, 226 see also health promoting hospitals
housing, 3, 89, 90
hospice movement, 184
HSE Self-reported Work-related Illness Surveys, 212
human rights, 6
hypertension, 106, 108
risks, 106
immunisation, 144, 150
Improvement and Development Agency, 27
Industrial Injuries Disablement Benefit, 214
inequalities, 189
health, 5, 20, 22, 23, 28, 38, 43, 53, 58, 61, 73, 96, 105, 109, 202

Index
Index

social, 96
targets, 40
see also poverty
initial teacher education, 122–3
integrated nursing team, 55 see also nursing
inter-sectoral collaboration, 12, 82
barriers, 102
see also partnership working
interprofessional education, 23, 58
working, 51, 53
interagency action, 51
working, 51, 53, 102, 171
International Labour Organisation, 230
inverse care law, 205

J
Jakarta Declaration, 6, 19, 66

L
lay member, 43
Leadership for Health, 36, 70
learning organisation theory, 138–9
leisure centres, 106–8
life skills, 11, 16, 119
local authorities, 20, 22–4, 36, 37, 40, 58,
87, 90, 93–5, 98, 99, 105, 106–8, 110,
228
local education authorities, 120
local government, 40, 89, 90
Act, 36
management board, 93
local health groups, 52, 71, 72
local healthcare cooperatives, 71, 72
local strategic partnerships, 36

M
Making it Happen, 61
Making a Difference, 51, 57, 77
Managing Stress at Work, 228
mediation, 12, 165, 194
mental health, 37, 58, 98, 101, 161, 165,
169, 170, 173, 206, 228, 230, 185, 191
Act, 96
funding, 101
needs of black people, 170
suicide, 173
policy, 101
see also depression
midwives, 51, 52, 58 see also nursing
Modernising Government, 223
Modernising Health and Social Services, 55,
97, 100, 101
Modernisation Action Team, 52–3
Modernisation Fund, 45
multi-agency work, 48, 83, 162, 174, 208
multi-disciplinary public health, 69
forum, 68
participation, 81
workforce, 74, 75
multiprofessional working, 51

N
National Assembly for Wale, 223
National Curriculum, 117, 132, 144
Science core statutory orders, 19
National Centre for Clinical Excellence, 36
National Cycling Strategy, 107
network, 111
National Health and Safety Partnership, 215
National Health Service, 33, 35, 38, 39, 41,
56, 60, 65, 68, 109 80, 91, 96, 106, 110,
146, 171, 175, 201, 206, 218–20, 224
direct, 74, 84
executive, 68
reforms, 65
trusts, 36, 48
workforces, 52
National Occupational Standards, 25
National Service Frameworks, 36, 38, 43,
55, 73, 74
mental health, 73
coronary heart disease, 73, 109
National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal, 69
National Youth Agency, 171
neighbourhood, 40, 109
groups, 185
renewal, 38, 40
National Walking Strategy, 107
needs assessment, 39, 54, 57, 67
New Deal for Communities, 169
New Deal for Transport: Better for Everyone, A, 107
New NHS: Modern, Dependable, The, 35,
51, 52
New Opportunities Fund, 59
nurse, 51, 52, 55, 56, 58, 77, 79, 80, 81,
84, 172
community, 51, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60,
61, 62, 152
consultants, 84
district, 57
hospital, 78, 79, 80–1, 85
education, 77, 83, 85
nursery, 146
practitioners, 61
prescribing, 56
Index

practice, 46
school, 57, 144–52
  collaboration with teachers, 146
  international comparisons, 146
  parents’ perceptions, 146
  purchase of service, 151
  role of, 144, 145, 148, 150
  evaluation of, 147
  constraints to, 151, 152
  resources, 144
  training, 145, 148, 149
  workload, 148
see also community nurses

O
obesity, 106, 108, 110
  risks, 106
see also eating disorders
occupational health, 91, 204, 206, 217, 228, 230, 233
disease, 203
injury, 219
professionals, 230
projects, 218, 230
provision, 224
service, 201, 203–4, 206–7, 217–18, 224, 229
strategy, 223, 228
support, 224
see also work place health
older people, 99
organisational health, 29
osteoarthritis, 194
Ottawa Charter, 5–8, 12, 19, 66, 68, 156–7, 162
principles, 6, 95
outreach work, 102, 162, 172
Oxford Airwatch Partnership Project, 91–2
P
paramedics, 194
participatory research, 206
partnerships, 36, 39, 40, 51–3, 58, 69, 70–2, 80, 92, 96, 101, 107, 109–11, 147, 169, 172, 215, 183
examples of initiatives, 169, 171
Partnerships in Action, 97
partnership working, 19–28, 33, 49, 52–4, 58, 68–72, 80, 121, 87, 151, 164, 189
structures and functions, 26
evaluation, 27
patient participation, 79
peer education, 162, 172, 174, 175
peer support, 193
perceived locus of control, 10
personal, social and health education, 46, 115–23
pharmacists, 48, 194
physical activity, 87, 105, 176, 177
European dimension, 107
influences on participation, 109, 149
initiatives, 108, 110, 111
levels, 106
policy, 106
health benefits, 106
links to transport, 107
regional dimension, 107, 110
exercise referral schemes, 105, 108, 110, 111, 192
case studies, 108, protocols, 108
training, 108
physiotherapists, 81, 194
police, 21
poverty, 14, 19, 54, 91 see also deprivation
anti-poverty programmes, 40
pressure groups, 181, 184
primary care, 53, 55, 72, 144, 208, 230
led NHS, 62
managers, 110
practitioners, 59, 206
Primary Care Act, 52
primary care groups, 20, 33, 35, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 54, 57, 59, 61, 67, 71, 73, 87, 102, 108, 217
Chief Officer, 43, 49
primary care trusts, 33, 35, 38, 39, 40, 51, 54, 60, 61, 72, 73, 102, 189
commissioning, 102
primary healthcare, 5, 105, 108, 177, 189
setting, 51
staff, 48, 49
team, 48
primary prevention, 55
probation service, 21
Project 2000, 56, 85 see also nurse
Provisional Improvement or Prohibition Notices, 215, 216
public consultation, 58
involvement, 71
participation, 36, 70, 77
public health, 3, 23, 36, 41, 48, 55, 61, 67, 69, 224
Act, 91
agenda, 53, 57, 72
approach, 54
consultant, 70
directors of, 61, 110
Index

medicine, 68, 70
new public health, 129, 156
practitioners, 69
role, 57
skills, 23
specialists, 69
strategies, 107, 228
targets, 206, 208
workforce, 23
public health development, 23
public health observatories, 40
purchaser-provider split, 70, 183

Q
Quality Protects, 98
quality of life, 97, 194, 196

R
reciprocal determinism, 7
refugees, 54
regeneration, 38
rehabilitation, 220
Reporting of Injuries, Disease and Dangerous Occurrences Regulations, 214, 219, 220
road safety officers, 48
Royal College of Nursing, 55 see also nurse
Royal Society for the Promotion of Health, 68 see also health promotion

S
Safety Representatives and Safety Committees Regulations, 216
Safety Dividend, 214
salutogenic research, 156
Saving Lives: Our Healthier Nation, 33, 37, 43, 51, 53, 59, 68, 80, 144, 169, 206, 223, 227
schools, 109, 113–24, 128–40, 144, 171, 175
and health promotion, 113–52
and physical activity, 109
medical inspections and screening, 145, 147
nurses, 113, 144–52 see also nurses
schools health service, 144
history of, 144
school medical officers, 144
strategy for, 146
student mentors, 169 see also peer education
Section 28, 120, 176
self-help, 48, 181, 189–96
defining characteristics, 192

Arthritis Care, 194
Manic Depression Fellowship, 194
self-esteem, 12, 133
self-efficacy, 10
settings-based approach, 6, 14, 109, 129, 156–7, 159, 164–5
principles and perspectives, 157
key elements, 158
sexual abuse, 191
sex education, 120, 98, 150, 172, 174–6
sexual health, 161, 162, 165, 171
Shaping Tomorrow, 56
Sheffield Health, 39
Sheffield Occupational Health Project, 208
Signpost, 99
smoking, 44, 99, 145, 202, 204
cessation, 44, 59, 193
policies, 132, 90, 99
Support to Stop Advisers, 45 see also tobacco control and young people
social capital, 8, 122, 195
social exclusion, 21, 70, 96, 98, 99, 101, 105, 169
Social Exclusion Unit, 45, 97
social inclusion, 20, 184
social justice, 7
social services, 20, 43, 46, 48, 87, 95–100, 175, 189
staffing, 96
training needs, 103
social workers, 101
social learning theory, 7, 138
social support networks, 177
Society for Health Education and Health Promotion Specialists, 65, 68
Code of Practice, 67
Principles of Practice group, 67
specialist health promotion, 65, 75 see also health promotion
service, 71, 72
service manager, 72
special needs, 101
sports development, 109 see also physical activity
officers, 109
national association, 109
Standing Nursing and Midwifery Advisory Committee, 61 see also nurse
stress, 159, 165, 173, 177, 193, 206, 227, 230
stroke, 58, 106, 206, 192, 194
risks of, 106
substance abusers, 54 see also substance abuse; drug and alcohol abuse

247
248

Index

Index

suicide, 185 see also mental health
Sundall Declaration, 6
Supporting Families, 52, 57
Sure Start, 97
sustainable development, 38, 223
health, 160, 162
see also Agenda 21
T
targets, 58
teamwork, 54, 62
teenage
conceptions, 45
parents, 46
pregnancy, 45, 69, 98, 149, 169, 174, 176
care during, 146, 148
tobacco control, 69 see also smoking
town planning, 192
trade unions, 201, 211–20, 223, 230, 233
Trades Union Congress, 211, 214–16, 230
transport, 161, 163, 165
green, 107, 110, 163
Transport and General Workers Union, 216
travellers, 54
U
Under Secretary of State for Public Health, 69 see also public health
unemployment, 96, 202–3, 222
UKCC, 56, 57
Code of Practice, 56 see also nurse
urban health partnerships, 138 see also partnerships
users of services, 39
V
Verona Initiative, 27–8
benchmark, 27–8
voluntary sector, 36, 40, 43, 57, 100, 103, 109, 179–96
definition of, 181
diversity of, 181–2, 189–90
income/funding, 182, 186
organisations, 91, 201
Alcoholics Anonymous, 190–1, 193
Fast Forward, 175
Macmillan Cancer Relief, 184
Marie Curie Cancer Care, 184
Mencap, 184
Samaritans, 185
St John’s Ambulance Brigade, 174
The Red Cross, 174
Victim Support, 185
philosophy of, 186
scope for health promotion, 184
W
walk-in centres, 56, 84
Welfare to Work, 223
Whitehall II study, 228
Working Together to Safeguard Children, 98
workplace, 201–8, 222–34
workplace health, 105, 106, 201–8, 223,
227 see also occupational health
of women, 202
organisational examples, 163
polices, 105
promotion, 201, 202, 204, 208, 211, 222, 228, 230
and physical activity, 109
workplace ill health, 230 see also
occupational health
workplace injuries, 214 see also occupational health
World AIDS Day, 164
World Health Organization, 57, 65, 66, 70,
82, 202, 223, 225
Y
young people, 99, 110, 148–9, 169–77
youth service, 169
youth workers, 169
youth work, 169–77
key purpose, 169
settings, 170
qualifications, 170
health education topics, 172, 173
projects, 172–4