

Do not sell notated copy.

YOUTH AND POLICY

**the journal of
critical analysis**

ISSN 0262 • 9798

VOL.1 NO.3, WINTER 1983

YOUTH the journal of critical analysis AND POLICY

Youth and Policy
ISSN 0262-9798

'Burnbrae'
Black Lane
Blaydon Burn
Blaydon
Tyne and Wear.

The journal is devoted to the serious, critical study of issues in youth affairs and the analysis of policy concerning youth in society.

Editor: Tony Jeffs.

Editorial Group: Ron McGraw
Keith Popple
Frank Booton
Annie Franklin
Alan Dearling

Youth and Policy is published quarterly. Details concerning subscriptions and procedures for submission of material, including advertising copy, can be found on the inside back cover, and are available on separate leaflets by request.

Material from the journal may be extracted at any length for study and quotation. Please acknowledge the author, and Youth and Policy.

The views expressed in Youth and Policy are those of the respective contributors and do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the editorial group.

Editor's address:
'Burnbrae', Black Lane, Blaydon Burn, Blaydon,
Tyne and Wear.

Design and Typesetting by Impressive Inprint,
Quarrier's Road, Bridge of Weir, Renfrewshire,
PA11 3SA.
Printed by Russell Print, Upper Floor, Blantyre
Works, Knightswood Terrace, Blantyre.

contents

VOL 1 NO.3 WINTER 1983

	page
David M. Smith Structural - Functionalist Accounts of Youth	1
Bruce Carrington and Oliver Leaman Work for Some and Sport for All	10
Bob Franklin Feature Review: Children's Rights and the Philosophy of Exclusion	16
Analysis	
Paul Cavadino Young Offenders and the Criminal Justice Bill	23
Rod Ling Special Units: A New Institutional Solution to an old Administrative Problem	32
Reviews	38
Contributors	Inside Back Cover

YOUTH SERVICE REVIEW

One of the difficulties of producing a quarterly journal is that it is often impossible to respond to the appearance of major documents such as the Thompson Report as rapidly as we would wish.

This edition was already being typeset when the Report first appeared. However we have commissioned four major reviews which will appear in the next issue.

structural~functionalist accounts of youth

DAVID M. SMITH

Everyone knows what Youth Culture is, and everyone seems prepared to tell you. The situation amongst sociologists is not all that dissimilar, with a good deal of eclecticism present in the literature. However underlying the study of youth values and behaviour are three clear theoretical stances: structural-functionalism, neo-marxism and idealist analysis. Only neo-marxism might be said to be British-born, arising in the so-called New Wave Sociology of Youth of the 1970's. I have recently offered a critique of this elsewhere. (1). Idealist accounts of youth tend to conceive of youth as a major force for social change. Youth is seen as Counter-Cultural, revolutionary, progressive. This position is clearly historically located in the late 1960's. In Britain it has had little direct impact upon policy though in America it has been related to some policy issues. (2). The third theoretical stance, structural-functionalism, is the one that I wish to concentrate on in this article.

The theoretical contribution of this perspective has been enormous: the concepts of Youth Culture and Youth Subcultures were both developed from within the position. It has also been responsible for the vast bulk of the substantive literature. Its impact upon youth policy in Britain has been, and still is, considerable. The perspective derives from the theories of Talcott Parsons. It is American in origin and much of its literature, both theoretical and empirical, is American. In order to explore the theory we must make a considerable foray into this literature, before looking at its British developments. In Britain in recent years it has had a very bad press. (3). Yet these criticisms have been more dismissive than evaluative. The intention of this article is to review this literature in terms of its contribution to the theoretical debate as well as its implications for and impact upon policy.

Structural-Functionalist Perspectives on Youth

The Structural-Functionalist literature on youth not surprisingly pays a great deal of homage to the work of Talcott Parsons. (4). Parsons' direct contribution to the study of youth has, however, been a rather limited one. The classic early study by Parsons (5) defines youth as "more or less irresponsible" as opposed to the responsibility required for the playing of adult roles. One of the dominant features of youth culture is "having a good time"; in particular, there is an emphasis on social activities in company with the opposite sex. He links it with "a strong tendency to repudiate interest

in adult things and to feel at least a certain recalcitrance to the pressure of adult expectations and discipline". (6). For males athletics becomes a dominant avenue of achievement in contradiction to the avenues of achievement specified by adults, as does physical attractiveness to the opposite sex. The latter feature is particularly important for girls. Parsons sees achievement for girls within the youth culture in terms of "Glamor girl" pattern of dating success.

In many respects this early study can be seen as a microcosm of the later more developed structural-functional account of youth. Youth present a problem. They do not conform. However, the nature of their non-conformity is severely restricted. What is more, the reasons for their non-conformity lie in the nature of the structure of contemporary society and the degree of change. In a later article Parsons spells this out more precisely:

"We may state that both the nature of the American value pattern and the nature of the process of change going on in the society make for considerable difficulties in the personal adjustments of individuals". (7).

This then, is a problem for everyone, but "contemporary American society is of a type which one would expect the situation of youth to involve . . . rather special conditions of strain". (8). Not only the structure of that society, but also its pace of change creates particular problems for youth because "youth's expectations cannot be defined either very early or very precisely, and this results in considerable insecurity" (9). Thus Parsons is able to conclude that "American youth is in ferment", but is still able to argue that "the patterns of reaction on the part of American youth . . . seem well within normal limits". (10).

Parsons' work was taken up directly by Coleman, who also refers to the "irresponsibility imposed on [the adolescent]". (11). In his often quoted study of the American High School, (12) he claims to observe values very similar to those referred to by Parsons (13), namely athleticism, especially for boys, and physical attractiveness, particularly for girls. These, he argues, are the values of a youth culture which is the culture of a subsociety of youth, and are in direct conflict with the aspirations for intellectual success embodied in the dominant adult culture.

There are important differences between the two positions.

Parsons in his 1942 article emphasises the role of adolescent within the social system, Coleman emphasises the role played by adolescents in a subsociety. Nevertheless, both perceive youth as a problem, but a problem within strict bounds. Indeed, in the case of Coleman's study, it has been argued that he demonstrates a far greater conformity amongst youth than he realises because of his conceptual (14) and methodological inadequacies. (15). Since youth is seen as a problem which naturally arises out of the nature of contemporary society, it follows that the resolution of the youth problem must come either from changes in the nature of that society or by the adjustment of individual youths. Not surprisingly, since Parsons argues that youth non-conformity relates to roles, little can be done on that score, particularly since such non-conformity is generally within acceptable limits. The answer therefore lies in psychological adjustment. Thus, he concludes his 1963 article by writing:

"The future of American society and the future of that society in the larger world appear to present in the main a challenge to American youth. To cope with that challenge an intensive psychological preparation is now taking place." (16).

Psychological Dimensions of Structural-Functionalist Accounts of Youth.

Perhaps the most perceptive writer providing a psychological dimension to Parsons' sociological one is Erickson. Erickson argues that the prime danger for youth lies in "identity confusion, which can express itself in excessively prolonged moratoria . . . or in repeated impulsive attempts to end the moratoria with sudden choices, that is to play with historical possibilities". (17). Yet, he is most concerned to emphasise the normality of most youth. What is crucial for his explanation of the psychology of youth is his concept of 'Fidelity'. Fidelity is defined as "a certain strength inherent in the age of youth . . . [which he believes is] . . . part of the human equipment evolved with socio-genetic evolution Fidelity could not mature earlier in life and must not, in the crises of youth, fail its time of ascendance if human adaption is to remain intact". (18).

Youth, then, is seen not only as a social category arising out of the nature of the social structure of contemporary society, it is also a bio-psychological state. This argument for youth as a psychological stage of life has most recently been reiterated by Keniston. He argues that this psychological stage of life is located social-structurally in American society within the education system:

"the unprecedented prolongation of education has opened up opportunities for an extension of psychological development, which, in turn, is creating a 'new stage of life' . . . its central characteristic — the tension between selfhood and the existing social order". (19).

Although Keniston claims this as a psychological stage of life, it is clearly not a universal one, as his own editors are aware, (20) for even in American society not all young people undergo higher education, and the contrast between those who do and those who do not is most marked. Once again it serves to place emphasis upon the convergence amongst members of the youth studies industry on youth as a biological and psychological as well as a sociological concept.

The Functionality of Youth Groups

Although Parsons is paid homage to by most American writers on youth, the most fully developed sociological account of youth from a structural-functionalist perspective can be found in the work of S. N. Eisenstadt. He is concerned not with the pathology of youth culture stressed by so many writers, but rather with the functionality of youth groups. Eisenstadt's thesis is that:

"the existence of these [youth] groups is not fortuitous or random, and that they arise and exist only under very specific conditions . . . the analysis of these conditions . . . can also shed light on the understanding of the conditions of stability and continuity of social systems". (21).

He stresses the diversity of age-groups within universalistic societies but notes that "despite the diversity some general characteristics common to all types of age-groups have clearly emerged". (22). They are that membership is based on general age criteria, that common symbols of its identification and its values bear a strongly universalistic flavour, that value orientations are ascriptive and diffuse, and that the groups possess a strong internal solidarity. The differences can be accounted for by seeking "additional variables within the general framework of universalistic societies". (23). In particular, age groups differ in different types of universalistic societies. The place of age groups within a given society is, he argues, "largely determined by the extent to which the integrative principles of the society are similar to those of the age groups". (24).

Eisenstadt goes on to specify in detail the conditions under which age groups as an interlinking sphere between the family and other institutional spheres of society. Within the age group individuals attempt to achieve a form of solidarity and a set of gratifications very similar to those found in the family. At the same time, though, the age group also stresses different, more universalistic roles. In this way "it is the function of age groups to provide a sphere of roles in which solidarity orientations towards the community may be interwoven with wider universalistic and instrumental relations", (25) and at the same time reduce inter-generational conflict. To do so it is necessary to maintain a balance between the two, and this is only possible where there is a degree of harmony between the structure of the family and other institutional spheres of society. Not all societies will achieve integration, even at the simplest level. Where this occurs age groups would be expected to engage in practices which are outrightly deviant. In many societies only a degree of integration at certain levels will be achieved.

Eisenstadt's analysis concentrates upon the functions of age groups, by which he means youth groups, in maintaining the stability and continuity of society, but this is not to suggest that he does not recognise the possibility of social change nor the part in it which youth groups can play. He claims that age relations in all societies, and particularly in universalistic societies, are of crucial importance because "the smooth transition of social heritage, various attempts at change and various manifestations of discontinuity are largely even if not wholly affected through them. Age then provides a stage for the observation of stability, discontinuity and change". (26). Like all structural-functionalist analyses, the nature of change remains a very limited one.

So, we are to see youth and youth groups as functionally important to society. They may act deviantly, but much of

this deviance can be explained in terms of lack of inter-institutional integration. We have then, in structural-functionalism, three levels of explanation of deviant youth: lack of institutional integration on the part of society, or, faulty socialisation within given roles, or the psycho-biological condition of youth and individual pathology.

The Impact of American Structural-Functionalism on British Theory and Policy.

The sociological level of explanation has had some effect on American Youth Policy. The emphasis upon lack of adequate institutional integration has some connection, through Strain Theory, with programmes like the Mobilization For Youth project; and faulty role socialisation, through cultural deprivation theory, with action programmes like Head Start. However, both of these were aimed exclusively at working-class youth, and, where there was any prospect of them producing structural changes they were rapidly modified. (27). For middle-class youth the sociological level of the problem was firmly located in the school. (28). The school is, indeed, central to the American analysis of youth. Although there was good empirical evidence (29) available from the 1940s onwards of the impact of class differences on youth, when American structural-functionalists wrote of youth they meant, for the most part, middle-class, white youth. There is relatively little connection between youth as a substantive area of study and the literature on delinquency, or ethnicity. (30). Since in America most middle-class youth was in school it came to be assumed that youth was a school population, and youth culture was the informal culture of the school. (31).

I have spent considerable space reviewing American literature in a British journal for British readers. If this seems odd, my defence is the impact that this literature has had upon the British scene. Until the recent development of the 'new wave', British sociological studies of youth have been largely dependent upon structural-functionalist theory and concepts. The seminal article of the 1960s was that of Sugarman (32) linking 'youth culture' with academic achievement and behaviour in school. Sugarman himself saw this as complementing that of Coleman. It is a British empirical testing of American theoretical statements. It is also woefully inadequate both in its theoretical arguments and its operationalisation of concepts. Sugarman argues that the major distinction between Britain and America is that whereas American youth culture is based in the subsociety of the High School, British youth culture is a working-class phenomena operating outside the school. He argues that it develops out of a teenage social system, but once extant, it is possible for youth to, assert themselves towards it without being involved in the social system itself.

What Sugarman does not offer us is an explanation of either the origin or functions of youth culture. It merely is. What it is, with hindsight, seems amusingly quaint. He operationalises 'commitment to the teenage role' in terms of a number of behavioural factors which when combined, he refers to as "making the teen scene". These are: listening to pop music radio stations, wearing teenage fashions, dancing, and frequenting coffee bars. In addition he includes two further items which he claims constitute the content of youth culture: dating the opposite sex and smoking. He assumes that these constitute support for a youth culture whose chief value position is rejection of intellectual achievement. What he fails to

realise is that there is no necessary incompatibility between any of these activities and academic success, except that they are perhaps typical of activities frowned upon by schools. It is reasonable to assume some statistical correlation between such activity and rejection of school values, but it is absurd to argue for a casual relationship. If schools frown on such activities they are likely to be pursued by high achievers in a covert manner. What is more, being rejected by the educational system allows young people more time and scope to pursue such activities.

If the logical and methodological problems of this article seem immense, its importance should not be underestimated. It provided a substantive location for structural-functionalist accounts of youth in Britain, and it introduced the concept of youth culture as a working-class activity. (33). It is the very working-classness of British 'Youth Culture' which makes the failure to tie its literature to work being done on delinquency all the more remarkable. In America the two literatures were addressing different populations, even though the authors were not always aware of it. In Britain both literatures were concerned with the working-class. By way of example, let us look at the Hargreaves study of 'delinquent subculture'. (34). His study concerned low stream working-class pupils in an English secondary modern school and their solutions to their problem of lack of status within the school. He claims that:

"One solution is to redefine the pupil role in terms of adult roles The rejection of pupil role, and the associated status system, leads to admiration and premature imitation of adult roles beyond school The premature and anticipatory adult socialisation expresses itself in an exaggerated display of selected aspects of behaviour associated with adult status." (35).

So, in acting in accordance with norms appropriate for adult working-class people they fall foul of the school system. This argument could very well be used to reinterpret Sugarman's work (above) without reference to either 'youth culture' or 'youth subsystem' in the way that he uses them. However, the literature was too wedded to the concept of 'Youth Culture' to see the connection.

The American literature has had a direct influence upon some aspects of British youth policy in another sense. Butters and Newell have argued with some force that the Milson - Fairbairn report, with its emphasis upon the community development approach, is based firmly on another variation of American structural-functionalism. (36). Here the emphasis is upon the Youth Service functioning to reduce tension arising from the imbalances arising in subsystem interchanges. The argument is that the nature of contemporary society produces a 'participation deficit' resulting in a failure on the part of both individuals and collectivities to sufficiently involve themselves in aspects of social structure. (37). The Report recommended community development oriented youth workers able to foster self-help groups capable of criticising and thus modifying the dominant value - system of contemporary society and some aspects of its institutional structure. This is supposed to resolve, or at least allow for the 'participation deficit', especially in the young, increase responsibility, and lay the foundation for a dialogue between the young and the rest of society.

Recent British Structural-Functionalism: Theory and Policy.

In more recent times the structural-functionalist position has been taken up in Britain in the work of David Marsland and his Regional Training Consultative Unit at Brunel University. Marsland's work is particularly interesting because he is not only concerned with developing a coherent theoretical stance based on what he terms the 'conventional model for Sociology', but, by the very nature of his unit, he is also directly concerned with policy issues. When Marsland writes of 'conventional Sociology', he means Structural-Functionalist Sociology. In his best known critique of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies he lines himself up with "the level of general theory or at the subordinate level of the theory of youth developed by Parsons, Eisenstadt, Davis, Coleman and Erikson". (38). Like others we have seen, he makes reference back to the different analytical levels in American theory:

"Adequate analysis of youth absolutely requires that we take into account equally and alike of biological, psychological and sociological forces and facts". (39).

He is particularly impressed by Parsons:

In Parsons' formulations it (Sociology) had carved out a generally acknowledged domain of analysis for itself, with its boundaries with other modes of analysis and with other disciplines, and its internal intellectual structure defined by general abstract theory. Even where there was resistance to the specific explanatory theories and interpretations of social development provided from this perspective, its influence as an instrument of definition and rationalisation of the nature of sociology can hardly be exaggerated." (40).

He refers back to this stage as though it were a golden age before in particular Marxism and Phenomenology succeeded in having it "powerfully undermined" (41) and reduced Sociology as a discipline to "a state of incoherence". (42). In the Sociology of Youth, he claims, this has resulted in two movements; one towards eclecticism (43); the other towards naive empiricism. (44). Neither of these provide "escape routes from the problems of the sociology of youth". (45). He is undoubtedly correct in arguing against both of these responses, though quite wrong I think, to accuse Musgrove of eclecticism, when his book *'Ecstasy and Holiness'* (46) is so clearly located in the Idealist stance. I would also agree with his demand for a "theoretically adequate sociology of youth" (47), though just how well his own position fits that description we will turn to shortly.

Much of Marsland's energy goes into attacking alternative paradigms. He is probably correct in seeing the real challenge to his 'conventional sociology' as coming not from phenomenology but from Marxism, and he says of his main book, "this theme of anti-marxism runs continuously throughout all the chapters of this book". (48). Indeed it is through a critique of other positions that he justifies his own. Unfortunately his critique is in places naive in the extreme.

The first chapter of this book is entitled "Young People: the Proletariat of the Age System". This terminology, he says, we are to take seriously. It is, of course, intended to be ironic, but it is not merely ironic:

"I do not mean to argue here that it is misleading and unhelpful to think about the social position of young people as if they were a proletariat within a class system. On the contrary, my argument proposes that unless we recognise

the large extent to which the position of young people is genuinely analogous with some fundamental aspects of what marxists characterise as a proletariat, we shall misconstrue and underestimate 'the problem of youth' and involve ourselves in serious errors of policy and practice". (49).

More than this, "by implication I am arguing that if contemporary Britain can show a proletarian class at all, it is not composed of workers and their families Instead I offer up to take this role the apparently heterogeneous collection of young people of all classes, all colours, both sexes: **Youth**". (50). This 'youth proletariat' is to be understood in terms of exploitation, progress and radical change. Exploitation, he claims, is to be understood as "the illegitimate and unjust use of power by one collective category of social actors over another". (51). Progress is to be sought in "the innovative seeds of the future" (52) to be found in 'the proletariat' such that one "expects of its members an indispensable contribution to a qualitative transformation of culture". (53). Radical change is necessary because the "satisfaction of the frustrated needs of the exploited class and concession of their revolutionary aspirations necessarily requires radical change in the fundamental structure of society." (54).

This is a ludicrous travesty of Marxist class analysis. His characterisation of exploitation is more Weberian than Marxist, his definition of progress is in terms of culture not the social relations of production, and the "satisfaction of frustrated needs" is quite alien to Marxism. Nevertheless, his argument here is revealing:

"The daily experience of young people is such as to generate idealistic frustration and to sustain and reinforce it through involvement in peer groups isolated from adult control only radical change (or continued effective exploitive suppression) can answer the revolutionary aspirations of youth. Without modifications in the fundamental structure of society, particularly changes in the cultural definition of authority, there is no way young people can be de-proletarianised This is fundamentally due to the fact that the biological, general psychological and irreducible sociological condition of youth underlies and supports its merely cultural and political manifestation." (55).

Here we are back to Erikson again. The biological, psychological and sociological categories overlap. Yet we also have what appears to be a rather different view of youth and social change than there is in the American literature. Eisenstadt writes of age as providing a stage for the observation of "stability, discontinuity and change" (56), but here we have youth as the harbinger of change, and radical social change at that.

So despite its structural-functional roots Marsland sees youth culture in counter-cultural terms. What is more it seems it is a counter-culture of enormous strength: "The spectre of youth infinitely more challenging and frightening than that offered by any other candidate for the revolutionary role of the proletariat". (57). For someone so involved in policy formation and discussion as is Marsland this is radical indeed. But now comes the disclaimers. The "notion of youth as proletariat" (58) is not really to be taken seriously. It is "as false as it is true" (59). What is important is that "we should in our dealings with young people act on it as if it were true absolutely". (60). What this means is that "we should participate with them in helping them towards an understanding of, a confi-

dence with, a practical competence in, the freedom which the structure of social development has compelled us to allow them . . . For they must find the restraining structure, the shaping patterns, the guiding rules which the freedom with which they experiment in loneliness on our behalf demands.” (61).

We are safely back in Structural-Functionalism after all. The problem of youth is a problem of socialisation into appropriate roles in a society which is changing, and at a key point psychologically and biologically in their lives, when the structure of that society makes some elements of that socialisation problematic. What is different in Marsland’s work is the degree of “societal and cultural momentum”. (62). Because of the rate of social change, or, he argues, the rate of social mobility extant, youth “loses any determinant goal.” (63). So youth either becomes politicised or “an autonomous youth culture develops through which transition is handed over to young people themselves... (64). In this sense, he claims, youth’s ideas do have some impact upon the nature and direction of social change.

Marsland’s virilant anti-marxism, plus his rather awkward and dogmatic style of writing tend to detract from his argument. However, when he actually comes to try and develop an ‘adequate theory of youth’, he offers us a conceptual analysis of some subtlety. Although he accepts youth as a biological and psychological category as well as a sociological one, he does distinguish between the levels of analysis:

“Age groups are thus to be conceived as segments of life-cycles and biographies, rooted in the biological fundamentals of birth, growth, decline and death, variably reconstituted in socio-cultural terms as instrumentalities for the ordering of life and society and maintained and transformed by specific forms of age-consciousness and identity.” (65).

There are, he claims, three fundamental categories of age: childhood, maturity and old age, with two transitional categories between them. The first transitional category is youth. Age must be conceived of as one of the categories by which societies, including industrial societies, are structured. Youth is of particular social significance because it represents a critical stage between age categories.

In emphasising youth as an age status he shows a degree of sophistication not found in some of the literature already reviewed (66) and in stressing the relationship between youth as a category and the social organisation of age-categories, he takes the Sociology of Youth beyond the parochialism of its past. Yet much of the analysis remains assertion. That age is an important organising principle in contemporary societies seems reasonable to the present author; and his analysis of the legal implications of youth status makes that point in detail. (67). Yet his fundamental age-categories appear from nowhere. Why should youth be a transition category when maturity is not? What, sociologically, constitutes maturity anyway? Why is the transition from maturity to old age largely unrecognised? Having made a case for age as an important organising principle, he fails to adequately analyse it.

He also makes an important distinction between age and generation. Confusion here abounds in the literature on both sides of the Atlantic, and continues in the British ‘New Wave’ Sociology. (68). Marsland refers to generation as being defined

by “cultural-historical imprinting.” (69). His definition is essentially Mannheimian. (70). You are born into a generation and as you progress through various age-stages your generation’s ‘cultural-historical imprinting’ stays with you colouring your perceptions of the world. He introduces a third concept which he calls Seniority. Seniority is the principle by which increasing age is associated with increasing experience and responsibility. Thus many “organisations and groups take systematic account of experience and investment in membership.” (71). Seniority is, then, fairly specific in its application. The relationship between the three aspects of the age principle may be summarised as follows. The criteria for seniority “overlap those of generationality and age group membership but are distinct from them.” (72). Membership of a generational unit “is a constant” for a given set of individuals, whereas both seniority and age group membership are essentially variable.

We can summarise Marsland’s position as follows. Age is a major organising principle of society. Youth is a key transitional stage between the givens of childhood and adulthood. The social structure relationships between age-groups are relatively constant over time, but the particular relations pertaining at any given time depend upon historical specificities. Thus, age and generational analyses are to be understood as long as different dimensions, but are still relevant to one another. The role of the Youth Service in all this is to assist in providing adequate institutional support for the satisfactory transition between major age categories. The actual nature of that support at any given time will depend upon particular historical specificities. In the present context there is the prospect of a crisis of authority arising out of the nature of “exploitation progress and change.” The Youth Service is, therefore, particularly important currently as an institution which serves the function of adequately socialising/controlling youth.

Marsland is offering us a clear and unambiguous view of the nature and significance of youth in our contemporary society, and of the necessary policies to be adopted towards youth. These policies, which he sees as being operated through the Youth Service, are to be concerned with the control, or more subtly, manipulation of youth to ensure the continued functionality of youth groups without any of the concomitant disfunctionalities. His call for radicalism amounts to a pressure for some limited structural change in order to redefine authority based on age-criteria and thus reduce youth’s frustration, which is currently sustained and reinforced “through involvement in peer groups isolated from adult control.” (73). Youth subculture is functional in assisting youth through the transitional period. It is disfunctional to the extent that it is outside adult control and so may develop along deviant dimensions. One way of neutralising the disfunctional elements is greater force – “continued effective exploitative suppression” (74), but more effective is channelling youth subculture expression into approved institutional forms. This is the real function of the Youth Service.

Critical Conclusions

In this article I have attempted to set out the major features of the Structural-Functionalist account of youth with particular emphasis upon their use of the concept of youth subculture. In the process I have made detailed criticisms of that account where appropriate. In conclusion I want to try to formulate

some assessment of the contribution of this theoretical school both to our understanding of the nature of young people and the nature of youth policies. In doing so I will consider some of the major criticisms made against the school.

The greatest claim in favour of any form of structural-functionalism is, I suppose, the sheer grandeur of the exercise. As Rocher says of Parsons, he "made a remarkable effort to build a logical, unified and coherent conceptual scheme for sociology at a very high level of generality." (75). What is more: "Parsons created a general theoretical framework embracing all the social sciences." (76). Whether Parsons' attempt is actually successful is another matter. It has been criticised, I think unfairly, on the grounds that it is not teleological: that is to say that it confuses function with cause. Parsons, I think, studiously avoided doing this, though many examples can be found in the sub-Parsonian youth literature. (77). More seriously, it has been criticised for the untestability of its hypotheses. The argument is that functionalist hypotheses are constructed in such a way that, as Percy Cohen says, "the hypotheses is bound to be right, whatever the circumstances." (78). Whilst Cohen acknowledges that to a degree this criticism could be used against sociological hypotheses in general, he argues that "it is possible to make other hypotheses more testable whilst those of a functionalist variety resist such treatment." (79). For example, Eisenstadt's claim that youth groups function to help maintain the stability and continuity of society is not amenable to empirical test.

It is the grandiose nature of structural-functionalism which appears to appeal to Marsland. He argues that in order to construct a theoretically adequate Sociology of Youth, we require the following:

- "1. Specification of a coherent paradigm defining the basic categories and methodological criteria of sociological analysis.
2. Elaboration in terms of the conceptual and methodological structure paradigmatically defined, of general models of society, social systems, social action and interaction.
3. Identification of the locus of youth and other age-related categories and role/collectively titles in:
 - a) the structural context of social organisation,
 - b) the developmental context of individual and inter-individual experience,
 - c) the socio-cultural context of social change and development.
4. A coherent methodological framework for concrete, comparative . . . analysis of age structures and age related experience." (80).

Marsland himself recognises the implausibility of this as a realistic proposition and goes on to present a more modest programme. Yet two things might be said in defense of such a proposal. First, however legitimate the general critique of structural-functionalism, a similar criticism might be made of much of the neo-Marxist work arising in opposition to it. This also tends to be somewhat 'functionalist' (81) in its explanations and not readily empirically testable. Secondly, one has to admit that, however inadequate the basis, it does lead Mars-

land to an interesting and constructive discussion of concepts.

A second major claim which might be made for structural-functional accounts of youth is that they have provided a coherent framework within which a great deal of informative empirical evidence about youth subcultures has been collected. The amount of empirical work has certainly been impressive. (82). However, there are two major criticisms which stand against this work, both of which reflect problems of an empirical and theoretical nature. The first is the critique of David Matza of the use of concept of subculture. (83). Matza argues that there is no youth subculture because there is no fundamental difference in values between the young and adults. Youth culture is rather the manifestation of subterranean values contained within the dominant culture but applied by youth in an inappropriate context. For Matza there are three 'deviant' patterns of response by youth: bohemianism, radicalism and delinquency. None of these constitute separate youth 'subcultures', but are the exaggeration and inappropriate application of values held by all. What is more, the most frequent response of youth is one of conventionalism. Despite several serious difficulties, both empirical and theoretical, with Matza's work, (84) he does provide a more satisfying account of the diversity of youthful interpretations of 'societal' values than does structural-functionalism.

The other major criticism is that structural-functionalism has exaggerated the significance of youth as an explanatory category by arguing, as for example Eisenstadt does that age provides "a stage for the observation of stability, discontinuity and change." (85). One continuing problem for American structural-functional studies of youth has been the embarrassing tendency, for empirical studies to demonstrate very little in the way of differences in values between young and old. (86). Where such studies look at age differences within social classes the similarities are even more striking. (87). Even Coleman's 'youth culture' has been reinterpreted as a reflection of parental values. (88). What is more the similarities across age hold cross-culturally. (89). This is not to agree with Hall, Jefferson and Clarke (90) that youth is not valid or useful concept. I cannot regard Hall et al's denial of the legitimacy of youth as any more valid than Marsland's denial of class. (91). The emphasis on the centrality of youth has also, arguably, had some positive benefit. It's assumed centrality has resulted in an extensive conceptual discussion of age categories, generational categories and historical change. In some respects Marsland's account of the relationship between age and generation is more sophisticated than that of, say Murdock and McCron. (92). What is more, where this has been linked with adequate socio-economic analysis, as in the work of Rosenmayer, it has produced empirical studies of a sophistication unmatched in Britain. Rosenmayer is himself highly critical of much structural-functional work for its static nature, its conceptual rigidity and its frequent recourse to psychological processes. (93).

The claim that structural-functionalism has exaggerated the centrality of youth is related to a further claim that the position is ahistorical. This is, of course a general criticism of functionalist explanations at all levels. In the Sociology of Youth the argument relates particularly to the historical location of youth as a category in European societies. It has been argued that Nineteenth Century European history tends to demonstrate the irrelevance of age. Aries (94) and Pinchbeck and Hewitt (95), for example, have argued that childhood was

conceived of quite differently in pre-industrial times. As Morris and McIsaac (96) have shown, in the late Eighteenth Century something like forty per cent of the population were aged under fifteen years old, so that children must have constituted a substantial part of the labour force. It was not until 1833 that any restraints on child labour in factories were imposed, and not until 1844 in mines. It is indicative of attitudes to the young that at the end of the Eighteenth Century the age of criminal responsibility was seven years old, and there was no separate prison for children until 1838 (Parkhurst established for under 18s), with no discrimination in the courts until 1847 (7-14s charged with stealing tried in magistrates' courts). Young people were literally that — younger versions of adults.

It is further argued that when adolescence came to be recognised as a category it was initially in terms of the middle-class young, for whom prolonged education began to develop. It was not until this century that youth were perceived as constituting a category in terms of which one might explain behaviour. As Gillis, in his excellent historical analysis argues, by "1917 youngsters of all social ranks were acknowledged to share certain characteristics, including a propensity towards delinquency. A stage of life, adolescence, had replaced station in life, class, as the perceived cause of misbehaviour." (97). It is perhaps not without some significance that perhaps the most famous and popular psychological explanation of adolescence was published at about this time, albeit in America. (98).

As a critique of the structural-functionalist tendency to link the social status of youth with the biological and psychological stage, this is very valid. Clearly the biological significance of adolescence need not be mirrored in social status. What is more, the psychological traumas of adolescence — the 'sturm und drang' of Hall — appear not to have manifested themselves to any degree prior to industrialisation. This historical analysis, however, does not in any real sense contribute to the argument about the legitimacy of youth as a sociological concept, or as a social category. It shows that age had a different significance in earlier times and that the transition to adult roles was substantially easier, but, to argue that childhood represented no differences is not really tenable. Children may have worked the same hours as adults but they were nevertheless clearly subordinate both in skill and in deference. In any case there is plenty of evidence that age is significant in many pre-industrial societies. It may not have equal significance in all societies at all historical times but this does not deny its significance as a sociological concept. One is bound to say also that the historical perspective of some of the critics is a little suspect. As I have argued elsewhere (99) their failure to locate age and class in relation to generation lends itself to a somewhat static analysis.

The conclusion that these critics come to is surprisingly similar to that of structural-functionalists in how they characterise those institutions dealing with youth. Gillis, writing of the Boys Brigades and the Boy Scouts, says: "the model adolescent therefore became the organised youth, dependent but secure from temptation, while the independent and precocious young were stigmatised as delinquent." (100). Thus the voluntary agencies, and, of course, state institutions from the Youth Service to the Courts are control agencies.

Implications for Policy.

The quotation from Gillis (above) brings us right back to policy. As I argued above the impact of structural-functional theory and their conceptualisation of youth behaviour in terms of youth subculture has had and still does have a considerable impact upon official policies towards youth. Although Marsland is very concerned to distance himself from the structural-functionalism underlying the Fairbairn - Milson Report, both are theoretically located in the same sphere and both are, ultimately, control theories. Structural-functional theory conceives of youth subcultures in such a way that it delegitimises their values. Youth groups may be functional, they may be deviant, they may presumably even be both, but whatever they are, the purpose of studying them, the purpose of a youth service in relation to them, is to ensure that eventually their members will return to the fold. Marsland makes this quite explicit. The youth worker, and the parent, must help them "towards an understanding of, a confidence with, a practical competence in, the freedom which the structure of social development has compelled us to allow them." (101). The freedom, however, is restricted to the freedom to come to terms with society as it is, or as Marsland puts it, "they must find the restraining structures." (102). Presumably, if they as individuals do not, they are passed on to the C.H.E.s or similar direct control bodies. If substantial sections of youth do not, then there is a threat to the social order. This threat must be repulsed. So while "through the medium of youth culture young people are substantially involved in resistance and challenge to many of the fundamental features of modern society . . . youth workers and the Youth Service cannot allow themselves to collude in phoney dreams." (103).

Marsland justifies his own position as providing a clear and coherent theoretical basis upon which policy can be formulated and contrasts this with Marxism which has no policy implications. If the problems of young people are the problems of capitalism, then all you can do is sit back and await the demise of capitalism, perhaps subverting a few working-class adolescents on the side. Clearly this does not represent much in the way of a theoretical justification for the Youth Service, nor for anything that youth workers might do. In this sense it does highlight something of a problem for the radical youth worker. If 'youth' is of no significance, then whatever the radical youth worker does is likely to be similarly irrelevant. If that argument were ever true it now represents a strange interpretation of neo-marxism. In 1978 was published the Butters and Newell Report: 'Realities of Training'. (104). Whatever its limitations, that report is interesting in offering a radical alternative to Marsland's own position which spells out clear policy implications for youth. Marsland himself acknowledges this in his comment appended to the Report. It remains the case, however, that youth training in particular and youth policy in general is overwhelmingly influenced by structural-functionalist conceptualisations of youth and youth subculture.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Smith, David M. 'New Movements in the Sociology of Youth' *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXII, No. 2. June 1981, pp. 239-251.
2. See most recently, Katz, M. B. 'Missing the Point: National Service and the Needs of Youth', *Social Policy*, Jan/Feb. 1980. pp. 36-40. or, a much better article: Keniston, K. 'A Second look at the Uncommitted', *Social Policy*, July/August, 1971, pp. 6-19.

3. See for example: **Hall, S. and Jefferson, T.** *Resistance through Rituals*, London, Hutchinson, 1976; **Mungham, G. and Pearson, G.** *Working class Youth Culture*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976. **Brake, M.** *The Sociology of Youth Culture and Youth Subcultures*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980.
4. For a detailed account of the American literature and an account of Parsons position it is, see: **Grinder, R. E.** *Adolescence*, 2nd Ed., New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1978.
5. **Parsons, T.** 'Age and sex in the social structure of the United States', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 7, Oct., 1942, pp. 604-616.
6. *Ibid.*
7. **Parsons, T.** 'Youth in the context of American Society', in E. H. Erickson, (Ed.) *Youth: challenge and change*, N. Y. Basic Books, 1963, p. 101.
8. *Ibid.* page 116.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.* page 118.
11. **Coleman, J. S.** *Adolescents and the Schools*, London, Basic Books, 1965, p. IX.
12. **Coleman, J. S.** *The Adolescent Society*, Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1961.
13. **Parsons (1942)** Op Cit.
14. **Berger, B. M.** 'Adolescence and Beyond', *Social Problems*, Vol. 10, Spring 1963. pp. 394-408.
15. **Epperson, D. C.** 'A Re-assessment of the Indices of Parental Influence in the "Adolescent Society"', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 29, No. 1. Feb. 1964, pp. 93-96.
16. **Parsons, T. (1963)** Op Cit. page 119.
17. **Erickson, E.** *Identity: Youth in Crisis*, London, Faber and Faber, 1968, p. 246.
18. *Ibid.* page 1.
19. **Keniston, K.** 'Prologue: Youth as a stage of Life', in Havighurst, R. J. and Dreyer, P. H., *Youth: the 74th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part 1, page 4.
20. **Havighurst, R. J. and Dreyer, P. H.** Op Cit.
21. **Eisenstadt, S. N.** *From Generation to Generation: Age Groups and Social Structure*, London, Collier-MacMillan, 1956, page 15.
22. *Ibid.* page 183.
23. *Ibid.* page 186.
24. *Ibid.* page 187.
25. *Ibid.* page 273.
26. *Ibid.* page 323.
27. **Helgot, J. F.** *Professional Reforming: Mobilization for Youth and the Failure of Social Science*, Lexington, Mass, Lexington Books, 1981.
28. As in **Coleman (1961)** and **(1965)**. Op Cit.
29. See for example: **Hollingshead, A. B.** *Elmstown's Youth and Elm-town revisited*, London, Wiley, 1949, 1975.
30. See for example, the review in: **Brake, M. (1980)**. Op Cit.
31. See, for example, the critical discussion in **Grinder, R. E. (1978)**. Op Cit, esp. chapters 9, 12 and 13.
32. **Sugarman, B.** 'Involvement in Youth Culture, Academic Achievement and Conformity in Schools', *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 18, 1967, pp. 151-164.
33. The concept was subsequently used differently in the British literature. It was for example used to refer to 'Counter Cultures' of middle-class youth by Wilson. See **Wilson, B.** *The Youth Culture and the Universities*, London, Faber and Faber, 1970. However this usage, I would suggest, derives from a different American literature.
34. **Hargreaves, D. H.** *Social Relations in a Secondary School*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967.
35. *Ibid.* page 173.
36. **Butters, S. and Newell, S.** *Realities of Training*, Leicester, National Youth Bureau, 1978, page 56.
37. **Etzioni, A.** *The Active Society*, NY, The Free Press, 1967.
38. **Marsland, D.** *Sociological Explanations in the Service of Youth*, Leicester, National Youth Bureau, 1978, page 87.
39. *Ibid.* page 7.
40. *Ibid.* page 91.
41. *Ibid.* page 93.
42. *Ibid.*
43. He gives Musgrove as an example of this.
44. He gives Eggleston as typical of this.
45. **Marsland, D. (1978)**. Op Cit, page 95.
46. **Musgrove, F.** *Ecstasy and Holiness: Counter Culture and the Open Society*, London, Methuen, 1974.
47. **Marsland, D. (1978)**. Op Cit, page 95.
48. *Ibid.* page 9.
49. *Ibid.*
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.* page 10.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*
56. **Eisenstadt, S. N. (1956)**. Op Cit, page 323.
57. **Marsland, D. (1978)**. Op Cit, page 19.
58. *Ibid.* page 20.
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Ibid.* page 30.
63. *Ibid.*
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Ibid.* page 25.
66. For example, **Keniston, K. (1971)**. Op Cit.
67. **Marsland, D. and Rahman, K.** 'Youth and the Law: a historical and comparative approach', paper presented to British Sociological Association Annual Conference, 'Law and Society', University of Warwick, April 1979.
68. **Smith, David M. (1981)**. Op Cit.
69. **Marsland, D. (1978)**. Op Cit, page 25.
70. See **Mannheim, K.** 'The Problem of Generations', in Kecskemeti,

- P. (ed.), Karl Mannheim: *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952.
71. Marsland, D. (1978). *Op Cit*, page 25.
 72. *Ibid.*
 73. *Ibid*, page 10.
 74. *Ibid.*
 75. Rocher, Guy. *Talcott Parsons and American Sociology*, London, Nelson, 1974, page 163.
 76. *Ibid.*
 77. See, for example, Sebald, H. *Adolescence: a Sociological Analysis*, NY, Appleton-Century Crofts, 1968.
 78. Cohen, Percy. *Modern Social Theory*, London, Heinemann, 1968, page 52.
 79. *Ibid.*
 80. Marsland, D. (1978). *Op Cit*, page 96.
 81. See, Harding, P. 'What happened to Youth', in two studies of Youth Work Training, Dissertation, B.A. Sociology of Education, Middlesex Polytechnic, Unpublished.
 82. See, Grinder, R. E. (1978). *Op Cit*.
 83. Matza, David. 'Subterranean Traditions of Youth', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 338, Nov. 1961, pp. 22-32. See also: Matza, D. *Delinquency and Drift*, NY, Wiley, 1964.
 84. See for example, Box, S. *Deviance, Reality and Society*, 2nd Ed., London, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1981. Taylor, I. Walton, P. and Young, J. *The New Criminology*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973; Weis, Joseph G. 'Dialogue with David Matza', *Issues in Criminology*, Vol. 6, No. 1, Winter 1971, pp. 33-53.
 85. Eisenstadt, S. N. (1956). *Op Cit*, page 323.
 86. See Smith, David M. 'The Concept of Youth Culture: a re-evaluation', *Youth and Society*, Vol. 7, No. 4, June 1976, pp. 347-366.
 87. Hollingshead, A. B. *Op Cit*.
 88. Berger, B. M. (1963). *Op Cit*.
 89. See, for example: Downes, D. *The Delinquent Solution*, London, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966, Cohen, P. 'subcultural Conflict and Working-class Community', *Working Papers in Cultural Studies*, No. 2, 1972. Rosenmayer, L. 'Economic and Social Conditions influencing the lives of young People', Annex V, Final Report, International Conference on Youth, Grenoble, Aug/Sept 1964, U.N.E.S.C.O.
 90. Hall, S., Jefferson, T. and Clarke, J. 'Youth as a Stage of Life?', *Youth in Society*, No. 17, Vol. 6, 1976.
 91. See the argument in: Smith, David M. (1981). *Op Cit*.
 92. Murdock, G. and McCron, R. 'Consciousness of Class and Consciousness of Generation', in Hall, S. and Jefferson, T. *Resistance through Rituals: Youth subcultures in post-war Britain*, London, Hutchinson, 1976, pp. 192-207.
 93. Rosenmayer, L. 'New theoretical Approaches to the Sociological Study of Young People', *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1972, pp. 216-256. Rosenmayer, H., and Rosenmayer, L. 'The Social Plasticity of Youth', in I.P.C. Science and mayer, L. 'The Social Plasticity of Youth' in Hill, J. P. and Monks, F. J. (Eds.), *Adolescence and Youth in Prospect*, Guildford, I.P.C. Science and Technology Press, 1977, pp. 95-113.
 94. Aries, Phillippe. *Centuries of Childhood; a Social History of Family Life*, New York, Vintage Books, 1965.
 95. Pinchbeck, Ivy and Hewitt, Margaret. *Children in English Society*, Vol. 1, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969.
 96. Morris, A. and McIsaac, M. *Juvenile Justice?*, London, Heinemann, 1978.
 97. Gillis, John R. *Youth and History; Tradition and Change in European Age Relations, 1770 – Present*, London, Academic Press, 1974.
 98. Hall, G. Stanley. *Adolescence*, NY, Appleton, 1904.
 99. See Smith, David M. (1981). *Op Cit*.
 100. Gillis, J. R. (1974). *Op Cit*, page 97.
 101. Marsland, D. (1978). *Op Cit*, page 20.
 102. *Ibid.*
 103. *Ibid*, page 112.
 104. Butters, S. and Newell, S. (1978). *Op Cit*.

How can local authorities and activists respond to the problems of communities in need?

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT TOWARDS A NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

The first overall account of the **Community Projects Foundation** from its beginning in 1978. Major projects in Newport, Sandwell, Swindon, Bedworth Heath, Leeds, Mansfield, Edinburgh, Newcastle, Clwyd, Islington, Leominster, Rochdale and Dunfermline are described. Also summaries of all 45 projects since the birth of the CPF's predecessor, the Young Volunteer Force Foundation, in 1968. Further chapters explain the principles and methods drawn from this continually evolving experience.

*Published 18th November 1982.
130pp. £2.25 incl. postage.*

Other publications include: –

BIDING TIME: reflections of unemployed young people in Kirkcaldy.
36pp. £1.30 incl. postage.

SITUATION VACANT –The Social Consequences of Unemployment in a Welsh Town.
96pp. £2.00 incl. postage.

COMMUNITY GROUPS HANDBOOKS.
Advice and ideas on maximising the effectiveness of a local group.
125pp. (5 booklets). £2.70 incl. postage.

COMMUNITY CURRENTS.
Two-monthly bulletin surveying new articles about housing, employment, youth, minorities and other factors affecting community life.
*Average 150 short entries.
35pp. £1.00 per issue incl. postage.*

From: –
Publications Department
Community Projects Foundation
60 Highbury Grove
London N5 2AG.

Write for full list.

work for some and sport for all

BRUCE CARRINGTON — OLIVER LEAMAN

Lord Scarman, reporting on the Brixton disorders, made the following general observations on the implications of inadequate recreational provision in inner city areas:

"It is clear that the exuberance of youth requires in Brixton (and in similar inner city areas) imaginative and socially acceptable opportunities for release if it is not to be diverted to criminal ends. It is clear that such opportunities do not at present exist in Brixton to the extent that they ought, particularly given the enforced idleness of many youths through unemployment. The amusement arcades, the unlawful drinking clubs and, I believe, the criminal classes gain as a result. The street corners become the social centres of people, young and old, good and bad, with time on their hands and a continuing opportunity, which, doubtless, they use, to engage in endless discussion of their grievances." (1).

Accepting the dictum that "the devil finds work for idle hands to do", he made the following recommendation:

"In order to secure social stability there will be a long term need to provide useful, gainful employment and suitable educational, recreational and leisure opportunities for young people, especially in the inner city." (2).

Policy makers, sports providers and others have already paid heed to Lord Scarman's warnings. Established programmes to extend provision and access to sports and recreational facilities in inner city areas have been further developed in the wake of the riots. Moreover, new policy initiatives have also been undertaken.

Accepting that sport and physical recreation have some cathartic value, and perhaps convinced that participation in such activities will provide the disaffected with some form of "moral uplift", the armed forces and the police have subsequently sought to join the ranks of more orthodox sports providers. With recently announced schemes directed specifically at the jobless youth of the inner cities (e.g. the Ministry of Defence's Adventure Training Programme, the Metropolitan Police's decision to include sports coaching in its "community policing" training course, the Sports Council's various forays into social work including its Action Sport project), it would appear that sport and physical recreation have come to play an increasingly prominent role in British urban policy.

This development has not been without its critics. Apprehensions have been voiced in several quarters about the seemingly calculated use of sport and physical recreation by various agencies (official and private) as a medium for social work and an instrument of social control. (3). It is the aim of this article to examine some of these interventions and consider their function in crisis management.

The belief that sport and physical recreation have a part to play in piecemeal social engineering and in accommodating disaffected working class youth is not a recent manifestation, but has been articulated in several policy statements since 1960 (and indeed earlier). For example, the Wolfenden Committee, whose recommendations eventually led to the establishment of the Sports Council and gave impetus to increased state intervention in this sphere, noted: — "It is a reasonable assumption that if more young people had opportunities for playing games fewer of them would develop criminal habits." (4). Similar sentiments are expressed in the 1975 White Paper — **Sport and Recreation** — where the virtues of sport and physical recreation are extolled as cathartic outlets for wayward youth and as a partial solution to the more general problems of alienation and disaffection:—

"The Government's concern with recreation stems basically from their recognition of its importance for the general welfare of the community. By reducing boredom and urban frustration, participation in active recreation contributes to the reduction of hooliganism and delinquency among young people. Equally, success in international sport has great value for the community not only in terms of raising morale but also by inspiring young people to take an active part in sport". (5).

The White Paper, which endorsed the Cobham Committee's (6) proposal that additional funds should be made available under the Urban Programme to develop sports and recreational provision in inner city areas, legitimated the extension of state involvement in these spheres in the following prophetic passage:

"The Government believes that sport and recreation provide enormous benefits for the individual in society and recognise the part which they can play in the enhancement of personality. The social stresses on many young people today are enormous, especially in the big cities. If we delay

too long in tackling the causes of these stresses constructively, the problems which arise from them will be magnified, and the cost of dealing with their results greatly increased. The need to provide for people to make the best of their leisure must be seen in this context, and in the division of resources this requirement must be balanced with the needs of the traditional social services, housing and education. Where the community neglects its responsibilities for providing the individual with opportunities and choice in the provision of sports and recreational facilities, it will rarely escape the long term consequences of this neglect". (7).

The Department of the Environment's studies **Leisure and the Quality of Life** and **Recreation and Deprivation in Inner City Areas**, which were published two years after the White Paper, revealed a marked disjunction between policy and practice. (8). They showed that the policy of providing sports and recreational facilities for the whole community — encapsulated in the Sports Council's slogan "Sports for All" — had "not benefitted the disadvantaged". In particular, these facilities were not being fully utilised by those living in "areas of urban need", including ethnic minorities and other sections of the working class with relatively low access to cultural and material resources. In short, those Studies served to demonstrate that fundamental structural inequalities were as pervasive in sport and recreation as in other spheres of collective consumption.

Understandably, sports providers were disturbed by these findings. The initial response of the Sports Council was to convene a seminar in Manchester (November 1977) on **Sport and Recreation in the Inner City**. At this delegates stressed the need for local "animateurs" in inner city areas to provide some measure of direction in the provision of facilities and leadership and, more importantly, to attempt to break down the gulf in communications between sports providers and non-participants. (9). The Sports Council has subsequently redoubled its efforts to promote participation among inner city dwellers; more especially, the young unemployed, ethnic minorities, the lower paid, semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers and women. By 1981 it had provided grants for some 834 proposals regarding projects in the inner cities. (10). Since the urban disorders of 1980 and 1981, and with the unabated growth of mass unemployment (particularly in inner city areas among the young and ethnic minority groups), the strategy and slogan "Sport for All" has come to acquire a new ideological significance. An example of this may be found in a recent statement made by the Sports Council Regional Director, who would appear to claim that in a period of mass unemployment sport and recreation may function as surrogates for wage labour:

"In spite of considerable effort and improvement we now seem to be getting close to where we were in the 1920's. Except for one thing — and that is the impact made on recreational provision and awareness, in the last decade or so, on a community with an already long tradition of sporting involvement. I hope that this interest and development will be fully utilized to help the deep problems we have. Without getting it all out of proportion — if we have to wait for "Work for All", let us at least try to help, by providing "Sport for All" ". (11).

The initiatives taken by the Sports Council during the past decade to extend the "sports franchise" have been varied.

There has been a shift in policy from the development of additional facilities and provision per se to a more direct form of sponsorship aimed at particular target groups. In order to achieve this objective, sports providers, in common with other agents of cultural and social reproduction (notably police, teachers and clergy) have variously assumed the roles of quasi social and community workers to attract grass-roots support and thereby reduce the social distance between them and many of their alienated (working class) clients. There have even been rather quixotic forays by private individuals in this direction. (12). Irrespective of the intentions underlying these initiatives — some of which are innocuous or well-meaning — they nevertheless perform an identical function, that is, they provide a consensual rather than coercive means of social control.

The Sports Council has made several interventions in declining urban areas since the recent disorders. For example, eleven months after the riots in St. Pauls, Bristol, the Sports Council announced the establishment of three schemes in areas of high unemployment: the Handsworth area of Birmingham, Leicester and Consett. As Glyptis has shown, these schemes, which have been scheduled to operate for three years: "... were the Council's attempt to provide opportunities for the jobless and their families, and to see how far sport could play a part in alleviating the boredom and frustration of unemployment". (13). Tried and tested formulae have been applied to promote participation: animateurs or sports leaders (including an Asian and a West Indian in Leicester) have been employed to foster links with local communities; price concessions have been made to the unemployed at sports halls etc.; and, in common with the Quality of Life Experiments (14) and undoubtedly with "self-help" as the guiding principle, local volunteers and voluntary schemes are being co-opted onto the Schemes. Plus ça change plus c'est la même chose!

Subsequently, in the aftermath of the 1981 urban riots, the Council announced its Action — Sport programme. Based on similar tenets to the schemes discussed above, and of the same duration, this is currently being implemented in nine urban areas in London (including Southall and Brixton) and six in the West Midlands (including Smethwick, West Bromwich and Coventry). £3 million has been allocated to recruit 'community sports leaders' who wherever possible will be drawn from the ranks of the unemployed and have specialist knowledge and experience of local needs. Liverpool has a separate scheme involving both the training of such local animateurs and the provision of £1 million by the Department of the Environment to match a further £1 million raised privately through the efforts of the regional offices of the Sports Council and the North West Council for Sport and Recreation. Again, the Council is relying on local motivators in an attempt to obviate resistance to its work. The task of these motivators is described as follows: "... to organize and develop sports and recreational activities to benefit people living in inner cities, particularly those with large multi-racial communities." (15). The Sports Council has continued to stress the importance of "charismatic leadership" and "local promotional schemes" in a recent policy statement where its current strategy for extending the sports franchise is detailed. (16). In this, the seemingly riot prone or potentially disaffected are singled out for special treatment e.g. "13 to 24 year olds", "school children", "unemployed" and "ethnic minorities". (17)

Further emphasising its initiatives in the inner cities the Council notes that this work "has been given particular urgency by the disturbances of 1980 - 1981", (18) and in a moment of qualification adds "in all cases, action by the Sports Council will be at best palliative, and at worst futile, unless its actions relate to the social policies of other agencies". (19).

Let us now attempt a more detailed analysis of the rhetoric which has legitimated the ever-growing strategy of intervention by government and quasi-governmental bodies in sport and physical recreation.

Although the Sports Council's Sport for All campaign has as its aim the bringing of opportunities for healthy and active lifestyles to everyone (especially those members of groups who had not in the past participated widely in sport), it does not justify its policy solely in terms of introducing people to healthier lifestyles. For example, consider the following rhetorical question posed in a recent editorial of the Council's magazine *Sport and Leisure*: "But can we as a nation afford to spend 40p per person on sport? Look at Britain today; look at Britain as it was for a tempestuous fortnight last summer, and ask yourself: can we afford **not** to?" (20). In the same volume there is a caption to a picture of a black youth with roller skates which runs "Kids in sport don't throw bricks". Clearly the line of argument here is not that healthy people do not riot or vandalise, since *prima facie* the healthier there are, the more successful at anti-social behaviour they will become. The implication is that participation in sport will improve their social behaviour at the same time as it improves their physiques.

If we consider the statement made by the Cobham Committee in 1973 about the importance of leisure equalling the importance of work, (21) then the significance of sport and physical recreation to policy makers can readily be understood. If two things are important to "the quality of life", and one is rather short on one of them, then perhaps greater doses of the one available will compensate, albeit not entirely, for the absence of the other! This, in many cases, is the reasoning which is prevalent. It should be noticed that the phenomenon of unemployment is often not just perceived to be a cyclical event but rather highly structural in nature, with the suggestion that the structure of production has changed for ever and that the nature of work, and more importantly the quantity of work, will never be the same again. It may well be the case that far less people will be employed full-time in the future and that those in employment will work shorter hours and, in some cases, at less manual occupations. Those who are concerned with "the problem of leisure" are interested in seeing how leisure should adapt to such radical changes in lifestyle. We do not want to consider here the likelihood of these economic transformations or the changing lifestyles which they might bring in their train, except for one interesting feature. If we can conceive of an economy and society in which there is less work, then we must also think of how people in that society are to spend the relatively large amount of time which will be "free", and how it is to be financed. This latter point is often ignored, with the assumption that any increase in productivity which results in the more widespread deployment of technology will inevitably produce sufficient surplus to finance the appropriate leisure activities. This assumption could easily be questioned, especially given the number of people who seem

likely to be displaced by technical advances and not redeployed elsewhere in the economy, but this is not at issue here. What is highly relevant, though, is the cost of the activities which are going to be pursued during the increased leisure. This becomes more relevant the larger the new "leisured class" and the smaller the economically active rump.

The Sports Council claim in its current policy statement **Sport in the Community — the next ten years** that sport would admirably fit the bill as a cost-effective leisure activity. (22). It talks of a multiplier effect implicit in its pump-priming role of 6 to 9 from public sources and 3 to 4 from voluntary sources. Its more recent strategy of using existing facilities and trying to increase community interest in these resources rather than building new (and very expensive) sports centres, would also count as an efficient use of already existing plant. The Council argue that a mere £215 million investment in the next five years will produce almost £1¼ billion spent on sport; they also suggest that the way in which they are proposing to concentrate on "target groups" will help ensure that they are not busy channelling public resources in the direction of the middle class who at the moment take up a very sizeable share of sports facilities. By "targeting" their use of money on particular groups in certain places, especially the inner cities (which has become a catch-phrase for "where the problems are") and by encouraging members of "the community" to train as "motivators" or apply for small grants for equipment etc. the Council argues that it is spending its relatively small budget at present in a highly cost-effective manner. If leisure is to replace work, what better, cheaper, more socially integrative activity than sport could possibly exist? This is the Council's implicit argument.

One of the important aspects of the Sports Council's presentation of its case is the argument in favour of supporting **small scale** community projects. Initially there existed in recreation policy the belief that the creation of large sports centres, leisure and recreation departments in local authorities and big projects generally was the best way to proceed in distributing sport more widely among its prospective customers. When it became evident that these facilities, even in working class inner-city neighbourhoods, were being used predominantly by the middle class, a change of strategy was tried and is still continuing. Individuals, with roots in a given community and with the ability to put together a scheme that makes the most use of existing facilities, interests and personalities", (23) have been appointed as motivators or animateurs. In some ways their role is to mediate between the state (central or local), quasi-governmental agencies (such as the Sports Council) and local "communities". The motivator is expected to show those who know and trust him (or her) that sports and recreational facilities are there to be used by them and not just for white-collar workers wishing to play squash during their lunch-breaks. So in a sense the motivators have been charged with the task of encouraging the more intensive and efficient use of existing facilities. There are also indications of the Sports Council's desire to funnel some of its resources into small-scale projects. For example, an existing gymnastics club in a community centre might well be provided with a grant towards the purchase of new equipment, or those wishing to establish a new club might be given some initial financial assistance. Again this approach is partly justified by appeal to the criterion of cost-effectiveness, for it is assumed that existing or nascent groups are in a better position to judge

their particular sports and recreational needs than any outside agency. But there is an equally important motive underlying this approach. Undoubtedly, it is hoped that by sponsoring grassroots projects and by fostering the development of "self help", the spirit of "community" will be revived, and that purpose, stability and order will be re-established in areas beset by anomie, conflict and structural decline.

The police too, have recognised the potential of sport as a medium for social work and an instrument of social control. Indeed, there are now signs the police are actually competing with youth and community workers to arrange sporting activities with young people in some inner-city areas. Consider, for example, the following passage from the Sports Council's magazine:—

"All too often, the only meeting point between inner city youngsters and the police has been at the end of a sneer or a truncheon. Last summer's riots brought the matter to a blood-stained head. However, in London, at any rate, the police are trying to remedy the situation — through sport . . . 'It is true to say' a police sergeant admits, 'that there are certain parts of the Metropolitan Police area in which a uniform is like a red rag to a bull; in those areas, our men will probably wear police track suits rather than their uniform.

Chief Inspector Mike Hedges, who is head of the Force's Youth and Community Involvement Section — 'They used to say we couldn't afford community policing' says the Chief Inspector. 'Now we can't afford not to'.

So this year we will see the addition of cricket to the soccer, disco dancing, angling and other competitions run by the Met. Sport, they say, is an ideal vehicle for promoting both friendship and respect". (24).

The idea that the police and traditional youth and community workers are competing for the same clients is a suggestive one. So too is the notion that track suits make the police more acceptable in some parts of London. Community policing and community sport would appear to share an identical logic and perform an identical ideological function. In common with other palliative measures they may be seen as attempts to assuage the disaffected and "keep the lid on" the inner cities. (25).

Why sport has been accorded a **particular** role in piecemeal social engineering? Which 'desirable' social propensities could sport be said to cultivate? In general, it can be argued that sport embodies values and beliefs which legitimate the existing hierarchial arrangements of society and lend support to the status quo. Sport espouses the values of meritocracy, reinforcing the belief that discipline, effort and skill are rewarded by success, and that hierarchy is the product of 'fair' competition. Moreover, it demands an acceptance of the need for behaviour to be rule-governed and fosters deferential attitudes to authority. (The political conservatism of many physical educationalists is often remarked upon.) (26). Furthermore, sport may be regarded as a force for social integration. According to Roberts:

"Governments use sport, particularly international sport, to

consolidate national identities and to endow states with prestige, whilst at the local level the middle classes are equally adept at exploiting sport's ability to encourage identification with communities and teams transcending class boundaries". (27).

It is not surprising, therefore, given the 'hidden agenda' of sport, that it should figure so prominently in recent British urban policy. As we have seen, various public and private bodies are currently involved in encouraging the young, especially those who are unemployed, to participate in organised sports and leisure schemes. However, many working class youths eschew sport because they associate it with their (often unhappy) experiences of physical education in school. Clubs and sports centres have gone out of their way to reduce the possible identification of their activities with those of the school. They have tended to opt for a less formal approach and have widened the sphere of activities on offer. In school, physical education teachers are often expected to provide young people with the opportunity "to let off steam" or work off their surplus energy so that they will be more amenable to discipline during their academic lessons. But how is the exuberance and surplus energy of the **unemployed school leaver** to be contained? Presumably the Government places some faith in the belief that if the youths of St. Paul's, Toxteth, Moss Side and Brixton can no longer come home tired from their day at work, they can at least come home tired from their day at the sports centre. A cynic might remark that tired citizens are responsible citizens!

The public provision of sports facilities for the young unemployed may also fulfil other related functions. This policy initiative may help ensure (by maintaining the cognitive and physical disciplines necessary for **paid** work) that labour-power of this present generation of youth is not lost for ever. Possibly, the policy is premised upon the assumption that if young people are unable to take up the routine and discipline of paid work, they should be encouraged to participate in the routine and discipline of the sports centre and carry out structured activities which in many ways **mimic work disciplines and ideologies**. (For example, sport (like work), is competitive, controlled by time and involves effort and tension).

It is often said that a major cause of youthful anti-social behaviour is boredom. For example, in Southgate's (28) survey of the 1981 Handsworth riots 22% of his respondents thought boredom was the cause of rioting and 43% blamed unemployment. Since boredom is generally held to be a concomitant of unemployment, is it not the case that a large proportion of Southgate's respondents linked the riots with the presence of the same underlying determinant? If young people are seen to have a problem in structuring their time in a way which seems meaningful to them, then sport might be seen as an acceptable alternative to dubiously legal "hanging about" the streets or the development of "anti-work" lifestyles which will impede young people from getting jobs "when the situation improves".

Let us digress briefly to consider the question of crimes of violence. The unemployed and disaffected male may feel little compunction from beating up and robbing his fellow citizens on the street, even if they are only marginally 'better off' than him. Yet if a socially acceptable, surrogate form of violence could be devised, would this not be the perfect solution to potentially violent youth? The surrogate can often be sport:

This is not to say, however, that all sports are violent, although sport like any other human activity can be violent. Rather, we would suggest, there are some sports which symbolize or represent violence.

Sports which involve confrontation in the form of physical contact do not have to be played violently. Notwithstanding this, however, they are clearly stylized versions of quite ordinary violent exchanges between people. For example, a boxer may have nothing but love in his heart for his opponent as he knocks him out, yet what he has done is merely to produce a more sophisticated version of an everyday street brawl. Although it is a boring commonplace for commentators to condemn violence and rough play in sports such as football, rugby and cricket, it is far from obvious that both spectators and participants do not enjoy, at some level, the violence in those sports. (29). The social function of such activities is, at least, partially cathartic. If otherwise violent youths are encouraged to act out their aggressive tendencies within a structured, **socially acceptable context** (e.g. at a sports centre or youth club) then this may serve to prevent these tendencies from being converted into criminal actions. This form of reasoning has undoubtedly given credence to the belief that the Sports Industry has in its possession a set of techniques which can offer solutions to a number of deep-seated structural problems.

It is impossible to say whether sport (as a medium for social work and an instrument of social control) is likely to be any more effective than other palliative measures in bringing stability to the inner cities. Notwithstanding this however, it may be the case that "community sports" schemes (with the likely exception of those organised by the police) will have greater success in attracting West Indian rather than Asian or white youths. As Carrington (30) has shown elsewhere, there are indications that West Indians are more extensively involved in extra-curricular sports activities at school than other groups. It would appear that teachers tend to perceive West Indian pupils as "natural" athletes and stereotype them as possessing skills of the body rather than skills of the mind. As a consequence of this, they may be encouraged to concentrate on sport at school to the detriment of the academic studies. There are also signs that teachers may cultivate the involvement of this ethnic group in sport for purposes of social control and look upon sport as providing a convenient and legitimate sidetrack for disaffected non-academic black pupils destined for the dole queue or menial wage-labour. West Indian pupils may elect to co-operate with this channelling for a variety of reasons. Some will internalise the stereotype of black athletic prowess or identify closely with the considerable achievements of prominent sports personalities such as Maurice Hope, Garth Crooks, Sonia Lannaman, Daley Thompson, Tessa Sanderson et al. who, as symbols of black success, now constitute 'significant others' for many West Indian youth in Britain. It would also appear that the high level of West Indian involvement in school sport is (in part) symptomatic of the growth of ethnic consciousness among this sector of youth, who increasingly, look upon the school sportsfield as their own ethnic territory and seek to exclude other groups from it. Could it not be that the inner city sports centre will eventually acquire the same territorial significance for black school leavers?

We would argue that the "community sport" policy is premised upon at least one accurate assumption: that is, when 'rulers' persistently exclude the 'ruled' from the process of

decision-making social disorder may ensue! As Paul Rock suggests:

"Rioting may come to signify an attempt to gain symbolic control over areas and lives in which people feel they have lost mastery. It can become a reply to the experience of oneself as an object moved around by external forces. Violence has been a frequent resort of those who are denied a substantial identity in the world: it is a vehicle for prowess, assertiveness and a new set of standards for gauging character". (31).

As we have seen, those using sport for therapeutic reasons will attempt at replacing the use of violence in the inner city to gain "symbolic control" with the use of sport to gain exactly the same sort of "symbolic control". It is important to stress that rioting involves the breakdown of social control, the destruction of respect for the officers of law and order and for private property. It is not just a matter of "having fun":

"Many of us take pleasure in running about, shouting, throwing things, and in strolling about picking up consumer goods which take our fancy. For most of us these pleasures are subsumed in sport and supermarket shopping — socially accepted and rule bound activities. In the case of a riot, the pleasures may remain in some respects similar, but the social controls on such activities have broken down in the face of collective resistance to their imposition. It is this fact which characterises riots." (32).

The policy initiatives in sport and physical recreation examined in this paper may be regarded as reflections of accurately perceived problems of social control, yet the solutions seem to be applied in an unco-ordinated and half-hearted manner. Is it really expected that comparatively small sums of money spent on involving people in sport will significantly increase social control in parts of our inner cities where it has been absent for a long time? What evidence is there that sport's undoubted cathartic value will reach those most alienated and hostile in our society? Again we are led to ask why this particular intervention is structured in this way, and why is it so widely diffused through the sports industry, the police, the army and the social services.

The answer could just be that policy makers have turned to sport and recreation because other 'methods' of control have been found wanting. We would suggest that the sports strategy is a primitive and pre-political policy because it is designed to assist in the transformation of primitive and pre-political opposition to the mechanisms of social control. Eric Hobsbawm describes "primitive rebels" as "pre-political people who have not yet been found, or only begun to find, a specific language in which to express their aspirations about the world". (33). He groups several markedly different movements under this rubric, from the social banditry of Robin Hood, the Luddites and rick-burners, to the utopian associations. He does not deny that these movements are a form of social agitation, but argues that they represent a phase of transition towards more effective political strategies. On occasions, this primitive rebellion consists just in the sporadic attempt to right individual wrongs, as for instance, to release an unjustly imprisoned person, or prevent the authorities from arresting someone deemed innocent (so common a trigger to civil disturbances recently). Sometimes, it can amount to an alternative system of power and justice which opposes that of official rulers. It would not be correct to think of primitive rebellion as an un-modern phenomenon; it finds its specific political object in

the dislocation of community and can be regarded as a form of community action.

Three aspects of primitive rebellion are most relevant here. Primitive rebels oppose what they regard as injustice not by confronting injustice directly, but rather by getting around the edges of it, trying to ignore it or making crude efforts to bring back the good old days. This kind of primitive politics is the response of people whose ways of life and traditions are threatened by change which they do not understand. They struggle against these changes in an improvised and unsystematic manner. They are unresolved between demands for piecemeal reform and revolutionary (i.e. religious/utopian) enthusiasm. In many ways Hobsbawm's description of primitive rebellion fits quite closely the nature of recent disturbances in British inner cities. Perhaps, more importantly, his view of the nature of the participants in the disturbances has been taken up, albeit unwittingly, by policy makers. They do not believe that the riots are harbingers of serious revolutionary struggle nor that they reflect a political understanding of a given situation. Rather, rioters are identified very closely with vandals and juvenile delinquents whose deviant behaviour in the inner cities is seen as consequent on the destruction of community ideology. Hence the use of sport as a means to repair the damage caused in the past to this ideology. In that case, the use of sport in this way can be analysed as just as "pre-political" as the primitive rebellion which it is seeking to undermine; such a sports policy is just as nostalgic, unsystematic, individualistic and emotional as the behaviour it imagines itself to be confronting. As such, its chances of achieving its aims are unlikely to succeed without some success in altering the conditions leading to the dislocation of community in the first place.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. HMSO, *The Brixton Disorders: 10-12 April, 1981, Report of An Inquiry by the Right Honourable Lord Scarman* Cmnd. 8427 1981 para 2:11.
2. Ibid, para 6.29.
3. The Physical Education Association and Physical Education Department of Birmingham University convened a seminar on 4th December 1981 (Physical Education and Social Control: The Problem of Unrest in Urban Areas) to examine this development; c.f. Glyptis, S. 'Unemployment Sport and Recreation: Issues and Initiatives in two Midland Cities'. Paper presented to the Annual Conference of the Leisure Studies Association, North London Polytechnic, April 1982.
4. Central Council of Physical Recreation, *Sport and the Community: Report of the Wolfenden Committee on Sport* 1960 p. 4.
5. HMSO, *Sport and Recreation* Cmnd 6200 1975 pp. 3-4.
6. HMSO, *House of Lords Select Committee on Sport and Leisure Vol. 1* (Cobham Committee) 1973.
7. HMSO, *Sport and Recreation* op. cit. p. 19.
8. HMSO, Department of the Environment, *Leisure and the Quality of Life Vol. 1* 1977; HMSO Department of the Environment *Recreation and Deprivation in Inner City Areas*. 1977.
9. Sports Council, 'Sport and Recreation in the Inner City' Research Working Paper 7, 1978.
10. Sports Council, *Sport in the Community: The Next Ten Years*, 1982.
11. Sports Council, *Sport and Leisure* Vol. 22 No. 1, 1981 p. 13.
12. The Times, 24th May, 1982. c.f. 'Where Cold Water Cannot Dampen High Spirits' for a description of Lieutenant-Colonel

Blashford-Snall's adventure training programme for the young unemployed in the Scottish Highlands.

13. Glyptis (1982) op. cit.
14. HMSO, *Leisure and the Quality of Life Vol. 1* op. cit.
15. Sports Council Press Release, 15th March 1982.
16. Sports Council *Sport in the Community* op. cit.
17. Ibid, p. 34.
18. Ibid, p. 35.
19. Ibid, p. 36.
20. Sports Council *Sport and Leisure* Vol. 23 No. 3 1982, p. 3.
21. Cobham Committee op. cit. p. 26.
22. Sports Council *Sport in the Community* op. cit.
23. Sunday Times, 13th June 1982. c.f. Dick Jeep's statement.
24. Sports Council *Sport and Leisure* Vol. 23 No. 3 1982, p. 28.
25. Community Development Project *Gilding the Ghetto: the State and the Poverty Experiments, 1977*; Bridges, L. 'Keeping the Lid On: British Urban Policy, 1975-81' *Race and Class* Vol. XXIII 2/3 1981/82 pp. 171-186.
26. Hargreaves, J. 'The Political Economy of Mass Sport' in Dale, R. et al (eds) *Education and the State: Politics, Patriarchy and Practice*, Falmer Press 1981. p. 67.
27. Roberts, K. 'Leisure and Lifestyles under Welfare Capitalism' in Smith, M. A. (ed) *Leisure and Urban Society* University of Salford, 1977, p.3.
28. Field, S. and Southgate, P. 'Public Disorder' Home Office Research Study No. 72, 1982.
29. Leaman, O. 'Cheating and Fair Play in Sport' in Morgan, W. (ed) *Sport and the Humanities*, University of Tennessee, 1982.
30. Carrington, B. 'Schooling an Underclass' *Durham and Newcastle Research Review* Vol. IX No. 47, 1981 pp. 293-305. Carrington, B. 'Sport as a Sidetrack' in Barton, L. and Walker, S. (eds). *Race, Class and Education*, Croom Helm, 1982.
31. Rock, P. 'Rioting' *London Review Books* 17th - 30th September 1981, p. 20.
32. Field and Southgate (1982) op. cit. pp. 15-16.
33. Hobsbawm, E. *Primitive Rebels*, Manchester University Press, 1971, p. 2.

children's rights and the philosophy of exclusion

David Watson **Caring for Strangers: An Introduction to Practical Philosophy for Students of Social Administration**
Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1980.
£4.95 (Hardback).

John Harris 'The Political Status of Children' in Keith Graham (Ed).
Contemporary Political Philosophy; Radical Studies
Cambridge University Press 1982, pp.35-59.
£4.50 (Paperback).

John Holt **Escape from Childhood; The Needs and Rights of Children**
Penguin, London 1975.

Philosophy, Hegel said, was a tragedy man plays with himself. This was of course a very abstract proposition but Hegel, in his theorising, used abstractions liberally. However, Hegel's observation focuses attention on an important feature of political philosophy; namely that throughout its history political philosophy has been obsessed with the 'concept of man'. The greater part of its energies have been devoted to an attempt to isolate, define and articulate the quintessential features of human beings which, in turn, bestow upon the possessors of such characteristics, full rights as citizens to participate in their policy. However, there is a more sinister aspect to these philosophical concerns. By seeking to answer the question 'what is man?' and attempting to define those characteristics essential to securing full citizen rights, philosophers have persistently excluded certain groups in society from effective political participation.

In this way political philosophy can be viewed as a philosophy of exclusion. Moreover this philosophy is functional since definitions of 'man' have proved, with hindsight, to be quite simply intellectual justifications of existing social inequalities; the concept of 'man' has turned out to be so many ways of defining the oppressed out of humanity. Children, I would suggest, are the most long suffering victims of this philosophy of exclusion.

The very term, concept of man, reflects the long exclusion of

women from full political status until very recent times. So far as political philosophy is concerned they have remained, 'hidden from history'. (1). Even the most radical and contemporary exponents of political philosophy have fallen into this particular sexist trap and it is instructive, if regrettable, to note that Hebert Marcuse chose, for his critique of modern industrial society, the title **One Dimensional Man**. (2). Women of course are not the only group to be excluded. In different historical periods philosophy has established different criteria of what constitutes a full human being and is therefore deserving of political rights. Slaves, blacks and, more importantly for present purposes, children have each been denied rights because in some way they failed to conform to the prevailing 'concept of man'.

However, it is important to note that this philosophy of exclusion does not remain safely locked away in some academic ivory tower. Ideas filter into society and can find many levels and forms of expression. They appear on occasions in the form of an elaborate and theoretical argument, on others they emerge as the 'common sense' view of the 'ordinary person in the street'. To use Raymond Williams' phrase, a set of ideas can 'saturate society' (3) to such an extent that it becomes difficult to think beyond its confines. It sets limits to what is regarded as rational and legitimate discourse. Anyone who crosses those limits and speaks out against the prevailing orthodoxy — for example advocating the case for women's suffrage in the 1890's — is likely to be deemed to be as irrational as the cause they advocate. Each of the books reviewed below attacks this philosophy of exclusion where it seeks to restrict the rights of children. Some make the case for children's rights at greater length (Holt), others with greater philosophical rigour (Harris), while for Watson the issue of children's rights is peripheral to a more general concern, about state intervention. All are to be applauded for their advocacy of a cause that might seem to many to be as ridiculous as the case for female suffrage once appeared.

I

David Watson's concern with children's rights is located in the wider context of a discussion about the legitimacy of unsolicited intervention, by social workers, in the lives of their clients. Watson agrees with John Stuart Mill's classic formula

that intervention can only be justified on those occasions where the behaviour of a particular actor may cause harm to others; that these actions harm the actor himself does not provide sufficient grounds for intervention. (4).

However, Mill believes that society has a special duty to intervene when the actor lacks the capacity for rational thought and is therefore not responsible for his actions; amongst those Mill includes in this 'irrational' category are the mentally ill and children. (5).

Watson breaks with his mentor here and suggests that this assumption of childhood irrationality is a justification for adult control and intervention in childrens' lives. Watson argues that children should possess those rights which we currently recognise as basic human rights. His argument has two components. First, he illustrates how society denies rights to children which adults take for granted and which are guaranteed by documents such as the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights. Second, he criticises,

"a number of arguments used to justify paternalistic policies which deny them (children) rights which those upholding the policies in question do recognise as human rights." (6).

Watson lists five items from the U.N. Declaration on human rights. (i) the right to life, (ii) freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention, (iii) the right to a public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal in the determination of your rights and obligations and of any criminal charges against you, (iv) the right to vote, (v) the right to work. While children share the first two rights with adults they are excluded from items three to five. But Watson claims, "if we are to deny millions of human beings these and other moral rights, we had better have a very good reason for doing so." (7). Watson suggests that two reasons are traditionally offered, which he calls (i) the argument of self determination and (ii) the argument from unwise choices.

Children are not self determining, (i.e. they can't make plans and policies and are unable to implement them) and therefore it is silly to give them rights when they lack the basic human capacities necessary to exercise them. Second, children lack experience and, if allowed independence, would make unwise choices and mistakes. By denying them their rights society merely seeks to protect them. Watson is lucid in answering the argument from unwise choices but is less convincing with regard to the argument of self determination. Watson claims that to assert that children are not self determining is simply a sweeping generalisation.

"... surely we can all think of children who are skillful in one area or another, who very often choose for themselves and plan to do things, and do them, without undue reliance on other people — from buying ice cream to house breaking. Such children are not exceptional." (8).

There may be some truth here, but one sweeping generalisation is not refuted by merely opposing it with another. Nor

is buying an ice cream a similar sort of activity to deciding between two parties in an election in which one supports a monetarist, the other a Keynesian, economic policy. Watson may be right but he is not making a good and convincing case. His reply to the argument from unwise choices is more satisfactory. If it is true that children lack experience and have a tendency to make unwise choices and mistakes, then it is equally true of adults. However we assume that adults learn from their mistakes and do not require protection from them. Only a slave can be completely protected from unwise choices but then he is the mere subject of our whims. Moreover, it may be possible to remove or reduce the serious consequences of unwise choices by giving children more responsibility at an earlier age.

Watson ends his discussion of children's rights by considering two specific items; the right to vote and the right to work. The argument for giving children the right to vote is threefold and Watson acknowledges that much of his reasoning is derived from Holt's book. First, for children to be subject to laws which they have not participated in making is undemocratic. (9). Second, if children were allowed more control over their lives they would become more responsible and well informed. (10). Finally children cannot be denied the right to vote by arguing that they are ignorant of the issues, since this argument applies to adults with equal force; "How many of us can say much about inflation?" We do not think this debar us from voting, and so we shouldn't use it to debar children of that right. (11).

Watson's discussion of the right to work is brief with few arguments worked to a satisfactory conclusion. The whole chapter remains stimulating rather than satisfying. He raises a number of extremely provocative and interesting ideas but his reasoning and purposes are often unclear and he fails to prosecute ideas to their logical telos. A good example here is his advocacy of voting rights for children. There is a tendency says Watson,

"to dismiss childrens' claims to the right to vote by saying that they don't understand the issues, that they wouldn't know a good policy from a bad one. The fact is that this is true of most voters and many M.P's." (12).

We all might feel inclined to raise a hearty 'here, here' to that, but this is a weak argument. Two blacks do not make a white and it is a poor advocacy of children's rights which asserts that they are no more ignorant of political issues than the existing electorate. Why deploy such a negative argument when it is possible to be positive? There is a growing body of literature which suggests that children are politically more well informed than adults imagined; Olive Stevens new book **Children Talking Politics** is a good example here. (13). The point which he should have made but with which he never explicitly gets to grips, is that age is an irrelevant consideration to the discussion of voting rights; it ultimately regresses to an argument about competence. If the argument for excluding children is really based on their assumed incapacity for rational thought and a knowledge of the relevant issues, then it is not children as such who should be excluded, but those incapable of rational thought and a sufficient knowledge of the issues.

Why not leave age out of the picture entirely since it is irrelevant and more importantly obscures the argument. No one really believes that children should be excluded from voting because they are children; this is not an argument but mere assertion and such tautology is obvious to the least philosophically minded. The adult concern is that children may lack rationality and sufficient knowledge. Once the grounds of the argument have shifted to this terrain, they are easier to refute. It is then clear that those to be excluded from participation are those who, without regard to age, lack the relevant competence.

Watson's essay is open to criticism on other grounds. First his approach to the subject of children's rights is overly legalistic. By suggesting that children should be granted the legal right to vote, to work, etc. he understresses more informal mechanisms of discrimination. It is not only laws which discriminate against particular groups but attitudes, mores and norms and these are far more persistent and resilient to change. Women have secured the right to vote and legislation exists to ensure their rights to work and equal pay, but it is clear that a full sexual equality does not exist. Those inequalities which remain will not be eradicated by a stricter implementation of existing laws or, indeed, new laws but by a massive shift in attitudes and ideas whereby gender comes to be seen as an irrelevant consideration in assessing a person's suitability for a job.

Moreover, even with the legalistic confines within which his argument is cast, Watson could make a stronger case in three ways. First, children are denied many other rights which are listed in the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights and which Watson could have quoted. (14). For example, Article 17 which states that everyone has the right to own property or Article 18 which guarantees the right to 'freedom of thought', conscience and religion.' (15).

Second, Watson quotes Article 9; "the right not to be subjected to arbitrary arrest and detention." (16) and claims that children possess this right. But Article 9 can be interpreted in different ways. It is certainly true that children are protected from arbitrary arrest by formal agencies of the law (SUS?) but they remain subject to the arbitrary authority of their parents who may, quite legitimately, inflict a range of penalties from a beating to confinement in a bedroom. I do not wish to claim that being told to go to one's room and stay there or that one cannot go out to play, is comparable to a three year stretch in Parkhurst, but simply to suggest that the issue is not as clear cut as Watson believes.

Third, the United Nations Declaration is implicitly a declaration of adult rights and this is, underlined by the U.N. provision of a special Declaration of the rights of children which is littered with ageist assumptions. (17). The preamble states that, "the child by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care." (18). "The child shall enjoy special protection . . . grow up . . . under the responsibility of his parents," and, "the best interests of the child shall be the guiding principle of those responsible for his education and guidance." (19).

Throughout the essay Watson is more concerned with the rights of citizens than the right to be a citizen. This latter how-

ever is precisely what is at stake here. Children are excluded from citizenship because they are presumed to lack reason and therefore, to cite citizen rights and illustrate that they are denied them is a muddle headed strategy. What needs to be attacked is the presumed lack of reason. Watson has weakened his case by an overly legalistic approach resting on a document which accepts many of the assumptions which he is seeking to challenge. However, the essay is a single chapter, perhaps the weakest, in a much more laudable book. I have dealt with it at some length because he raises important issues which are also dealt with by Holt and Harris.

Holt's book is quite simply a 'classic' within the literature and deservedly so. It is a book which persuades not only by the cogency of its arguments but by a subtle and convincing use of anecdote. Reading this book is an emotional as well as an intellectual experience and the reader is constantly aware of Holt's genuine concern and respect for the dignity of all human beings, young and old. It should be read by everyone.

His main argument is the same as Watson's but it is unfolded more comprehensively and with greater compassion and commitment. "I propose that the rights, privileges, duties and responsibilities of adult citizens be made available to any young person, of whatever age, who wants to make use of them." (20). The book is divided into two parts although Holt does not formally divide it in this way.

The first part (Ch. 1 - 14) describes the institution of childhood, its historical evolution, the constraints it imposes upon children and adult perceptions of childhood. The second part (Ch. 14 - 28) makes the case for children's rights examining oppositional arguments along the way. Many of Holt's concerns in the second part of the book have been reviewed in the discussion of Watson's essay so I will concentrate attention here on his treatment of the institution of childhood.

Holt's starting point is to suggest that while children have always existed, the institution of childhood is a 'modern invention.'

"What is both new and bad about modern childhood is that children are so cut off from the adult world. Children have always been bossed around by their parents. What is new is being bossed around **only** by their parents, having almost no contact with adults **except** their parents." (21).

The causes of this change in childhood can be identified. Economic and technological developments brought with them a certain mastery over the natural world which, in turn led to changes in the organisation of work and the role of the family in the work process. Modern childhood thus becomes for Holt, 'all those attitudes and feelings, and also customs and laws, that put a great gulf or barrier between the young and their elders and the world of their elders; that make it difficult or impossible for young people to make contact with the larger society around them and, even more, to play any kind of active, responsible, useful part in it; that lock the young into 18 years or more of subservience and dependency and make of them . . . a mixture of expensive nuisance, fragile treasure, slave and super pet.' (22). This isolation of childhood as a special phase in life is part of a more general tendency. Instead

of life being seen as an uninterrupted continuum of development from birth to death, increasingly it is fragmented into a number of phases, with a crisis accompanying the transition from one phase to another.

"The continuity of life is being broken in more and more places . . . we are more and more coming to think of human life as a series of crises — the crisis of puberty, the crisis of adolescence, the crisis of middle age, the crisis of old age." (23).

Childhood is thus an artificial period which, 'has divided that curve of life, that wholeness, into two parts — one called childhood, the other adulthood or maturity.' (24). Holt believes that childhood is best understood by the metaphor of a walled garden in which children, 'being small and weak, are protected from the harshness of the outside world until they become strong and clever enough to cope with it.' (25). The architects of this 'garden of eden' are adults and although apparently designed to serve the interests of children, in reality it fosters the needs of the older group. Moreover the walls are functional and serve three major adult needs. First they allow adults to exercise power and authority. Second they allow adults to use children as 'love objects' and third, they define children as 'help objects'. In brief the walls give adults, 'someone to boss, someone to help, someone to love.' (26).

The first function of the walls is readily understood. Holt asserts that in all societies people have needed to assert power and authority and that all adults, no matter how low their standing in socio-economic hierarchies, can at least 'boss' their children.

Adults also need children as love objects. Human beings have a need for love and human contact yet society restricts the outlets available to us for this basic need. One of the few groups on which we can legitimately bestow affection and with which we can enjoy close physical contact, are children. Adults consider they have a right even a duty to show affection to children whenever they wish without regard to the wishes of the child. Because adults show love to serve their own purposes they exploit children and hence, "we treat someone as a love object when we use him for our own purposes, to achieve our own ends, to get things for ourselves, without considering or caring what this does to him or how he feels about it." (27). Holt draws a convincing analogy between the way adults use children as love objects and the way in which many men use women as sex objects. Men reduce women to sex objects by considering them only as physical beings, attractive or otherwise, and sexually desirable or not; all other dimensions to their being is ignored. A man makes a sex object out of a woman, "if in reality or in his mind, and without her consent, he uses her for his needs without considering hers." (28). Adults abuse children in a similar way. They demand love and physical contact without regard for the child's wishes.

Some children become aware of the adult need to use them as love objects and seek to exploit this to advantage; this is especially true of 'cute' children. In much the same way as some women will make great effort to appear attractive and conform to male images of femininity, even though this evaluation of them on purely physical grounds is oppressive, so some children will conform to adult perceptions of the 'cute'

child in order to gain some advantage or concession from the oppressing group. Such behaviour is debilitating in its effect on the child's personality.

"Such a cute child soon learns to do everything he does, at least around adults, to get an effect. He becomes self consciously artful, calculating, manipulative . . . He sells his behaviour, his personality, and himself for rewards which, like the praise junkies we make in school, he comes more and more to depend on." (29).

Adults tend to think children are cute when displaying ignorance and incompetence; 'we value their dependancy and helplessness. They are help objects as well as love objects.' (30).

In speaking of children as help objects, Holt is referring to a radically different meaning of the word help. It does not describe the selfless, humanitarian act of the good Samaritan. The idea of help, "has been . . . largely corrupted and turned into a destructive exploitation" (31). People who help others often come to define other people as those who cannot get along without their help. Recipients of help, in turn, become convinced that they do depend on this help. The person who helped others needs must have others who need his help; they come to 'thrive on helplessness.' In the case of children, they become convinced of their helplessness and dependance and soon lack confidence in themselves and their abilities. Again the analogy of male treatment of women is close to hand and appropriate.

"Over and over again we see this cycle repeated. The helper begins by saying to someone 'let me do that for you, I know more about it, I can do it better than you.' Soon he says, "I will not allow you even to try to do that for your self, you will make a mistake, hurt yourself or somebody else." For the other to reject his help begins as ingratitude or a foolish mistake; it soon becomes a sin or a crime. No one is more truly helpless, more completely a victim, than he who can neither choose, nor change, nor escape, his protectors." (32).

To summarise, Holt sees childhood as a garden protected by a wall. The analogy with a garden is perhaps more apt than he realises since English is the only language in which the word nursery is used to describe a place where both plants and children are nurtured. The wall is meant to protect but in reality it confines, restricts and truncates children's potential. The wall serves adult needs for power, love objects and help objects. It is impossible to convey in a brief review the quality of Holt's ideas and the persuasiveness of his prose. My only criticism of Holt would be to suggest that, like Watson, he tends to overemphasise the importance of achieving legal rights, such as the right to vote. This right is unlikely to be won unless children can exercise substantial political influence and perhaps a precondition for this is economic independence of adults and the right to work; such economic changes might confer the political leverage needed.

Harris takes up many of the themes rehearsed by Watson and Holt but concentrates specifically on the political status of children. He argues that the traditional distinction between adults and children, based upon a presumed lack of competence and rationality on the part of the latter, which he terms the 'capacity criterion', is unsustainable. The capacity criterion does not distinguish adults from children but the

competant from the incompetant and, if applied consistently, would lead to the disenfranchisement of many adults and the granting of full political status to a good number of children. Moreover Harris is unhappy with the elitism of both the assumptions and conclusion of this argument. 'We must' he suggests, "find some account of the capacities relevant to self determination which avoid the elitism implicit in our current assumptions. I shall end by trying to sketch such an account." (33). He begins however with a critique of the capacity criterion and the works of Schrag and Scarre draw much of his fire. (34). Harris chooses these two targets because while they have challenged this standard justification for the division between adults and children, they 'end by endorsing the status quo'. (35).

Schrag rejects the capacity criterion but advocates a protective paternalism on the Utilitarian grounds that, 'paternalism maximises the happiness of children who, even if they possess the capacity to make decisions for themselves, will still make disastrous errors.' (36). Harris has three objections to Schrag's argument. First children need to learn from their mistakes, second, paternalism not only protects but produces elites and a hierarchy and third, adults themselves have not displayed any highly developed tendency to make wise choices. It is adults who smoke cigarettes, waste scarce resources, go to war and, 'produce enough nuclear weapons to kill the entire population of the world many times over.' (37).

Scarre's defence of paternalism receives a similar 'bashing' from Harris, who concludes the first part of his essay by reiterating his major thesis that, "the capacity criterion fails to distinguish between adults and children since, many children have the relevant capacities and many adults lack them." (38).

In the second part of his essay Harris wants to find a new criterion, to supersede the capacity criterion, such that, 'the crucial distinction is not that between adults and children, but between persons and non persons.' (39). He attempts to illustrate and articulate this new criterion with a rather facile example. Those who have read a little philosophy will appreciate such examples are commonplace. Suppose, he suggests, we discover a new planet inhabited by rather naive creatures, with their own culture who wish to be left alone to lead their own lives. They enjoy a low level of technological development and, by intervening in their lifestyle, our society could alleviate much of the suffering which a cruel nature currently imposes. Harris feels that most people would agree that we should not intervene unless invited to do so since this would deny these creatures their dignity and independence as people.

The question we must answer says Harris is, "How then do we recognise beings as people?" (40). He lists a number of minimum requirements. Such a person must possess a conception of life as their own – "that they had a life to lead and valued leading it" (41). This in turn requires a number of other faculties. The creatures must be self conscious and have an awareness of themselves as a being existing over time. It requires that they have decisions to take and plans to make and this will require some intelligence and the ability to use language. If it is these characteristics which constitute a person, and therefore someone deserving respect, dignity and rights, then it is difficult to exclude children. The traditional distinction between adults and children must therefore be

abolished and replaced by a distinction between persons and non persons. To grant full political status to all persons will mean that children acquire the right, "to vote, to work, to initiate and defend legal proceedings, to own property, make wills, enter into contracts, be criminally responsible and have the right to due process of law." (42). From the standpoint of its philosophical rigour and content, Harris' article is by far the best and yet it lacks the emotive and highly persuasive qualities of Holts book. It is nonetheless, a very thorough and critical examination of the argument used to justify parentalism. However as with Watson the reader is left with the feeling that the most direct and forceful case for childrens' rights has not been made. Two observations seem pertinent. If Harris is the 'good Utilitarian' which he claims to be on page 40, why does he not defend the case for childrens' rights on classical Utilitarian grounds. For the Utilitarian human beings are motivated by the desire to seek pleasure and avoid pain and it is this capacity for suffering which is the vital characteristic that bestows upon an individual the right to equal consideration.

Jeremy Bentham understood this well enough. 'What is it', he asked, that should trace the insuperable line? Is it the faculty of reason, or perhaps the faculty of discourse? . . . The question is not, Can they reason? Nor can they talk? But can they suffer? (43). A defence of his position on Utilitarian grounds may well have spared Harris the necessity of such a long and often complex critique of Schrag and Scarre; it may also have, spared the reader from Harris' unlikely example of a naive race on a new planet. This leads to my second criticism.

If Harris wants to illustrate his argument with an example then there are better, in the sense of more realistic and more forceful, examples available. He has no need to traverse the universe to find a situation of unjustified paternalism and intervention. The long term of British domination of India or indeed any imperialist intervention would have served his purposes admirably. Colonial domination is often accompanied by a paternalistic belief that the imperialist power has a superior culture and can bring education, enlightenment and other benefits to a curiously reluctant and ungracious recipient. Consider the following arrogant statement of colonial paternalism.

"Abroad the Englishman's position was habitually one of command. But it was coupled with a responsibility towards the governed and a recognition of the duty of advancing them . . . The people the white settlers had to deal with were not only extremely primitive they were utterly opposed to progress and change. Their religious system compelled them to follow closely the ways of their ancestors . . . It had meant a life at a bare subsistence level". (44).

The example of colonial domination would I think have been more effective than Harris' in illustrating the current oppression of children. Moreover it might have served to draw attention to the fact that many of the arguments currently used against children have previously been deployed against peoples' demands for independence. Harris denies himself the impact that such an argument might have added to his case by failing to use contemporary and realistic examples.

I would like to make four observations in conclusion.

First perhaps the major obstacle to be overcome by those advocating childrens' rights is to get others to take the matter seriously. To suggest that children should have the right to vote is to court derision; "you can't really be serious, can you?" Try it out on a friend in the pub. The reaction will almost certainly be laughter but when the friend realises that you are not joking he will probably offer the convenient but incorrect argument that children lack experience, reason and a knowledge of the issues.

Second, it is important to realise that the exclusion of children from full citizen rights is but one aspect of a wider philosophy of exclusion. This philosophy currently draws much of its inspiration from the prevailing Liberal philosophy with its over emphasis on reason and rationality as the hallmarks of the complete human being. A presumed lack of rationality in a certain category of people therefore precludes them from consideration as full human beings. Women and blacks have been excluded by this philosophy but children are its most persistent and long suffering victims.

Third, the exclusion of children from participation in their polity and society (and the previous exclusion of women and blacks) is arbitrary in two senses. It is arbitrary because race, gender or age are irrelevant considerations in assessing an individuals competence to vote. (45). Second, it is arbitrary and unjust because the individuals concerned can do nothing to alleviate or change the conditions which exclude them. If the grounds for exclusion were incompetence this would be more acceptable since the ignorant can learn and become educated and the stupid can become wise. However a woman cannot change her gender, nor black become white and children, even if foolish enough to desire it, cannot grow old prematurely. Thus exclusion on these arbitrary grounds is a 'permanent' exclusion which holds out little prospect of change for the excluded group.

Finally, what can be done to encourage the development of childrens' rights? It must be said that the prospects are bleak since any organised attempt by children to secure their rights faces a number of handicaps which the women's liberation movement and the black liberation movement never had to confront. First there is the simple problem of cash. Most children only receive money from adults and these are small sums; they have very few ways of obtaining independent access to cash. Second, their organisational skills and formal education skills are less well developed and this creates enormous difficulties in mounting any campaign, producing leaflets or organising public meetings. Third, as children they lack a private room or a house in which to discuss freely with friends and organise any campaign. Fourth, the 'common sense' view prevalent in society would label their campaign ridiculous. Children organising for their rights would be treated, at first, with derision, and then anger, misunderstanding and eventually violence, if the experience of the struggle for women's suffrage is any precedent.

Finally, and this is by far the most important, they are under the constant surveillance and control of adults at home and at

school. J. S. Mill recognised the significance of this surveillance in the male domination of women. The following passage from **The Subjection of Women** is worth quoting at some length.

"we must consider too that the possessors of power have facilities in this case, greater than in any other to prevent any uprising against it. Everyone of the subjects lives under the very eye, and almost, it may be said, in the hands of one of the masters — in closer intimacy with him than with any of her fellow subjects with no means of combining against him, no power or even local overmastering him, and, on the other hand, with the strongest motives for seeking his favour and avoiding to give him offence. In struggles for political emancipation everyone knows how often its champions are bought off by bribes or daunted by terrors. In the case of women, each individual of the subject class is in a chronic state of bribery and intimidation combined." (46).

If this was true for women it is certainly true for children, the problem is doubled however, since both male and female parents seek to control the child.

What can adults do to promote childrens' rights? I can offer no better advice than that which Paul Goodman offered and which is quoted by Holt.

"Paul Goodman in his many talks with young people used to say that one good way to work for a truly different and better world was to act in their daily lives, as far as they could, as if that world existed . . . We can begin to treat children, even the youngest and the smallest wherever we may find them, as we would want everyone to treat them in the society we are trying to make". (47).

A note of caution on which to end. People, have lived and died, fought and struggled, suffered in all kinds of ways in the pursuit of civil rights and we should not expect philosophy to end all that. Philosophy cannot do so much.

BOB FRANKLIN

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. This phrase belongs, of course, to **Sheila Rowbotham**. See her *Hidden from History: 300 years of Women's Oppression And The Fight Against It*. Pluto 1973.
For a more recent study of the exclusion of women from political consideration see **Okin, S. M.** *Women in Western Political Thought*, Princeton University Press, 1979.
2. **Marcuse, H.** *One Dimensional Man*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1964.
3. **Williams, R.** *Base and Superstructure In Marxist Culture Theory*, *New Left Review* No. 82, Nov./Dec. 1973 p. 8.
4. **Watson, D.** *Caring for Strangers: An Introduction to Practical Philosophy for Students of Social Administration*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1980 pp. 94-5.
5. See for example Mill's *Essay on Liberty* where children are described as 'incapable of government'. **Mill, J. S.** *Utilitarianism, On Liberty and Considerations on Representative Government*, J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London 1972 p. 137.
6. **Watson, D.** (1980) *Op Cit* p. 117.

7. Ibid, p. 123.
8. Ibid, p. 123.
9. Ibid, p. 130.
10. Ibid, p. 131.
11. Ibid, p. 131.
12. Ibid, p. 131.
13. **Stevens, O.** *Children Talking Politics*, Martin Robertson, Oxford 1982.
14. In fairness to Watson he does mention two other human rights which are denied to children. **Watson, D.** (1980) *Op Cit* p. 122.
15. See the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights in **Brownlie, I.** (ed) *Basic Documents on Human Rights*. 2nd Edition, Oxford University Press. Oxford 1981 pp. 21-28.
16. **Watson, D.** (1980) *Op Cit* p. 120-121.
17. This is also contained in **Brownlie, I.** (1981) *Op Cit* pp. 108-111.
18. Ibid, p. 108.
19. Ibid, p. 110.
20. **Holt, J.** *Escape from Childhood; The Needs and Rights of Children*, Penguin, London 1975 p. 15.
21. Ibid, p. 32.
22. Ibid, p. 22.
23. Ibid, p. 48.
24. Ibid, p. 21.
25. Ibid, p. 22.
26. Ibid, p. 59.
27. Ibid, p. 78-79.
28. Ibid, p. 79.
29. Ibid, p. 97.
30. Ibid, p. 91.
31. Ibid, p. 61.
32. Ibid, p. 62.
33. **Harris, J.** *The Political Status of Children* in **Graham, K.** (ed) *Contemporary Political Philosophy; Radical Studies*. Cambridge University Press, 1982 p. 36. For an unashamedly elitist case for the exclusion of children see **Dahl, R.** *Procedural Democracy* in **Laslett, P. & Fishkin, J.** (eds) *Philosophy, Politics and Society*, 5th Series, Blackwell, Oxford 1979 pp. 97-134.
34. See **Scharag, F.** *The Child in the Moral Order in Philosophy*, Vol. 52, 1977 pp. 167-177 and **Scarre, G.** *Children and Paternalism Philosophy*, Vol. 55, 1980 pp. 117-124.
35. **Harris, J.** (1982) *Op Cit* p. 37.
36. Ibid, p. 38.
37. Ibid, p. 39.
38. Ibid, p. 45.
39. Ibid, p. 45.
40. Ibid, p. 47.
41. Ibid, p. 47.
42. Ibid, p. 51.
43. **Bentham, J.** *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* Ch. 17 Quoted in **Singer, P.** *Animal Liberation*. Jonathan Cape, London 1976 p. 8.
44. **Hutson, H. P. W.** *Rhodesia, Ending an Era*. Springwood Books, London 1978 p. 22.
45. For an Excellent discussion of the many aspects of the arbitrariness of age as a qualification see **Barker, R.** *Citizens and People in Politics*, Vol. 1 No. 2, November 1981 pp. 31-35.
46. **Mill, J. S.** *On Liberty, The Subjection of Women*, Oxford University Press 1963 p. 439.
47. **Holt, J.** *Op Cit* p. 211.

BATTERSEA COMMUNITY ACTION

Publications

Being A Girl In The Family — discussion by a group of girls from Battersea: 25p. plus 25p. postage.

Putting It On Young People: young people, juvenile justice and social injustice: 25p. plus 25p. postage.

Deschooling Social Work, M. Richardson and p. Beresford: 40p. plus 30p. postage.

Vagrancy and Single Homelessness: The Future, discussion paper: 30p. plus 25p. postage.

Intermediate Treatment; radical alternative, palliative or extension of social control?— an inner city case study: £1.15 plus 30p. postage.

Out With Our Mates—a group of young women from Battersea talk about "leisure": 25p. plus 25p. postage.

Ordering More Than One Publication — Cost of Postage

When ordering more than one publication, please enclose money for postage and packing as listed below: Postage for up to 3 publications, 50p.; for up to 5 publications, £1; for up to 10 publications, £1.70; for up to 20 publications, £2.50.

Battersea Community Action
27 Winders Road
Battersea
London SW11. Tel: 01 223 7989.

young offenders and the criminal justice bill

PAUL CAVADINO

In judging Part 1 of the Government's Criminal Justice Bill, which amends the law relating to young offenders, penal reformers will employ one main criterion – whether its provisions are likely to reverse the trend of the last decade towards a greatly increased use of custody for young offenders, or whether, as many of those working in this field fear, it is likely to result in even more young offenders entering both penal establishments and residential care.

The background

There is now general agreement among those working with young offenders that there should be a major shift away from custodial sentences towards community-based methods of dealing with the vast majority of young offenders. For example, the Advisory Council on the Penal System in its major report "Young Adult Offenders" (1974) recommended "a major switch from custody to supervision in the community" for young adults – i.e. those aged 17 to 20 inclusive. A similar view was expressed in relation to juvenile offenders (those under 17) by the House of Commons Expenditure Committee in its report, published in 1975, entitled "The Children and Young Persons Act 1969", which recommended "a major shift of emphasis away from custodial and punitive techniques and towards intermediate schemes, supervision and a greater use of non-custodial care" (para. 167).

The overwhelming weight of research evidence supports this view. In "Young Adult Offenders", the Advisory Council on the Penal System thoroughly reviewed all the existing research on custodial sentences and concluded that for offenders of comparable backgrounds, time spent in custody could not be shown to produce better results than supervision in the community. Since that report was published, the reconviction rates of young offenders leaving penal establishments, which were already very high, have become even higher. Over the last five years, the reconviction rate of young adults leaving prison has risen from 64% to 68%; for those leaving borstal from 63% to 69%; and, most striking of all, for those leaving detention centres from 54% to 68% – a massive 14% jump in just five years. Those are the overall reconviction rates: the figures for juveniles are even higher. 76% of the under-17s leaving detention centres and 83% of those leaving borstals are reconvicted within two years.

Yet, despite the widespread agreement that community-based

methods are a more hopeful approach than institutionalising young offenders, the trends over the last decade have been in precisely the opposite direction. To deal first with juveniles, there is a widely believed myth that, as a result of the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act, we have become less prepared to lock up young offenders and readier to place them under the supervision of social workers. In fact, the reverse is true: there has been a very sharp increase in the number and proportion of juvenile offenders sent to detention centres and borstals. In numerical terms the number of juveniles sent to borstals and detention centres rose from about 3,000 in 1970 to 7,500 in 1980. At the same time, the number of juveniles given supervision orders in 1980 was 4,000 fewer than the number given probation orders in 1970 – 18,300 as opposed to 22,300. So we have become less ready to place juveniles under the supervision of social workers and much readier to lock them up in penal establishments, in direct contrast to the popular myth. There has, of course, been an increase in juvenile crime – but the rise in the number of juveniles sent to penal establishments has been much faster than the rise in the number coming before the courts. Looking at it in percentage terms, the proportion of boys aged 14 to 16 convicted of indictable offences who received custodial sentences rose from 6% in 1970 to 12% in 1980, while the proportion receiving supervision orders fell from 22% to 16%.

If we look now at the young adult age group, while there has not been an **increase** in the proportionate use of custody, equally there has been little progress towards the major switch from custody to supervision in the community which the Advisory Council on the Penal System called for in 1979. On the one hand, the proportion of young adult offenders receiving borstal and detention centre sentences has fallen over the last ten years from 17% to 12%; but this has been offset by an increase in the proportion receiving immediate prison sentences from 3% to 6%. There has also been a marked decline in the proportionate use of probation orders, from 12% to 18% for young adult males and from 29% to 20% for females (though for males this has been counter-balanced by an increase in community service orders). Overall, for young offenders as a whole there has been a marked decline in the use of supervision in the community and, for those under 17, there has been a rapid and alarming increase in the use of custody.

There is a further myth that the courts only use custodial

sentences as a last resort on offenders with numerous previous convictions when everything else has been tried. Yet Home Office studies have found that over a third of the young people received into borstals have not received a previous probation order or supervision order, and the figure for those entering detention centres is even higher. The figures for juveniles show particularly clearly the over-readiness of some courts to use custody at a very early stage for young offenders. Of the juveniles received into detention centres in 1980, 16% were first offenders and a further 44% were second or third time offenders, making a total of 60% with two or fewer previous convictions. Nor are the majority of them violent offenders – the proportion of juveniles entering detention centres who had committed an offence of violence, sex or robbery was 15% in 1980, and the figure for juveniles entering borstals was 18%. The proportion of all young offenders under 21 entering custody in 1980 who had committed such offences was just under 22%. While no-one disputes that some young offenders must be locked up in order to protect the public, this country's massive over-use of custody for young people, on a far greater scale than most comparable countries in Western Europe, is a recipe for turning the delinquents of today into the adult criminals of tomorrow.

Youth custody

Taken individually, a number of the proposals in the Bill concerning custodial provision for young offenders are eminently sensible. The Bill combines the sentences of borstal training and imprisonment for young adults into a single determinate "youth custody" sentence. The fact that the Bill introduces determinacy into all custodial sentences for young people should be welcomed not only as a matter of principle, but also because of the unfairness of the indeterminate borstal sentence in practice. As the Prison and Borstal Governors' Branch of the Society of Civil and Public Servants said in its comments on the Green Paper "Youth Custody and Supervision: A New Sentence", published by the last Government in 1978: "The arbitrariness of the system from the trainee's perspective is clearly exemplified by the different target dates operative in different institutions. Time spent in custody can thus be dependent on the vagaries of the allocation procedure rather than on any individual effort." Also welcome is the provision that time spent in custody on remand (which at present counts only towards prison sentences) should from now on count towards youth custody and detention centre sentences.

Those serving the new youth custody sentence will be placed in the existing borstals and young prisoner centres, all of which will become youth custody centres, or in young offender wings of adult prisons. Offenders aged 15 to 20 will be eligible for youth custody, and under the original form of the Bill it would have been possible for juvenile offenders – those aged 15 and 16 – who are sentenced to youth custody to be detained in adult prisons in the course of their sentences, even though at present no-one under 17 can be sentenced to imprisonment.

The undesirability of detaining those of 15 and 16 years of age in overcrowded adult prisons, where the conditions are the worst in the penal system and where the institutions and their staff are essentially geared to running a prison for adult offenders rather than an establishment suited to the needs of juvenile offenders, is self-evident. The Prison and Borstal

Governors' Branch of the Society of Civil and Public Servants, in its comments on the White Paper, "Young Offenders", said:

"... it is necessary only to point to the most unacceptable face of the existing arrangements for young offenders in custody – the number of young persons held in local prisons for part or the whole of their sentence. This is nothing short of a national scandal. Pressures on the system make it impossible to make reasonable let alone separate facilities for them. They are squeezed into a bank of cells at the end of a wing or landing or, in the case of one local prison, into a basement. Recreational facilities are meagre and sometimes non-existent. The same applies to work and physical education. It is only remarkable that control and other problems are not more severe, but staff of local prisons will invariably highlight this group as the most difficult one to manage in prevailing conditions."

In response to amendments tabled by the Parliamentary All-Party Penal Affairs Group, the Government has now amended the Bill in order to stipulate that juveniles serving youth custody sentences of 21 days or over will not be detained in adult prisons to serve their sentences. However, at the time of writing the Government is resisting further pressure from the Group to extend this provision to those serving sentences of under 21 days.

The Bill only guarantees a place in an establishment with a training regime to those serving youth custody sentences of between 4 months and 18 months. Although the Government has said that those serving longer sentences will be placed in training establishments as far as vacancies permit, no-one serving a sentence of over 18 months will be **guaranteed** such a place. This means that those young people serving sentences longer than 18 months, for whom the dangers of institutionalisation are the greatest, will be the least likely to receive forms of training which can help counteract this danger.

In its report "Young Offenders – A Strategy for the Future" (1981), the Parliamentary All-Party Penal Affairs Group recommended that suitable training regimes should be provided for all those sentenced to youth custody, including facilities of a high standard for work, vocational training, education and the development of social skills. It recognised that the prospects for achieving this are crucially dependent on the number of young people sentenced to custody: if the number could be considerably reduced, the provision of training regimes for all those sentenced to youth custody would be a much more practical proposition than it is at present.

Criteria for custody

In an attempt to produce such a reduction in numbers, the Group tabled – and carried despite Government opposition – amendments to the Bill laying down more detailed statutory criteria for imposing custodial sentences on young offenders. The Bill now provides that a court may not pass a custodial sentence on an offender under 21 "unless it is of the opinion that no other method of dealing with him is appropriate because it appears to the court that he is unable or unwilling to respond to non-custodial penalties or because a custodial sentence is necessary for the protection of the public or because the offence was so serious that a non-custodial sentence cannot be justified." There is no doubt that, if these sentencing principles were strictly applied in practice, they could

have a significant effect on the number of young people given to custodial sentences.

However, two important question marks must be placed against any attempted assessment of the new provision's likely effect in practice. The first arises from the tendency to reduce such statutory formulae to the level of mere formality. When the House of Lords debated the proposal on 22nd June, Lord Hutchinson of Lullington, Q.C. said of the present provision in the Powers of Criminal Courts Act 1973, which simply provides that no court may pass a custodial sentence on a young offender unless it considers that no other method of dealing with him is appropriate that:

"All experience of those words in court has been this. What happens in magistrates' courts very often is that the clerk, after the magistrate has sentenced the person to imprisonment of some kind, looks up and simply says: 'No other method appropriate?' The magistrate nods and then that is entered on the record. It becomes a pure formality."

To the extent that such criteria as "seriousness of offence", contained in the new formula, are treated in a similar manner, the effectiveness of the new provision will be correspondingly reduced. However, it is encouraging to recall that the stricter criteria for refusing bail laid down by the Home Office circular "Bail Procedures" (1975) and the Bail Act 1976 led to a fall in the number of defendants remanded in custody from 68,388 in 1975 to 52,581 in 1978; and, although the figure has risen since 1978, it is still well below the level of the mid-seventies.

The second unknown quantity is how far the new criteria will counteract the danger that the shorter detention centre sentences provided for in the Bill will lead courts to use custody for young offenders on a much wider scale than ever before. The Bill reduces the minimum detention centre sentence from three months to three weeks. This is welcome in principle: where courts feel obliged to impose a custodial sentence, it is right that they should be enabled to make it as short as possible. However, there is a serious danger that the new shorter detention centre sentences will be imposed on may young offenders who would now receive a non-custodial sentence. In its comments on the White Paper, "Young Offenders", the Conference of Chief Probation Officers suggested that this change would lead to significantly larger numbers of young offenders being sentenced to custody at earlier stages in their criminal careers than is the case at present. It added:

"The proposals if implemented could create a situation where a generation's time, a significant proportion of the population, particularly the male population of certain groups of society, will have had an experience of custody in their early years; an outcome to be viewed, on any reckoning, with serious concern."

The Prison and Borstal Governors' Branch of the Society of Civil and Public Servants expressed similar fears in its comments on the White Paper:

"... its effect may actually increase numbers in the custodial system ... There is a real danger that the courts will seize their new powers with enthusiasm and make considerable use of detention ... If our worst fears turn out to be correct and the White Paper's proposals lead to an increase

in the young offender population in custody, the entire strategy of this and previous Governments to reduce the prison population will have been undermined. To us this is the most serious and potentially damaging part of the White Paper."

Similar fears have been expressed by many other responsible and informed organisations including the Association of Community Homes, the Association of Directors of Social Services, the Association of Metropolitan Authorities, the British Association of Social Workers, NACRO, the National Association of Probation Officers, the National Council for Voluntary Organisations, the National Youth Bureau and New Approaches to Juvenile Crime. In its comments on the White Paper, the Association of Directors of Social Services also suggested that the change could lead in the longer term to more young people progressing to youth custody since, when a young person has been in detention centre for a three week sentence, if he or she re-offends the courts will see little alternative to a youth custody order.

The Parliamentary All-Party Affairs Group concluded in its report "Young Offenders – A Strategy for the Future" (1981): "While we are persuaded that the case for shorter maximum and minimum detention centre sentences is overwhelming, the implementation of the White Paper's proposals as they stand would almost certainly result in a large increase in the number of young offenders receiving custodial sentences" (para. 285). It therefore recommended that provision for shorter detention centre sentences should be combined with legislative safeguards to ensure that they were used in the way intended by the Government, and not in the way which the vast majority of those working with young offenders feared would be the case in practice. The Group's successful amendment to the Bill was designed to provide such safeguards, and experience will show how far they are effective in practice. A further improvement in the Bill, made by the Government in response to an Opposition amendment, is that no court will be able to pass a custodial sentence on an offender under 21 unless he or she is legally represented or has refused representation.

Custody for juveniles

One of the most retrograde aspects of the Bill is that it marks the official abandonment of the aim of phasing out the use of prison department custody for juveniles. Parliament was in fact persuaded as long ago as 1969 that it should make statutory provision for the phasing out of custodial sentences for juveniles, and this was provided for in the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act. The relevant parts of the 1969 Act have never been implemented. On the contrary, in direct opposition to the Act's intentions, the number of juveniles sentenced to borstal and detention centre has risen dramatically – very much more rapidly than in the rise in juvenile crime. As the DHSS report "Offending by Young People: A Survey of Recent Trends", published last year, stated: "The number of juveniles sent to detention centre and borstal has risen five-fold since 1965. Less than a fifth of the rise relates directly to increased offending; the remainder is caused by an increased tendency to give custodial sentences for almost all types of offence." The rise in the number of juveniles going into custody has no parallel among the older age groups. The comparative trends for offenders of different ages were summarised clearly and succinctly by the former Minister of State, Leon Brittan, in a speech in Derby on 16th November 1979

in which he said:

"During the past twenty years, the proportion of convicted adults received into custody has been more than halved. During the same period the proportion of juveniles receiving custodial sentences . . . has more than tripled. In 1955 an adult was 20 times more likely than a juvenile to get a custodial sentence for an indictable offence. Now he is only twice as likely."

Yet it is with the juvenile age group that custodial establishments have shown themselves to be least effective and most counter-productive so far as preventing re-offending is concerned.

Of course, we have to recognise that a few young people - representing only a small proportion of juvenile offenders - pose so serious a threat to society or to themselves that they must be placed in some form of secure accommodation; but when young the young people concerned are under 17, that secure accommodation should not be provided by the prison department as part of a custodial system which is primarily geared to the needs of older offenders. In 1974 the Advisory Council on the Penal System in its report "Young Adult Offenders" made a strong recommendation that young adults - those of 17 and over - who received custodial sentences should be dealt with entirely separately from children under 17.

Those who run the custodial system - the prison and borstal governors - are also strongly in favour of ending custodial sentences for juveniles. In its comments on the last Government's Green Paper, "Youth Custody and Supervision", the Prison and Governors' Branch of the Society of Civil and Public Servants accepted that junior detection centres would continue to be used for juveniles in the immediate future, but it added: "We strongly believe that this approach should be regarded as what it is, a temporary expediency forced on us by the lack of positive action by the social services. This view needs to be reinforced by stipulating a specific date by which the junior detention centre sentence is brought to an end." More recently, in its comments on the present Government's White Paper, "Young Offenders", the Governors' Branch repeated its commitment to the eventual removal of juveniles from prison department establishments, and said that the Government's abandonment of the intention to work towards removing juveniles from the custodial system was to be deplored.

The prison and borstal governors' view is shared by the representative organisations of probation officers and social workers. Even the Police Federation has expressed its support for the phasing out of prison department custody for juveniles, provided that some other form of secure accommodation is available for juvenile offenders who commit serious crimes and need to be removed from the community for the safety of other people or themselves.

Perhaps most significant of all, the present Government has itself accepted the desirability of ending prison department custody for juveniles - but it has done so in another part of the United Kingdom, namely Northern Ireland. In 1979 the Black Report on legislation and services for children and young persons in Northern Ireland made the controversial recommendation that, except in the case of very serious offences, all the existing custodial and residential sentences for juveniles should be amalgamated into a single determinate

residential order.

The Black Committee recommended that this order should be "reversed for those who are clearly a threat to society" (para. 6.32) and proposed that those sentenced under this order should go to a mixed secure establishment with a regime which would be "as helpful and supportive as possible" (para. 6.30). The then Minister of State for Northern Ireland, Michael Alison, told the House of Commons Northern Ireland Committee on 5th November 1980 that the Government accepted these proposals, and he said that in future "only the more serious offender, against whom society needs protection, would be removed from home and taken into the residential institution." The Minister added that the new residential establishment for juvenile offenders would be run by former training school staff and not by prison staff and, with justifiable pride, he pointed out that following these changes Northern Ireland would be one of the first areas in Europe which would no longer accommodate any children in adult penal establishments.

The Government deserves great credit for accepting and implementing the Black Committee's recommendations, especially since this radical approach proved too much for the Labour front bench to stomach when the Minister made his announcement to the Northern Ireland Committee, and he unfortunately received rather less than overwhelming support from his opposite number, Brynmor John. Although the arguments for this approach are just as valid in England and Wales as they are in Northern Ireland, the Government rejected this policy in its White Paper "Young Offenders", which stated its "firm commitment to custodial provision for a minority of juveniles" (para. 46). Accordingly, the Bill repeals the parts of the 1969 Act which provided for the phasing out of custody for juvenile offenders.

Care orders

When the Bill was first presented to Parliament, it contained no provisions to remedy one of the major sources of injustice in the present system of dealing with juvenile offender - the system of care orders in criminal proceedings. Care orders are available both in care proceedings and in criminal proceedings for children under 17. A care order commits the child to the care of the local authority, and thereafter the local authority has the responsibility of deciding whether the child should be placed in a community home or some other residential establishment, boarded out with foster parents or returned to his or her own home. The intention of a court making a care order is usually that the child should be removed from home. Unless the order is discharged by a court, it continues until the child reaches the age of 18, and the average length of time for which care orders made in criminal proceedings last is 3 years.

Mr. Brian Harris, the former President of the Justices' Clerks' Society, has pointed out that a number of the safeguards which apply when care orders made in civil proceedings do not apply in criminal proceedings. In an article which appeared in "Family Law" in 1978 he wrote:

"If a child is brought before the court in care proceedings, social workers, teachers and other witnesses will be called to give evidence on oath and what they have to say will be fully disclosed to the child and his parents, who will have the opportunity to cross-examine the applicant's witness."

ses and of calling witnesses of their own. By contrast, the determination of 'sentence' in criminal proceedings is a very cursory affair . . . a child who is made the subject of a criminal charge can be taken away from his home on a care order 'for his own good' without any of the safeguards that Parliament has seen fit to lay down for care proceedings where the child's welfare is the sole consideration."

There is now a considerable body of research evidence which demonstrates that many care orders made in criminal proceedings are made inappropriately. The evidence collected by the Centre of Youth, Crime and Community at Lancaster University demonstrates that most young offenders who are given care orders and committed to residential establishments have received these orders inappropriately. In a series of studies in different areas, the Centre has analysed care orders made on young offenders and measured each one against a set of criteria designed to establish whether there was a genuine need for residential care. These criteria were:

- (i) Is the child a danger to himself or to the community?
- (ii) Does he have any special needs, educational, medical or otherwise, which can only be met in a residential setting?
- (iii) Is he without a home and family in the community which can, with appropriate support, provide an adequate degree of care and control?

In Oldham, the researchers found that 90% of the young offenders in residential care did not satisfy even one of these criteria; in Basildon the figure was 70%; in Wakefield it was 80%; and the figures from a range of other areas were all very similar. The blame for this appalling situation, whereby the vast majority of care orders passed on young offenders were clearly unjustified, could not be placed primarily on the courts, since in most cases the care orders had been recommended to the courts by local authority social workers. Moreover, research carried out by the DHSS has shown that the majority of care orders made in criminal proceedings are made on young people convicted of petty property offences with few if any previous convictions: 40% of the care orders made in criminal proceedings are imposed on first offenders, and 60% are imposed on first or second time offenders. In the DHSS research report "Young Offenders in Care", published in 1978, the author, Pat Cawson, asked:

"If many children are still being prosecuted and removed from home at the first sign of delinquency, or for very trivial offences . . . if they are still to a large extent being placed in the former approved schools and remand homes, and by all indications often spending longer periods in those establishments at an earlier age . . . then what has happened to key sections of the 1969 Act?"

Once made, a care order continues to have effect until a child reaches the age of 18, or 19 if he or she was already 16 when it was made. This means that a ten year old child who commits a minor offence can become the subject of an order which could in theory take him or her away from home for the next eight years without any independent subsequent review (although the local authority itself is obliged to undertake an internal review every six months). The Magistrates' Association remarked on the lack of independent safeguards for such children in its "Observations on the Children and Young Persons Act 1969", published in 1980. It argued:

"In the case of, for example, psychiatric patients detained against their will, periodic appeal is possible to the Mental Health Review Tribunal, but the sane child enjoys no such privilege. Reviews are admittedly undertaken by the local authority every six months but they appear to be of a very cursory nature . . . We do not know of any local authority which holds a formal review where the child is legally represented or where his views are expressed."

These injustices will not be completely overcome until the system of care orders in criminal proceedings is abolished and replaced by a system of determinate residential orders similar to that which the Government has agreed to introduce in Northern Ireland following the recommendations of the Black Committee. Nevertheless, in response to amendments proposed by the Parliamentary All-Party Penal Affairs Group, the Government has amended the Bill to make two important improvements in this area of the juvenile justice system. First, court will only be able to impose a care order on a young offender if this is appropriate because of the seriousness of the offence and the young person is in need of care or control which he would not otherwise receive. Secondly, no court will be able to make a care order on a young offender who is not legally represented, unless he or she has refused representation.

Secure accommodation

One aspect of the treatment of children in care which has aroused particular concern recently is the detention of such children in secure accommodation. There have been two major research studies on secure units within the child care system — the Dartington Social Research Unit's study "Locking up Children" (1978) and the DHSS research report "Children Referred to Closed Units" (1979). Both these studies show that secure units are currently being used for younger and less delinquent children than was the case several years ago and that their re-conviction rates are high. The Dartington Unit found that only 38% of admissions to secure units in 1975 were over 14½, compared with 65% in 1971; and, of 587 boys released from secure units and followed up for two years, 76% of those released to the community re-offended. The majority then underwent a further spell in an institution, usually borstal. The authors commented: "For the majority of boys the secure units provide a brief sojourn in an expensive ante-room to the penal system." The DHSS study, which was concerned with children referred to secure units at Kingswood, Redhill, Red Bank and St. Charles youth treatment centres from 1971 to 1974, produced similar findings. It found that the children referred were younger than those admitted to the units before 1971 and that they had less serious histories of offending. Of a sample of 40 children whose subsequent progress was followed up by the researchers, 78% re-offended in the year following discharge and 40% of them committed **six or more** offences during this one year period. The researchers commented:

"Children admitted to the units had in some respects a poorer record after discharge than would have been expected from their previous records, which may indicate a criminogenic effect of admission to a unit, particularly in the younger and less criminally sophisticated . . . there are clear indications that the trend towards admitting younger and less delinquent children to closed units is a dangerous one which should be reconsidered."

They also pointed out that

"... admission to a closed unit involves a loss of liberty equivalent or greater than that involved in admission to a borstal or detention centre, but lacks equivalent safeguards for the child in the form of a right of appeal against such placement."

The Community Homes Regulations 1972 required the detention of a child in secure accommodation to be reviewed after the first three months by a committee of persons representing the care authority concerned but including at least one independent person. Subsequently, however, Section 101 of the Local Government Act 1972 released local authorities from the obligation of having certain functions carried out by named committees. The report of the DHSS working party on "Legal and Professional Aspects of the Use of Secure Accommodation for Children in Care (1981)" found that, as a result,

"One of the major safeguards of children's rights in the Regulations – the requirement that the care authority should establish a review committee with an independent person among its members to review the permission given to admit children to secure accommodation – seems to have fallen into disuse in many areas" (para. 51).

The care authority is still obliged to review the position of a child in secure accommodation every three months, even if this is not done by appointing such a review committee. However, the DHSS working party stated:

"Regional SWS know of cases where the care authority have accepted the view of the head of the home in which the child is accommodated without reassessing the child's needs for themselves, and on occasion there has been no review at all. In these circumstances the 3 monthly reviews required by the regulations can become an administrative formality" (para. 72).

Later in its report, the working party expressed concern about the quality of some reviews "which at worst can be little more than a routine endorsement of earlier decisions" (para. 104). Even where reviews are carried out more rigorously, they do not operate within a judicial framework, and the young person and his parents are not normally present, heard or represented. The DHSS working party therefore recommended:

"... we favour on balance a right of application to courts regarding a decision by the local authority or voluntary body at a review held under the Community House Regulations to confirm the accommodation of a child in their care in secure accommodation" (para. 49).

In response to amendments tabled by the All-Party Penal Affairs Group and the Opposition, the Government has agreed to introduce stricter statutory criteria for the detention of children in secure accommodation (these will be included in revised community homes regulations to be introduced into Parliament next session) and to provide that children may not be detained in secure accommodation for more than seven days without the approval of the juvenile court.

The residential care order

If the Bill's provisions concerning care orders had been left at that, they could have been welcomed as a useful step forward. Unfortunately, however, any good which these reforms may produce will be more than offset by the introduction of the residential care order, which will enable courts to require a local authority to remove from home for a fixed period of up to six months a young person who commits an offence while already subject to a care order. This proposal is damaging, unnecessary and a monumental irrelevance to the real needs of juvenile offenders. It is true that the form of the order provided for by the Bill is a noticeably watered down version of the residential care order which was proposed in the Conservative manifesto at the 1979 General Election. It will now be possible for a local authority to place a child subject to such an order with foster parents rather than necessarily in a community home, and an offer of legal representation will be mandatory before a residential care order is imposed. However, even in its modified form, the order will result each year in several hundred additional young people being sent to residential establishments.

The Government's own estimate is that this power will affect between 500 and 900 young people each year and that it will cost an extra £6 million a year in extra residential care resources – and some estimates have put the numbers involved much higher. Even if we confine ourselves to the Government's own estimates, the £6 million involved (which the Government proposes to add to the rate support grant) is a striking contrast to the extra £2 million a year which the Government is to make available to local authorities to finance the provisions of the Bill which are concerned with intermediate treatment.

All the available evidence suggests that placing young offenders in residential establishments is ineffective in preventing further offences. Although reconviction statistics for those leaving community homes with education are no longer kept, there is good reason to think that they are very similar to the 66 per cent reconviction rate of those leaving approved schools in the 1960s. Home Office Research Study No. 32, "Residential Treatment and its effects on Delinquency", published in 1975, assessed the results of work undertaken at Kingswood CHE in Bristol. The research compared two house units, one of which operated on "therapeutic community" lines while the other adopted a more conventional approved school approach. Seventy per cent of boys leaving the first house and 69 per cent of those leaving the second house were reconvicted within two years, while there was a 68 per cent reconviction rate among those leaving a third house at Kingswood. More recently, the report "Punishment and Welfare" by David Thorpe and other researchers at Lancaster University, published in 1979, found that two thirds of young offenders from Rochdale placed in CHEs re-offended. Nor does committal to a community home even guarantee that the young person will be prevented from re-offending during his or her stay. For example, the DHSS research study by Pat Cawson "Young Offenders in Care", published last year, found that of 497 young offenders committed to care in one month, 177 committed further offences in the 9 months immediately following the care order and two-thirds of these were in residential care at the time of re-offending. Yet, despite the well documented failure of residential care to prevent re-offending the residential care order will increase expenditure on residential estab-

ishments, at a time when the consensus among those working with young offenders is that there should be a shift of resources away from residential care towards community-based methods such as intermediate treatment.

Non-custodial orders

Even the Bill's provisions concerning non-custodial measures have received a hostile reception from many of those working with young offenders, and two of these provisions in particular are seriously misguided. The first is the Bill's provisions relating to the imposition of fines on the parents of juvenile offenders. At present, a court may (and if the offender is under 14 must) order the parents to pay a fine imposed on a juvenile, unless it is satisfied that the parents have not concluded to the commission of the offence by neglecting to exercise due care and control of the child or young person. The Government's White Paper "Young Offenders" (1980) stated that there has been no clear judicial interpretation of the scope of these provisions and claimed that there is some evidence that the courts have been reluctant to use them because of uncertainty as to their ambit. It proposed to "strengthen and clarify" these provisions, so that parents will be required to pay fines imposed on children under 17 "unless, in the particular circumstances of the case, a court thinks it would be unreasonable to make them pay", and suggested that "This clarification and extension of the law will encourage the courts to assert the duty of parents to act responsibly towards their children and take all steps within their power to prevent them committing criminal offences" (para. 54). The aim of asserting the duty of parents' to do all they can to prevent their children from committing offences will, of course, command widespread support. However, the Government's proposals will neither improve nor clarify the present law. The "New Law Journal" commented in an editorial of 16 October 1980 that

"... so far from 'simplifying and clarifying' the existing provisions on which those powers depend, the substitution in the proposed redefinition of 'in the particular circumstances of the case a court thinks ...' for a proviso expressed in the comparatively clear objective terms of 'failure to exercise due care and control' is likely only to have precisely the opposite effect and to give rise to serious inconsistencies and injustice in practice. Certainly, the White Paper makes no attempt to explain in what 'particular circumstances' other than failure to exercise due care and control, it will be appropriate for a court to make a parent liable for payment of a fine."

While there are some types of cases in which it could be arguably be appropriate to oblige parents to pay fines imposed on juvenile offenders, there are many other cases in which such a course could be both unreasonable and harmful. In some cases where a young offender is at odds with his or her parents, the resentment resulting from the imposition of a fine on the parents (especially where the family is poor) could damage family relationships even further, thereby placing the young person more at risk than ever. In some cases magistrates may consider that, if the fine is to have any value, this will lie in its being paid by the child him or herself rather than by the parents, thereby relieving the child of the financial responsibility for payment. In other cases, the parents may have done everything that could be reasonably be expected to discipline and control the young person, but without success. Yet the

Government has obdurately resisted amendments specifying factors such as the above which the courts should take into account in deciding whether to impose a fine on a juvenile offender's parents.

The second objectionable non-custodial provision is the empowering of courts to include "curfew" requirements in supervision orders. The fact that such requirements will have to be enforced by probation officers and social workers will create serious problems, particularly insofar as it appears to place the supervisor in the role of policemen and damages the relationship fundamental to the concept of supervision of juveniles. In cases where the parents are incapable of controlling the child, or unwilling to do so, or where there are considerable tensions between parent and child, the imposition of such a requirement is likely to do more harm than good. Its use could be oppressive in so far as parents are concerned since, if they are to make a serious attempt to ensure that their children abide by the curfew condition, this could require them to stay at home from 6 p.m. onwards. A single parent in this position would be unable to go out in the evening and, where there are two parents, they could not go out together. Where a child subject to a curfew requirement is late home, the parents will be placed in the invidious position of either having to "shop" their child or of conniving at a breach of a court order. The National Association of Probation Officers is among the organisations which have opposed the curfew provision in principle; and many other organisations who do not oppose it on principle nevertheless consider that these practical problems of enforcement will make it unjust and unreasonable in practice.

The Bill's other proposals concerning alternatives to custody for young offenders are reasonable enough — namely the extension to Crown Courts of the power to make attendance centre orders, the extension of community service orders to 16 year olds, and the introduction of new "supervised activities" requirements which will enable courts to lay down a programme of intermediate treatment for a juvenile offender.

Although the Conference of Chief Probation Officers favours the extension of community service orders to 16 year olds, some members of the probation service have expressed reservations about the proposal. They argue, first, that 17 year olds are currently regarded by community service organisers as their most difficult age group and that 16 year olds may be even more unreliable. Secondly, it is suggested that the extension of community service orders to 16 year olds may devalue the sentence and lead to its being regarded as a comparatively light penalty rather than principally as an alternative to custody. However, on both these points the remedy lies squarely in the hands of the probation service, since courts make community service orders in the light of recommendations from the probation service about offenders' suitability for community service. As with adult offenders, careful selection must therefore be exercised to ensure that the 16 year olds who receive community service orders are suitable for this disposition and that orders are used as an alternative to custody. The development of any non-custodial option is accompanied by the danger that it will be used as an alternative to other non-custodial sentences. This is a weak and insufficient argument against the provision of non-custodial options which are desirable in themselves, and is rather an argument for circular guidance or statutory guidelines which would encourage their use for offenders of all ages who would

otherwise have received custodial sentences.

The new "supervised activities" requirements are an attempt to give the courts greater confidence in using intermediate treatment (I.T.) schemes as a genuine alternative to custody or residential care for young offenders at the "heavy end" of the delinquency spectrum. I.T. schemes aim to reduce delinquency by involving young people in constructive activities, offering them opportunities for achievement, improving their social skills, bringing them into contact with mature adults who can exercise a positive influence on them, providing counselling both individually and in groups, and involving the parents of delinquents in taking more responsibility for their children's behaviour. The cost of I.T. programmes varies from £100 or less per child per year for the least intensive programmes to between £2,000 and £4,00 a year for the most intensive, compared with an average cost of £10,000 a year to maintain a child in a community home with education, £9,000 for a borstal place and £8,000 for a detention centre place. Moreover, those I.T. schemes which have specifically set out to take the more difficult delinquents who would otherwise have been sent into custody or residential care have consistently achieved reconviction rates of between 25 and 35%, which compare favourably with the very high reconviction rates of penal and residential establishments for juveniles.

At present, when a court makes a supervision order, it can confer on the supervisor the power to direct the young person to attend at I.T. facilities. However, it is for the supervisor to decide whether and to what extent he or she uses these powers and what facilities should be used. The White Paper, "Young Offenders", summarised the position fairly well when it said: "Generally, except where there is close liaison, the magistrates do not necessarily know what, if any thing, will happen under this order. They might for that reason understandably hesitate to make a supervision order, particularly in the case of a serious or difficult offender" (para. 49). It is for that reason that the Magistrates' Association has advocated for some time that legislation should be introduced to direct the child to undergo I.T. and to require the supervisor to ensure that it is carried out. In its report on young offenders, the Parliamentary All-Party Penal Affairs Group endorsed this recommendation of the Magistrates' Association. It stated:

"We recommend that, before imposing an intermediate treatment requirement, the court should satisfy itself that the programme envisaged by the social worker or probation officer is appropriate. We further recommend that intermediate treatment requirements should be mandatory and their implementation should not be left to the supervisor's discretion. However, discretion should be given to the supervising officer to modify the detailed content of the intermediate treatment programme in the light of changing circumstances" (para. 67).

The "supervised activities" provisions of the Bill are substantially in line with those recommendations. However, the usefulness of these provisions will be limited unless much greater financial provision is made to enable local authorities, the probation service and voluntary organisations, to develop I.T. schemes which can be used by the courts. At present, such schemes are far too few in number. The position was summarised succinctly by Sir George Younger M.P., then Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the DHSS, in an address to the Leicester Action for Youth Trust on 12th February 1981:

"At present the development of I.T. is too patchy. Some areas can boast a wide range of activities provided from a variety of sources; in others, almost no facilities are available. Everywhere, I.T. at the 'heavier' end — that is for youngsters convicted of more than just petty crimes and beyond the reach of many of the programmes — is very sparsely available."

In 1980/81 the total expenditure on I.T. by local authorities in England and Wales was approximately £7 million — a fraction of the £85 million spent on running local authority community homes with education and observation and assessment centres.

There are two major causes for concern — first, the inconsistency of I.T. provision and, secondly, the almost total lack of I.T. facilities in some areas of the country. With some commendable exceptions, few areas can claim to have developed a really comprehensive range of I.T. schemes. In 1980/81, the 10% of local authorities with the highest I.T. budgets accounted for 38% of the national total spent on such activities, while at the other end of the scale 10% of authorities spent £5,000 or less on I.T. — less than the annual cost of keeping one juvenile in a custodial or residential establishment. It is true that the Government has made increased resources for the development of I.T. available to voluntary organisations, including NACRO's Juvenile Crime Unit and the Rainer Foundation Intermediate Treatment Fund. Moreover, the Bill makes provision for the probation service to set up and run I.T. schemes for juvenile offenders who are under the supervision of probation officers. This is a welcome step forward. However, the finance for I.T. schemes run by the probation service will have to come out of the service's overall budget; and, although the Government has made provision for 3% growth in the service in real terms in the current financial year, this is dependent on local authorities contributing their 20% share of the increase. Where a local authority is unwilling or unable to do so, the result (as, for example, in the West Midlands) is no growth in real terms in probation service resources. This is particularly alarming as the Bill involves several additional burdens for the probation service as well as the establishment of I.T. schemes, including the extension of community service orders to 16 year olds and an increased use of social enquiry reports for young offenders. The Government also intends to give local authorities an additional £2 million a year to carry out the requirements of the Bill concerning I.T. However, since this finance will not be earmarked, local authorities will not be obliged to spend it on I.T. and, if they wish, will be free to divert it to other more electorally popular areas of expenditure. Some undoubtedly will do so, if their lamentable record to date is any guide.

Legislation should provide a mechanism for the Secretary of State for Social Services to make grants to local authorities specifically for the provision of I.T. facilities, which would help ensure that money provided for I.T. was actually spent on I.T. The Government's general reluctance to earmark money given to local authorities for specific purposes is well known; but here we are talking about an essential part of our law and order services. The Government itself has acknowledged this: Patrick Jenkin M.P., then Secretary of State for Social Services, said in Sheffield on 9th July 1979: "... the Government is prepared to regard child care services as an integral part of the national pattern of law and order services,

and to have the priority which that accords it." There are a number of precedents for funding systems whereby finance is made available to local authorities for a specific purpose. For example, successive Governments have considered the provision of secure units in the community home system to be of such importance that substantial central government funding has been made available to local authorities for this purpose since 1975. Similarly, Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966 makes central government funding available for programmes related to the needs of ethnic minorities. Other examples include the urban programme and the system of joint finance within the health system.

If the Government does not establish a similar funding system for I.T. facilities, local authority provision for I.T. will continue to be variable, and grossly inadequate in certain parts of the country; many juvenile offenders for whom I.T. would be appropriate will continue to be shovelled into penal and residential establishments, inappropriately and at great cost, for want of I.T. services in their locality; and many of the hopes which lie behind the Bill's provisions for new supervised activities requirements will be dashed.

Conclusion

Overall, while the Bill's provisions concerning young offenders have been distinctly improved as a result of the amendments moved by the Parliamentary All-Party Penal Affairs Group, in its final form it is a strange mixture. It contains stricter statutory criteria than have ever previously been laid down to restrict the use of custodial sentences, while simultaneously giving the courts new powers to impose very short sentences which must tempt them to use custody on a much wider scale than ever before. It contains welcome measures designed to reduce unnecessary imposition of care orders on young offenders, yet at the same time gives courts a new power to impose residential care orders which will increase the use of residential establishments for young people. It contains some useful measures to promote alternatives to custody for young offenders, but this is combined with grossly inadequate provision for additional resources to develop these alternatives and is accompanied by some objectionable new sentencing powers whose impact in practice will be detrimental to the development of constructive approaches to dealing with young offenders in the community. Above all, it is a Bill shot through with pragmatic compromises and lacking a coherent philosophical approach to the problem of crime among young people.

REFERENCES

- Advisory Council on the Penal System, *Young Adult Offenders*, HMSO, 1974.
- Cawson, P. *Young Offenders in Care: Preliminary Report*, Department of Health and Social Security, 1978.
- Cawson, P. *Young Offenders in Care*, Department of Health and Social Security, 1981.
- Cawson, P. and Martell, M. *DHSS Research Report No. 5, Children Referred to Closed Units*, HMSO, 1979.
- Cornish, D. B. and Clarke, R. V. G. *Home Office Research Study No. 32, Residential Treatment and its Effects on Delinquency*, HMSO, 1976.
- Department of Health and Social Security, *Offending by Young People: A Survey of Recent Trends*, 1981.
- Department of Health and Social Security, *Report of an Internal Working Party, Legal and Professional Aspects of the Use of Secure Accommodation for Children in Care*, 1981.
- Harris, B. *The Juvenile Court: Time to Give Way to the Family Court?*, *Family Law*, No. 3, 1978.
- HMSO, *Report of the Review Group on Legislation and Services for Children and Young Persons in Northern Ireland (the Black Committee)*, 1979.
- HMSO, *Young Offenders*, Cmnd. 8045, 1980.
- HMSO, *Youth Custody and Supervision: A New Sentence*, Cmnd. 7406, 1978.
- House of Commons Expenditure Committee, *The Children and Young Persons Act 1969*, House of Commons Paper 534-I, HMSO, 1975.
- Millham, S., Bullock, R. and Hosie, R. *Locking Up Children*, Saxon House, 1978.
- Parliamentary All-Party Penal Affairs Group, *Young Offenders – A Strategy for the Future*, Barry Rose Publishers, 1981.
- Thorpe, D., Green, C. and Smith, D. *Punishment and Welfare*, University of Lancaster, 1980.

special units: a new institutional solution to an old administrative problem

ROD LING

Introduction; the growth and definition of the disruptive unit.

This article is essentially an attempt to situate my own qualitative study of a small number of disruptive or special units located in one LEA in a wider context. This context must reach beyond the immediate boundaries not simply in the physical geographical sense that recognises the unit phenomenon as a national one but also in the sense that units are the objectification of perceptions, attitudes and ideas that have a wide but historically-specific currency. The research began some two years ago with the belief that the existence of units raised important issues in education and the realisation that although these issues had been aired to some extent the discussions were largely uniformed by an appreciation of the way in which they operated, either internally or in relation to referring or receiving agencies, i.e. the wider welfare network.

A mundane but crucial question I had to answer in those early months concerned the definition of a special unit. In a survey published in 1978 HMI concerned themselves with those 'behavioural units' established by local education authorities,

"Attached to ordinary schools or serving a group of schools where it is hoped that, with the benefit of smaller groups and experienced teachers . . . children and young people (who for a variety of reasons find it difficult to accept the normal framework of life and work in schools) can be helped to continue their education and be prepared for life beyond school."

From my own work I soon became aware, however, of the increasing provision made in terms of units or special classes on existing school sites and that made off-site by independent agencies and more importantly social services departments under the heading of Intermediate Treatment. The argument for viewing this provision, particularly all off-site units, as a whole appeared to be very strong.

The first reason for this is the fact that whatever the source of funding such units have emerged in similar forms at the same point in time. Before the raising of the school leaving age in

1973, there were very few such units. In the HMI survey conducted in 1977 they concluded that there were 239 education units providing 3,962 places. In May 1980 a survey by the Advisory Centre for Education established that there were 386 units (of all kinds) providing 5,867 places. Most recently Alhadeff and Holt (TES, 9.7.82) succeeded in locating more than 400 units providing something in excess of 7,000 places. Moreover, although the rate of increase has undoubtedly slackened, more units continue to be established. In the current financial year Dudley have announced plans to spend £¼ million on two new units and a mobile team for use in schools. (Guardian, 25.1.82).

It is extremely difficult to chart the progress of this development in any detail because the picture tends to vary from one local authority to another as a result of its often unplanned and ad hoc nature. Nevertheless, it does appear that social services funded initiatives, despite the fact that the rationale was formulated much more clearly and earlier than those of education departments, generally started later and although, probably now increasing in numbers at a more rapid rate, remain in the minority. The NYB estimates that of the 70 schemes for I.T. in operation by 1980 over half had commenced in the preceding two years. (Beresford and Croft, 1981).

It is of course important to stress that Intermediate Treatment has a distinct a separate history to that which underpins education units. Primarily it emerges from thinking in the area of juvenile justice as an alternative to custodial sentences and residential care. However, a number of those working in such sites (and some are teachers funded by LEAs to work in social services) have expressed the opinion that they are 'basically dealing with the same kids'. In stating this they do not simply mean that the difficulties posed by their respective groups of clients are similar and demand similar responses but also that the deviant careers of such children bear close resemblances and the question of where they end up is often largely influenced by chance.

My own work bears this out to some extent. Although teachers in education units do have a perception of what constitutes

a 'social services case' this is one based upon the prior involvement of social work agencies rather than distinctive behavioural characteristics. Moreover, the overlap became even more apparent from a study of the records in one unit for suspended pupils. Over a period of four years approximately one third of this education unit's pupils were referred by existing social services establishments (particularly Community Homes with Education and Observation and Assessment Centres). This proportion would moreover have been greater but for the closure of many of these institutions in the authority in question in the last eighteen months.

Thus in terms of their emergence at a similar point in time, the perceptions of those who work within them, the evidence relating to the life histories of the pupils and the evident physical similarities of the sites there does appear to be considerable evidence for considering special units for the disruptive and disaffected of school age, of whatever kind and however funded, as a whole. In doing so, one is encouraged to view this provision as constituting, in effect, a new level, interposed between the primary agency for the care and control of young people, the school, and the long established institutions for those who, for one reason or another, are considered deviant and beyond the resources of the school and its supporting agencies. Such institutions must now be increasingly considered as either ineffective or inappropriate, or possibly both, in catering for these pupils be they special schools, Community Home Schools (the old Approved Schools) or Observation and Assessment Centres with their educational provision.

This new 'level' characterised by a particular, institutional form, the unit, must be accounted for. Given our broad, cross-departmental perspective the important question is 'Why units now?' No doubt it will remain important to distinguish the differences between education and social services but it is my view that their simultaneous emergence requires an explanation that goes beyond coincidence.

Why units now?

Most commentators on the emergence of units have either failed to address this question or they assume that to establish a case for explaining a qualitative and/or quantitative shift in the behaviour of young people is, in itself, sufficient. Others, no doubt, feel that the question is not an important one and are more concerned with tackling the query 'what is to be done'.

Thus the particular institutional form represented by the unit is either unconsidered or in some sense pre-determined, the inevitable outcome of the situation confronting teachers and other professional groups at a particular point in time. Good examples of this approach can be found in numerous publications including D.E.S. (1978) local education authority reports (e.g. Birmingham, ILEA, Liverpool) and those of professional bodies (NUT, NAS, BASW).

There have been a handful of other writers, notably sociologists, that have attempted to go further than this. Lloyd Smith (1979) for instance not only wants to establish the importance of declining employment prospects in affecting the behaviour of young people but also to examine the possible changes in professional ideologies. He argues that there have been shifts in the boundaries of what constitutes acceptable

behaviour amongst pupils and concludes:

"Special units are objectifications of certain beliefs about children, behaviour, deviance, the proper duties of teachers, etc. — beliefs which, through subtle processes of negotiation, become 'legitimising categories' and serve to define those behaviours which call for separate specialist treatment and thereby 'create' a category of pupils. Thus what the DES refers to as 'behavioural units' are as much a product of ideological beliefs among teachers and educational policy makers as of any demonstrable change in patterns of behaviour among children of school age."

Johnson (1978) too is also concerned to investigate teacher as well as pupil attitudes. He claims that it was class teachers that forced the acceptance of a new psychological category, the disruptive pupil, on senior staff and administrators in local authorities. The outcome was special classes and special units.

The approach taken by both these writers does take the analysis further insofar as it corrects the impression that units are the direct outcome of pupil behaviour, when of course, such behaviour must be perceived and interpreted by groups of adults influential in the decision-making process. The 'creation' of a new category and the acceptance of the need for a new solution evidently plays an important part in rendering existing solutions to disruptive behaviour as inappropriate. However, the particular form of the special unit must still be shown to 'fit' the new circumstances and the overlap between education and social services established.

Perhaps the writer who comes closest to providing a comprehensive answer to the question 'Why units now?' is Francis (1980). It is his view that the 1950's was characterised by the growing acceptance of the equality of opportunity/social mobility model of society with the development of comprehensive education. This was followed by the radical critique of schooling in the late 1960's. While the libertarian/radical thinkers in education and the 'New Directions' school of sociology were at work increasing numbers of inner-city children were 'voting with their feet'. The outcome was the free-school movement:

"Alongside the free school grew up truancy centres and I.T. Centres funded by charities or Social Services Departments with the LEA sometimes contributing the salary of a teacher. It is these centres which have formed the basis of the present units for disruptive pupils, often with some of the same personnel."

In this view then units were modelled upon free schools and in some cases incorporated them as LEA's opportunistically conceived a new role for them. (MacBeath, 1977). There is I am sure some truth in this but it suffers from being too 'metrocentric' and from a failure to explicate the linkages that are implied between social services and education departments.

Possibly it was the case that in London (which is very much the capital of the disruptive unit 'industry' with in excess of 200 units) truancy centres were set up 'alongside free schools' but there is little evidence of this happening elsewhere and I.T. as a provision only developed some time after the vast majority of free schools had collapsed.

This is not to say that there were no links between the emer-

gence of free schools, I.T. centres and disruptive units. In fact, it is this feature of Francis's argument that represents an important advance. Rather the problem is that he fails to take this argument far enough. Instead he leaves us with an undefined connection between apparently disparate ideas like the radical critique of education, the early and unfulfilled development of I.T. and the solutions to problems of managing disruptive behaviour sought by administrators and politicians. In stating that education units can 'grow out' of I.T. and free schools Francis is implying that administrators are also able to respond to problems opportunistically. Again there is no doubt some truth in this as the ad hoc and 'covert' establishment of units would suggest. Nevertheless, it ignores the part played by other groups if such decisions are to be implemented and sustained. Crucial to this process are the attitudes and responses of professional groupings and politicians at both central and local government levels.

What I would wish to argue is that a full explanation for the emergence of units must recognise the complexity of the decision-making process in a devolved system such as our own.

It must in effect identify a necessary convergence of interests and ideologies between the significant groups involved in this process. I use the term convergence, advisedly. A possible alternative, consensus, would imply a degree of agreement that need not exist nor in fact does it appear to. The controversy surrounding, particularly education units (Alhadeff, et al, 1982) suggest that a real measure of instability exists and further change is likely.

Convergences and the community approach

It is then possible, I believe, to begin to identify a number of convergences between professional groupings in education and social work, between both major parties at local and central government levels and between the administrators of local government services. These convergences make units as a particular institutional form the outcome of a process which has as much to do with excluding existing options as it has with advancing the positive feature of units.

The common thread running through all these convergences concerns the influence within most of the public services in recent years of what might be termed the 'community approach'. The contention is that community care, community schooling, community health, community policing for example are shorthand terms for a set of linked ideas. It is beyond my powers to provide a full account of the genesis of this movement (if this is what it is) but it would appear that much of its significance stems from sociological and social psychological theories that were particularly, but by no means exclusively, relevant to the practice of social work.

Social work and the 'community approach'

Phyllida Parsloe (1978) in her examination of the juvenile justice systems in Britain and the USA describes the features of the community approach:

"Instead of the individual being seen as a threat to society or his underdevelopment being regarded as society's loss, in the community model the person who breaks the law is seen as the victim of society."

Parsloe traces the development of this approach over a considerable period of time but considers that its present exposition is the most powerful yet in that

"Society makes deviants not only as an unintended by-product of its social and political systems but because it needs them to exist."

Labelling theory, 'the general name given to the sociological aspects of this approach is seen as being particularly influential in its insistence that delinquents, rather than being psychologically abnormal individuals are, in fact, selected by society and 'turned into' deviants.

"The road to becoming a deviant is marked by a number of steps and at each step there is a choice, made by the representatives of society as to whether this particular individual shall be sent back into the general population or marked for further deviant processing."

The message contained within this approach that is "widely taught to British social work students" is that wherever possible children should not be stigmatised or selected for the deviantising process.

"Children must be referred to non-stigmatising agencies such as the youth service bureau in the US, social work departments in Scotland and Social Services agencies in England."

One of the difficulties for social workers in taking up the community approach was that it often appeared inimical to their interests. It contributed substantially to the "general failure of confidence and questioning of authority which characterised the management of social problems in the 1970's". In its political form social workers were 'soft cops' and 'agents of social control' while for others (Illich, et al, 1977) they were members of the 'disabling professionals'.

Nevertheless, elements of the community approach couched in terms that are compatible with the professionals' social welfare approach have found expression at the highest level. A good example, of this is to be found in the White Paper 'Children in Trouble' and the major legislation, Children and Young Persons Act, 1969, it gave rise to. It was in this Act for the first time that a name was given to an idea, Intermediate Treatment. This was later described (in a DHSS document in 1973) as 'intermediate in its nature between other measures which either place a child in the care of the authority or leave them in the care of his parents'. I.T. in its aim of avoiding the need to stigmatise, the deprived and the depraved, could be reconciled with a professional ideology of a doctor-like figure and his or her patient jointly fighting a disease, as the term Treatment clearly implies.

Education and the community approach

Meanwhile in education it is possible to trace a quite separate development but one in which there was an increasing concern with the welfare of those thought to be poorly equipped to take advantage of the opportunities provided by schooling. This can be seen in the Newsom Report (1963) and the Plowden Report (1968) with its 'rediscovery of poverty' and championing of EPA's. In comprehensive schools, pastoral care and counselling became major developments and a number of LEAs redefined the role of the 'schoolboard man' or

Educational Welfare Officer into that of the Educational Social Worker.

If this trend represents the convergence of education with the welfare approach of social work then perhaps the best expression of the community approach and its insistence on 'integration' is to be seen in the Warnock Report (1978). The influence of labelling theory is very clear in Warnock's attack on the principle of categorisation which has:

"... exercised a powerful influence in practice on the ways in which assessment reports have been framed and educational provision has been organised."

"Labels tend to shock, and children diagnosed as ESN (M) or Maladjusted can be stigmatised unnecessarily for the whole of their school careers and beyond."

"More importantly categorisation promotes confusion between a child's disability and the form of special education he needs. Categorisation perpetuates the sharp distinction between two groups of children, the handicapped and the non-handicapped and it is this distinction which we are determined, as far as possible, to eliminate."

For our purposes the categories of special education that concern us most are the maladjusted and ESN (M). Warnock is critical of the term ESN in that "it suggests that a child suffers from an intrinsic deficiency whereas often the deficiency has been in his social and cultural learning". Maladjustment too is seen as erroneous in suggesting a permanent condition. Others, (Tomlinson, 1981, Bowman, 1981, Coard, 1971) go further still and argue that these psychological categories are socially constructed, reflecting the dominance of particular sets of values and ideas.

My contention here then, is that the expression of the community approach in education though supportive of the role of educational psychologists and other professionals effectively precluded the expansion of special education in its traditional form. Moreover, it promises to bring about its gradual reduction; already there are indications of physically handicapped children being integrated into the normal school population. Of course, to say it is ironic that more children are now leaving schools and entering units than ever before but the 'low visibility' of units, the fact that many are on-site and that LEAs are increasingly stressing the goal (though it is often unfulfilled) of returning pupils to school, means that the contradiction remains muted.

Thus a convergence of approach may be identified between education and social work theory both in the sense that schooling has become increasingly concerned with welfare and in the view of the appropriate responses to those who create difficulties both within schools and the wider community. Not only are numbers of teachers and social workers of the opinion that they share many of the same problems but also some of the same solutions.

Politicians and the community approach

At both national and local levels and across the party divide politicians have sought in recent years, as part of the management of an ailing economy to reduce the size of the public sector. Admittedly the Labour Party has been more ambiva-

lent about this process but both parties in cutting the public services have sought arguments to legitimate it. The implicit criticism of the community approach of many professionals, particularly social workers, accorded well with the view of monetarists such as Sir Keith Joseph with their emphasis on making or letting people 'stand on their own two feet' without the self-interested attentions of do-gooders and politically motivated social engineers. On a local level, Birmingham in 1978, a plan drawn up under a Conservative administration to reduce residential provision for nursery age children right through to the elderly was justified by reference to the concept of 'community care'. When this plan was denounced by an alliance of professionals, politicians and clients as simply a cost-cutting manoeuvre it was shelved. The outcome was a more systematic appraisal of the city's residential provision which went even further in its disestablishment of social services, implemented under a Labour administration. In terms of facilities that provide an alternative to schooling this has meant a reduction from the use of over 300 beds in 18 Community Homes with Education on the premises to 111 beds in three local CHE's. The 7 Observation and Assessment Centres have been closed and replaced by 4 District Centres which provide limited residential provision (up to 16 beds in each centre) and on-site education. The emphasis in this area is now on peripatetic or 'community assessment'. An increase in I.T. facilities, fostering and adolescent units makes up the remainder of the new provision.

This single example with the evidence referred to earlier concerning the timing of the uptake in I.T. several years after it was enshrined in legislation points to an 'unholy alliance' between radicals in the field of social policy and conservative politicians intent on cutting back on the public sector budget. Others have pointed out (e.g. Schur, (1980) and Scull, (1981)) how this has extended to other areas as well, particularly in psychiatric care in the United States.

Local government administrators and the community approach

We must also consider the very important role of the administrators in both framing the possible solutions to perceived problems and supervising their implementation. Cockburn (1977) suggests that the greatest change to occur in local government administration in the last fifteen years has been the move towards corporate management. These ideas, borrowed from the business world describe the need for integration of the management function, for control from the top, the more efficient use of capital and labour and the need for forward planning. The Seeborn Committee which resulted in the reorganisation of the Social Services in 1971 is seen in this light as are the developments in Town Planning and the reorganisation of the Health Service in 1973. Both political parties favoured this trend. The Conservative Party did so because it represented the opportunity to reduce costs and increase efficiency through tighter control. Labour, on the other hand, saw this as an instrument for a more interventionist approach and later in the 1970's for implementing cuts in capital and recurrent spending.

Corporate management says Cockburn, is characterised by its top-down communications, its hierarchical and inward looking management style. In the language of systems theory it inhibits 'learning and adaptation in the system'. Thus it results in a growing need for an information flow in the other direc-

tion. For Cockburn, this is what the community approach represents; a means by which a 'two-way channel of rich and varied information' could be opened up. Thus at the same time that a more integrated approach to, say the provision for marginal and deviant youth is made possible between the major departments the need is created for 'community based initiatives' that inform local government of community sentiments.

The role of central government in persuading local authorities to adopt this 'community approach' is similar to the one it took up in relation to the adoption of corporate management – analysing the problem, identifying new techniques, encouraging and prompting local councils. In this context it might well be worthwhile considering the significant part played by the Urban Aid Programme and its successor the Inner City Partnership Programme in the creation of on and off-site units. The staffing for six on-site units were financed in Birmingham in this way as was the capital cost of at least two off-site units. The I.T. fund administers the resources made available by central government to local councils and only last June (*Guardian*, 4.6.82) the Social Services Secretary announced an increase of £1.6 m. to the funds designed to promote community alternatives for young offenders.

Cockburn's analysis then like that of many Marxists is essentially a pessimistic one,

"Community work makes for a fruitful but a very difficult and painful study. It is useful because it demonstrates quite dramatically the way that the State and capital can sometimes benefit from and exploit or disarm progressive ideas and progressive people."

While we may not entirely share Cockburn's pessimism it serves as a necessary corrective to some of the more naive appraisals of the significance of the adoption of the 'community approach' for the welfare state.

Moreover, it points out one more to the convergence around the theme of 'community' between those groups crucial to the decision-making process. The picture is evidently a complex one and important variations will emerge between one local authority and another. Nevertheless, the underlying convergence assists in a process of establishing, in areas where it is not possible to argue that the problems are new, the necessity for innovative solutions to old problems and thereby defining the conditions which any new institutional situation must satisfy.

Special units; satisfying the new conditions

What then are the characteristics of the special unit and what ways are these suited to the current conditions? Firstly of course, units are cheap. In a contracting state sector for the education and containment of young people this is of the utmost importance. One of the striking features of the growth of the unit phenomenon is the fact of its coincidence with a period of increasing financial constraint. As has already been stated units continue to be established and the possible abolition of corporal punishment in our schools may well encourage a further impetus for growth. (See recent statements by NUT, NAHT). It has proved difficult to determine precise figures on the comparison of unit costs with ordinary schooling but the indications are that the favourable staff-pupil ratio is counterbalanced by the much lower per capita investment in buildings

and equipment. I have estimated that the current cost in Birmingham where unit staff are amongst the highest paid in the country, in terms of staffing and capitation, is of the order of £1,200 per child per annum. Although this is unlikely to represent a substantial saving on a school place it certainly is in relation to the cost of a place in a CHE (£327 per week) or that in a special school. Grunsell (1978) is one of the few to have considered the costs involved in running a truancy unit in London. He estimates that of the sixteen pupils attending the centre it would be reasonable to assume that up to a quarter of these might otherwise have been in care of the authority and another two or three in CHE's. He costs a CHE place in London in 1974 at £5,000 plus a year and a place in care at around £2,500 compared with the £1,000 it costs ILEA to fund each child in the unit. (He also suggests that this is cheaper than the orthodox school place at about £1,200 per child).

The second and perhaps most striking feature of units, once one has got beyond the casual acquaintance is their flexibility. Not only are they flexible in their internal practices and organisation (a subject I shall not go into) but also with regard to their relationship with referring agencies. They can, in other words, service a wide range of needs within the mainstream of the education system and the social services department. Little attempt has been made to identify, in precise terms, the client group that disruptive units are intended to cater for beyond those who are 'disrupting their own education or that of others' or are 'in danger of being taken into care'. Where efforts have been made to adapt referral criteria evidence of 'client drift' is often apparent.

In practice then a case can usually be made for most children that the referring agencies are currently in need of placing. Thus in one unit which ostensibly caters exclusively for suspended pupils a third of the intake over a four year period failed to satisfy this basic criterion. The cases that this unit had catered included pregnant schoolgirls and young mothers, pupils who refused to attend residential special schooling, pupils whose full suspension would have occasioned considerable embarrassment to the referring school, those previously in CHE for a variety of reasons, school refusers, those in need of a 'breather' while things 'blew over' and so on. In another unit established as the result of a report on the problems of truancy in the city 'client drift' has been even more dramatic with the head's reluctance to accept such referrals amongst his intake.

Units do not have complicated procedures that must be complied with before a transfer can take place. Unlike special schools and increasingly CHE's (though admittedly for different reasons) they can respond quickly to 'emergency' cases in providing an alternative site for education. The common complaint made by many schools, including those in my study, is the inability of educational psychologists to offer timely and effective assistance. Whether this is the result of a lack of time, of unrealistic expectations in what can be achieved or because of the insistence on abiding by the procedures whereby a child is 'deemed' to be in need of special education is essentially irrelevant to the school in question.

Units are also flexible in that because of their size (personal experience and the national surveys referred to above indicate that the numbers of pupils – clients seldom exceeds twenty-four) they can be accommodated without great difficulty or expense on existing sites owned by but currently unused or

underused by the authority. Moreover they can be moved (and have been quite frequently) without the expenditure of large sums. They can in other words 'make do' in a variety of sites that are generally old and empty as the HMI survey makes clear.

A further point is that units are not schools and they therefore lack the legal status and privileges of such establishments. They are technically (at least in the case of education units) though not in practice attached to an existing school and their pupils must remain on an orthodox school's register whatever the nature of the unit they attend. Therefore units do not have governing bodies with the parental rights this entails. Operating in a grey area of the law may not always be functional for the local authority but it does mean that not only do they exhibit 'low visibility' but that, should the need arise, they could be dismantled without much difficulty, expense or opposition.

Conclusion

It is the above features in the establishment and operation of units that make them an appropriate solution to the problems experienced by welfare agencies in the current economic and political climate. This is not to say that all units share these features of low cost, small size, flexibility, an uncertain legal status and low visibility. Neither does this deny the existence of some controversy surrounding their existence, that variations in provision between local authorities will not continue nor the possibility that they represent only a temporary solution in their present form. In their adaptability and flexibility however units are ideally suited to a period of continuing and continuous change. A number of factors may prove crucial to the future developments in this area but for the moment the 'unit solution' appears to satisfy or at least adequately confuse the largely progressive demands for a community based and integrated service, the demands from teachers, social workers, educational psychologists, parents and others that something be done and the political and administrative necessity for a cheap, flexible and perhaps, ultimately, dispensable provision.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

- Advisory Centre for Education (1980) Disruptive Units in Where Magazine, May 1980, No. 158.
- Alhadeff, G., Greenhalgh, P., Morgan, C. and Peacey, N. (1982) Separate Development in Times Educational Supplement, 9-7-82.
- Beresford, P. and Croft, S. (1981) Intermediate Treatment, Special Education and the Personalisation of Urban Problems in The Practice of Special Education edited by Swann, W. Basil Blackwell, 1981.
- Bowman, K. (1981) in Swann, W. (ed).
- Coard, B. (1971) How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System. New Beacon Books, 1971.
- Cockburn, C. (1977) The Local State. Pluto Press, 1977.
- Francis, M. (1979) Disruptive Pupils: Labelling a New Generation in New Approaches to Multiracial Education, Vol. 8 No. 1.
- Grunsell, R. (1978) Born to be Invisible: the Story of a School for Truants. Macmillan, 1978.
- D.E.S. (1978) Behavioural Units: A Survey of Special Units for Pupils With Behavioural Problems.
- Illich, I., et. al. (1977) Disabling Professions. Marion Boyars, 1977.
- Johnson, M. (1978) Some Aspects of Disruptive Behaviour in Secondary Schools with Particular Reference to Special Units, unpublished M.Sc. dissertation.
- Lloyd Smith, M. (1979) The Meaning of Special Units in Socialism and Education, Vol. 6 No. 2.
- MacBeath, J. (1977) Goodbye Free School, Hello Special Unit in T.E.S., 9-12-1977.
- Parsloe, P. (1978) Juvenile Justice in Britain and the U.S.A. RKP 1978.
- Schur, E. (1980) The Politics of Deviance: Stigma Contests and the Uses of Power. Prentice Hall, 1980.
- Scull, A. (1981) Deconstitutionalisation and the Rights of the Deviant in Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 37 No. 3.
- Tomlinson, S. (1981) Educational Subnormality: A Study in Decision Making. RKP, 1981.
- Warnock, M. (1978) Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Handicapped Children and Young People. HMSO, 1978.

Alan Walker

**Unqualified and Underemployed:
Handicapped Young People and the Labour
Market**

Macmillan Press, 1982

ISBN 0 333 32190 1. (Paperback).

It was with an increasing sense of recognition that I began reading this volume. Both the style and the methodology of the reported research were reminiscent of much of the research concerning young people which was carried out in the late 1950's and early 1960's. In particular in the way that working class young people had 'failed' in the system especially in the education system. So it was with a feeling of nostalgia, combined with a large dose of sympathy for the stated intent of the book to provide "the fullest available account of the personal, social and economic factors which explain the disadvantages and inequalities faced by 'handicapped' young people in relation to their peers", that I began reading.

Alan Walker's book is based on research carried out for the committee chaired by Mary Warnock, which was established in 1974 after being appointed in 1973 by the then Secretary of State for Education, Margaret Thatcher. This committee was set up to enquire into the provision of education for 'handicapped' young people. The sample of people on whom this research was based, was drawn from a long term study of all the children born in one particular week in March 1958, the National Child Development Study (N.C.D.S.).

The extent of the discrimination suffered by the young people who took part in this research is well catalogued by Alan Walker although as he says it covers only the first two years of experience after leaving school. Some of the difficulties highlighted by this study included not only those of getting a job in the first place — 33% of the 'handicapped' group had been out of work for more than six months in two years, compared to only 3% of the 'non-handicapped' group — but also the quality of those jobs was much worse. The majority of the 'handicapped' young people earned less than £20 per week at a time when the average wage for men under 31 was £37.94 and for women under 18 was £26.70 (full-time in both cases). The conditions in which this group worked, were also likely to be worse than the 'non-handicapped' group of young people, and they were also working in places with fewer facilities for employees.

Some qualitative as well as quantitative results are presented in this book, with several pen portraits of the experiences of some of the young people who were studied. The attitudes of

the participants in the research as well as those of some employers are examined together with what I feel is an extremely dubious attempt to correlate teachers' notions of the parental interest in the child's education with the young persons employment stability. It may well be that the parents (along with their children) are in fact **very** interested in their offspring's education but consider that the school is not offering it. Alternatively they may in fact entertain the very realistic notion that the school is unlikely to alter life chances one jot.

The fact that the school system in "diagnosing" the 'handicap' or disability, confirmed the young person in their low status position, would not tend to give the parents any help in raising their aspirations. This would be even more difficult for the parents to cope with when carried out in an apparently humane and caring fashion. It really does annoy me when people, like Alan Walker, who should know better, contribute to the mythology of the middle classes by this uncritical approach — why should teachers evidence be regarded as unproblematic in this way? This particular example highlights for me the weakness of the analysis in this study. Alan Walker says all the right sort of things — calling for the integration of 'handicapped' young people into the mainstream school system, demanding more careers advice and support after leaving school, and yet the criticisms seem curiously fragmented; there appears to be quite a lot wrong but we are not quite sure why. The author always seems to shy clear of any analysis of the structural reasons for the position of these young people. Thus we have the blame apportioned to the teachers for their part in the labelling process which helps create poor self-image; the employers are blamed for displaying prejudice against the 'handicapped' and the parents blamed for not having higher aspirations for their children. However, there is a corresponding absence of any blame to be attached to the government for resolutely failing to enforce the quota system of the 1944 and the 1958 Disabled Persons (Employment) Acts and for tacitly encouraging the expansion of the number of exemptions from those Acts. Neither is the government anywhere blamed for the general level of unemployment which Alan Walker notes was high when the book was being written in 1981. To be absolutely fair to Alan Walker he does call for "major changes in the nature of society, for example in the way employment is allocated, in the role of the educational system, in the organisation of individual jobs and in the distribution of resources. Such changes rest on the political and social will to create a more equal society." Now whilst I would agree with these laudable aims, I am not convinced by the previous tenor of the argument that this conclusion is warranted. Although given the resolutely functionalist approach that is not surprising. There are no questions in

his analysis concerning the possible ideological reasons for attitudes towards the 'handicapped' as a group.

The categorisation of young people as 'handicapped' and in particular the expansion of that category, culminating in the Warnock Report of 1978, can be seen as an attempt to rationalise the failure of many Fabian inspired liberal hopes of the early 1960's. It was assumed by sections of all the political parties, but particularly of the Labour Party that capitalism had been transformed, the new civilisation had arrived with the ever expanding elastic economy, ideology was dead. True democracy would be born from the white heat of technology through the mechanism of the meritocracy which was to be created in the American image, with the aid of the comprehensive school. Equality was defined as equality of opportunity or equal access to equal educational opportunity (with a bit of positive discrimination thrown in) all that had happened of course was that socialism was redefined to enable it to live more comfortably with capitalism. This was nothing new for the Labour Party, in reality it had always managed this accommodation covertly, but now it was developing corresponding overt ideology and in fact real expectations of a fairer society were raised in that period. It can be argued that subsequently there was a realisation in the 1970's that the expansion of educational expenditure and the development of comprehensive schooling had changed little in the structure of inequality of power and wealth. There seemed to be a conspicuous reluctance also on the part of a large minority of young people within the educational system to take advantage of the riches on offer. A marked unwillingness by some educationalists and most politicians to accept that in fact very little had changed in the position of different social classes within the educational system has led to the casting around for individual explanations as well as functional ones. This argument is ignoring completely those who were **never** committed to progress towards a more equal society (however haltingly), those like Rhodes Boyson who believe in 'sheep and goats' and encouraging more competition in schools to sort them out, to inculcate healthy moral attitudes, clean habits and the value of cold showers.

From the liberal strand then we have had a variety of explanations for failure – linguistic disabilities (remember elaborated and restricted codes?) – social deprivation (no cultures you know), and now – special needs. The expansion of the categories of 'handicap' has been very rapid in some areas particularly with 'speech defects' and 'maladjustment.' The boundaries between different categories of 'handicap' have become increasingly blurred and the disagreement over certain categories of handicap has increased, notably between 'Educationally Subnormal' (Mild) – (E.S.N. (M).) and 'Maladjustment.' This has culminated with the Warnock Report 'findings' that up to 20% of the school population will have special educational needs at some point in their school career.

Now this is not an attempt to express a novel conspiracy theory but to demonstrate the extent to which a model of individual 'pathology' has come to dominate educational thinking. This is also legitimated by the notion of 'meritocracy' and its implicit intellectual elitism. Of course there are some people who have functional difficulties due to brain damage or hereditary factors but I am arguing against then making linked assumptions about worth and quality of life on that basis. The emphasis on ideas of the value of intellect in

individual terms but also in societal terms through human capital theory and the relating of economic success to 'intellect' has as its converse the devaluing of those who lack these 'skills'. People with 'physical handicaps' also suffer because of the conflation of 'intellectual' and 'physical handicaps' often unconsciously among 'non-handicapped' people. This elitism is not confined to the educational system, but pervades many cultural activities from the T.V. quiz show to the notions of high-middle – and low-brow culture. In employment the meritocratic idea finds expression to some extent in assumptions about 'skills'. 'Skilled' and 'non-skilled' jobs may be so defined more for social, economic or political reasons such as the control of the work force to minimise disruption, the establishment of wage rates or the power of a particular group of workers to resist deskilling. It is difficult to see how the ramifications of this intellectual elitism with its consequent categorisation, although I do not wish to appear to be too deterministic here. The monumental obscenity of the unemployment figures demonstrates the futility of assuming that training in job skills will enhance employment prospects. This is not to argue that the choice of a training scheme by a young person will not do something to affect their own self-image. The essence of helping the 'handicapped' young person is helping them towards independence not by teaching a string of "social-skill" or "job-skill" behaviours – but by giving them more control inside the institutions as well as outside. Also by reducing our **behaviour** oriented attitude towards young people and beginning to give more weight to **feelings** like self-confidence, anxiety, insecurity, frustration and sensitivity.

As a conclusion I would recommend Alan Walker's book to those wanting to get some idea of the extent of the difficulties faced by young 'handicapped' people at this stage in their lives. However, I do not think the book meets its initial aims, perhaps my expectations were too high prior to opening it, but I certainly felt some disappointment and puzzlement on finishing it. This may be illustrated by the fact that I couldn't decide whether Alan Walker's call to the government to "provide a lead in a strategy to counteract disadvantage in the labour market, and to ensure that every school leaver has the chance to realise his or her full potential" was an example of sardonic wit, or more likely, merely fatuous.

DON BLACKBURN

'CHILDREN OF THE EMPIRE'

by Gillian Wagner

Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1982

ISBN 0 297 78047 6. £10.95 (pp. 284).

The shipping out of tens of thousands of children from Britain to the colonies was a practice which, despite spanning three centuries, bore all the hallmarks of Victorian social policy at its crudest. It was during the 1860's that child emigration changed from a sporadic, 'ad hoc' arrangement into a recognisable and powerful movement with the approval of the State, and it was here too that individuals emerged who were to play such a vital role in its development – Rye, Quarrier, Middlemore, Shaftsbury, Macpherson and Barnado himself (under whose direction the majority came to be removed thus). That much of Gillian Wagner's book is devoted to this

period, and indeed to biographical sketches of the above named and other philanthropists, attests strongly to the fact that here was an example of Victorian child-saving 'par excellence'.

Why was it that, alone among nations, Britain embarked upon such a policy in the first place? This is the question to which Wagner addresses herself. That she admits of no clear, single answer is not in itself a weakness of her study, and it allows her in fact a great deal of freedom to get on with the job of telling a remarkable tale, telling it well, and allowing the conclusions and insights to unfold, as it were, almost in dramatic fashion. Her sources are voluminous and wide-ranging, containing material from as far afield as Canada and Australia, as well as her own intimate knowledge of the Barnardo collection — she is the author of the standard work on Barnardo. Most impressive is her judicious and sensitive use of personal interviews, which provide us with often very moving accounts of what it was actually like to experience being 'human cargo' bound for an uncertain and usually harrowing future in a strange and inhospitable land. Reading of the chain of traumatic events which inevitably accompanied forced emigration; the removal from home, placement in a children's home or 'boarding out', the eventual removal perhaps from foster-parents whom the child would never see again, the rigours of a long sea journey with no guarantee of survival, the placement with strangers who usually required only cheap uncomplaining labour, the strange rugged environment far removed from urban England in character as well as distance, — only makes one wonder at the fortitude of childhood. Above all else, then, Gillian Wagner has brought alive a terrible chapter in our history and for that her book can be warmly recommended.

The kind of study which 'Children of the Empire' is **not**, would also have been interesting, however. The social, economic and political background to her work remains just that; a backcloth against which the dramatic personae perform. Had she brought such elements to the foreground, I think she might have gone further in answering her own question in a more complete way. There is no working hypothesis, and no separate chapter devoted to her conclusions, one has to pick one's way through and draw one's own.

For example, it is possible to regard child emigration as a 'logical' progression of those same policies which built the workhouse, the reformatory and the industrial school. Logical, that is, if one accepts the original premises, which one has to do if, as has often been stated, in the study of social policy what people **thought** was happening is more important than what was **actually** happening. What the Victorians **thought** they were doing was performing a missionary task of reclamation of the offspring of the absolute dregs of humanity:

"Many . . . are taken from the lowest classes of society; from parents, one might even say ancestors, often steeped in vice, crime, and immorality . . . they are the offspring of the reckless, the improvident, the criminal, the vile. Some of them, even when taken very young, have inherent in their natures many vices and evil habits. But, with time and care, these may gradually be overcome and banished."

School Board of London Report on Industrial Schools, 1870 - 1904. p. 21. (Greater London Records Office).

Once this kind of positivist philosophy is taken on board — that there is a class of people who are quite literally 'diseased' and who will ultimately infect their children unless they are rescued in time — all kinds of peculiar actions are made possible. Whether or not a child is criminal or non-criminal, the mere fact of his having associated with certain 'types' is enough, according to this reasoning, to have him removed to an institution far distant from his neighbourhood and preferably in the countryside away from decadent urbanism, where he can be cleansed through tough militaristic and agricultural programmes and endless reading of the Scriptures. For the Victorians, the symbolic language of 'light,' 'fresh air,' 'cleanliness' and so on was employed constantly when referring to child rescue, and there was a deeply-held religious conviction about it, most if not all of the leading philanthropists being Evangelicals of one shade or another.

But the Victorians were also pragmatists. A healthy life and love of the Lord Jesus doth not an Empire make, and it was cold economic arguments which perhaps most of all committed the State to the idea of child emigration. For not only did it conform to the Ideal of children living an outdoor life, but it was also cheap — something which conformed to that other great Ideal that no one should be a burden on the rates. And not only that, but the export of tens of thousands of children meant a constant supply of cheap labour (undercutting union rates of course) with which to build the Empire, a fact which is highlighted in Wagner's book more by accident than design I think, when we read that the main reason for the failure of South Africa as a major importer of children was that they already had an army of African slaves to do the work. "It would be absurd" wrote William Booth "to speak of the colonies as if they were a foreign land. They are simply pieces of Britain distributed about the world, enabling the Britisher to have access to the richest parts of the earth". (p. 164). And it was pauper children — boys as farm labourers girls as domestic servants — who were regarded as bricks with which this Empire was to be built in order that the landed classes and those in the Mother Country with vested interests in the colonies could enjoy the benefits. Emigrant children were commodities, no more than that. When religious fervour began to wane as the driving force behind the movement, it was replaced towards the end of the nineteenth century by Social Imperialism — the belief that it was the British, not the meek, who would inherit the Earth. Secularisation was to be no obstacle to the relentless, cold arithmetic of Empire settlement at the expense of poor children.

Organised juvenile emigration went on, despite mounting opposition (largely from the recipient nations), until 1952 when the final party of bewildered children arrived on New Zealand soil. Old beliefs die hard then, but if the movement is regarded as merely one product of the Victorian Ideal then it can be seen that elements of that philosophy are far from dead. Taking children away to indulge in healthy, outdoor pursuits as a condition of their freedom to live at home — the alternative being residence in a usually distant community home in the country — is a major component of Intermediate Treatment programmes, as if that of itself contains the potential to 'banish' delinquency from the soul. That the Therapeutic Ideal has replaced a Religious or Social Imperialist one

should not fool us for one moment — taking kids camping is cheap too.

ROBERT MAWDSLEY.

MALCOLM MACCOURT

'BREAKING THE SILENCE: Gay Teenagers speak for themselves' ed. Michael Burbridge & Jonathon Walters; pub: Joint Council for Gay Teenagers (BM JCGT, London WC1N 3XX), 1981. ISBN 0 9506958 1 5; £1.00.

'I KNOW WHAT I AM: Gay Teenagers and the law' ed. Robert Longley et al; pub: Joint Council for Gay Teenagers (BM JCGT, London WC1N 3XX), 1981. ISBN 0 9506958 0 7, 45p.

'GAY TEENAGERS COME OUT, COME OUT, WHEREVER YOU ARE' compiled & published by Tyneside Gay Teenagers Group (Friend Newcastle, 267 Stanhope Street, NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE, NE4 5JT), 1981.

'YOUNG GAY AND PROUD' ed. Sasha Alyson and the Gay Teachers & Students Group of Melbourne; pub: Alyson Publications, Inc., Boston, Massachusetts, 1981. ISBN 0 932870 01 5. £1.95.

"If I had any gay kids in my youth project, I'd want to help them deal with their gayness, so I'd probably contact the leaders of the local gay teenagers group and then get them involved in it — it's only right, isn't it, to allow them to contact their own kind."

A standard view amongst youth workers, that — and full of good intentions, no doubt. Difficult to fault it from among a 'good liberal' perspective. It has all the hallmarks of caring liberalism. A desire to identify a major problem area for and with the client, and to put them in contact with a self-help agency which has appropriate professional back-up.

It may be that such a 'good liberal' perspective is quite adequate; it is certainly more than some leaders can cope with (how many of those who think that 'all this homosexuality stuff ought to be stamped out' are actually people who 'fought against those urges' when they were younger?); but is adequacy sufficient? and should adoption of the 'good liberal' perspective be allowed to be the conclusion of a limited period of thought about sexuality, and its context within youth work? I think not.

'If I had any gay kids in ' Really we are talking about our decision to identify those kids by their gayness — it should be commonplace to say that any youth worker who thinks that there are no gay kids in their purview is out of touch with the kids — it should also be commonplace to remind serving youth workers that the 'gay ones' do not necessarily adopt particular poses or strike particular attitudes. Many of the 'gay kids' will be dealing with sexual attraction and sexual practice without any specific need to identify that as the youth leader's major label for them, and indeed many may actively avoid any such labelling by dealing with sexual attraction and practice outside the youth leader's sphere of influence.

The gay male and lesbian movements have not just raised the consciousness of many gay men and lesbians, nor have they only required the 'world' to recognise their existence and accept it, they have begun a much more important process — though it is seldom recognised as the case.

That process is a disintegration of nuclear family life and expectations as it was understood in post-war Britain. The gay movements are not alone in that, it is a process to which the women's movement at large is contributing, and (in different ways) black movements contribute too. However here I wish to concentrate on the part played by the gay movements, rather than dwell on the disintegration itself.

Fifty years ago society 'felt sorry' for those in middle age who had not married, particularly unmarried women were felt to have missed out — or a bit peculiar. Unmarried men may have been 'allowed' to be 'not the marrying kind', but even that was often only one grade better than being labelled as the village idiot. Now not only has the relative status of women and men in conjugal relationships changed, but also the status of those who do not have an established relationship with someone of the opposite sex has altered. Or at least it seems to be altering — though it is not clear that those who think they create our 'morality' for us (are they all married men living in posh suburbs?) are aware of it.

The change for the 'gay ones' has been only partial even in the minds of many who think of themselves as being in the vanguard of change. The partialness of that change is seen in the quote at the beginning of this piece — 'deal with their gayness', 'gay kids', 'their own kind'. We half-adopted some of the black consciousness movement's philosophy from the U.S. — but we have failed to consider why we have adopted any of it. A disadvantaged group need to establish for themselves that the identifying characteristic upon which they are discriminated is good — and then (having convinced themselves — say, that Black is Beautiful) convince the discriminating society.

It runs thus: being gay is/has been despised — even by those who are gay — therefore it is important for gay men and lesbians to gain some positive self-awareness, and so our most reasonable action is to 'contact the leaders of the local gay teenagers group and then get them involved in it'.

But the parallel with the black consciousness movement in the U.S. is only partial. The partialness concerns the fundamental issue of choice. (I shall leave aside the matter of choosing the colour of one's skin — though it is clear that some 'blacks' chose to ignore skin colour in their (almost) total integration into some parts of white middle class society.)

Apart from a very small minority (who should consider seeking counselling), we are all capable of responding sexually to people of either sex. Many more of us seem to respond more readily to the opposite sex than respond more readily to the same sex. But in a society which has placed a very high premium on parenthood, and a very high discount on being (known to be) sexually interested in the same sex, that is hardly surprising. Remove that premium, remove that discount, and have kids growing up in a culture where the sex of the one to whom one responds sexually is seen as morally neutral and you have

no need for the label 'gay'. Furthermore you have no need for the 'straight' (or even the 'gay') youth leader to see 'gayness' as something which needs to be 'dealt with'.

So our society is in a process of change. Changing towards that morally neutral position, even with a very long way to go yet.

Is that position a desirable one? Does it matter whether it is or not? If it is desirable how should I deal with 'gay kids'?

The four publications cited at the beginning of this review article all take much the same position on the fundamental issue. They funk it, and adopt a 'tell it as it is' pseudo-neutrality.

Apart from 'YOUNG, GAY & PROUD', there is little or no editorial content. For the most part all four are primarily concerned with presenting the stories of gay teenagers 'from their own point of view', in other words from within a rather simplistic gay liberationist perspective. Within that context all four do their job well; within that context all four ought to be found on every youth club's bookshelf. The Tyneside item, furthermore, contains an excellent poster — and both the Joint Council publications read very well — lots of kids stories, edited carefully enough to allow for a wide variety of styles and all of them displaying obvious sincerity.

But — and it is a very big but — they do not really take the debate any further. Indeed in my reading I have yet to come across any material which addresses itself to the underlying moral questions I have tried to raise. For that we will have to wait.

MALCOLM MACCOURT

(ed). Susan Hemmings

GIRLS ARE POWERFUL: Young Women's Writings from 'Spare Rib'

Sheba Feminist Publishers

£3.75 & 30p. p & p.

ISBN 0 907179 12 6. 1982.

Available from bookshops or from publishers at 488, Kingsland Road, London E8 4AE.

The ideology of age which attaches apparently 'natural' characteristics to the various stages of life, tends to legitimise the exclusion of the very old and the very young from positions of influence. Feminism has not been immune to this ideology and, within the women's movement, those at both extremes of the age range have been dominated, patronised and excluded. It is thus very seldom that the words of young women are taken seriously — let alone published as an articulate statement of their situation.

However, partly because of the increasing number of feminist youth workers, there is within the women's movement a growing sensitivity about ageism as it affects young women. This awareness has been stimulated by and translated into practice through Working with Girls. Yet although such practice has been enlightening for women workers while providing new spaces and opportunities for girls, it has failed

to challenge ageism in any fundamental way. As Sally and Ilone of the SHOCKING PINK Collective (1) point out, "no matter how much older feminists think it's important to put their energy into young women's projects, girls' nights in youth clubs and so on, it won't work if they see their role as educators." (Ageism in the Women's Liberation Movement). Younger women must be heard as equals.

GIRLS ARE POWERFUL, speaking of the experience of a wide social range of young women is an eloquent challenge to the ageism which dismisses young women as immature. Not only does the book provide points of recognition and information for other young women, in an accessible style; not only does it point to the specific forms of sexism endured by young women, it also provides a challenge to older women to identify their own prejudices.

Most young women could relate directly to the descriptions of what it means to be young and female at home, school and in the job market, to the feelings of tension engendered within sexual relations and to the problems of dealing with stereotyped images of femininity. Where they cannot identify, readers are stimulated into considering particular situations of sexuality, race, age and class which involve different points of view and sometimes additional struggles. (2)

The book is most provocative when it challenges feminist orthodoxies — for instance, that make-up is necessarily used by women to attract men, that no self-respecting feminist would choose hairdressing as a career, that young women are never serious feminists in their own right. It is important that these myths are challenged and that feminism incorporates the insights offered by younger women.

Despite the fact that young women had no editorial power in the production of the book, **GIRLS ARE POWERFUL** is an important step towards taking young women seriously. The words and pictures speak directly and powerfully in a very personal manner of the experiences of being young and female and of the efforts some young women put into fighting their oppression. These efforts must be acknowledged by feminists, particularly feminist youth workers, not as symptomatic of teenage rebellion and therefore superficial, but as a well thought out and serious part of women's struggle.

- (1) **Shocking Pink** — a magazine by and for young women. Can be obtained from 90 Cromer St., London WC1. 20p. Some of the work in Girls Are Powerful is taken from Shocking Pink.
- (2) Since publication, it has been noted that the article by the Jewish woman could be misconstrued and encourage racist stereotypes. An insert relating to this criticism can be obtained from 'Spare Rib', 27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1. (Send SAE).

JEAN SPENCE.

SOCIAL WORKERS, THEIR ROLES AND TASKS

(The Barclay Report)

Bedford Square Press 1982, (pp. 283)

ISBN 0 7199 1080 3. £4.95.

The Barclay Committee's proposals for a shift towards com-

munity social work has attracted considerable attention in the social services press. Less clear is the influence the report is having on the delivery of social work services. Such information would be helpful for it could clearly indicate that well meaning ideas, divorced from any link with the reality of contemporary British politics, will be about as helpful to the development of social work as was the discovery of Herpes to the growth of Singles Bars.

It is not true that the Committee entirely ignored the political and resource implications of their proposals, indeed some four pages are devoted to these questions. The charge must be not one of omission but of congenital vacuity, indeed the report has all the cogency and conviction of one of Michael Foot's speeches.

It is difficult to imagine that anyone who wakes up in the morning in contemporary Britain could be unaware of the Government's intention of rolling back the welfare state, or of the Government's belief that community care must replace 'state dependency' and the voluntary sector take the burden off the statutory sector. Did the Committee members not read Thatcher's speech to the 1981 WRVS Conference in which she proclaimed: "I'm very encouraged by the way in which local authorities, Directors of Social Services, the social work profession and the specialist press are increasingly determined to shift the emphasis of statutory provision so that it becomes an enabling service, the statutory provision enabling the volunteers to do their jobs more effectively".

In the circumstances the provision of an 'independent' report backed by social work experts echoing precisely this need for a new relationship between statutory agencies and the community and voluntary sector must be manna from heaven. Mindful perhaps of hostages to fortune the Committee were indeed moved to observe: "We fear that by promoting a community approach we may tempt politicians to believe that the community can do everything and can do it without funds. We cannot emphasise too strongly that a community approach is not cheap".

No doubt as Thatcher's model council, in Wandsworth, continue their attempt to enable the community to stand on its own two feet, by closing down any community agencies on which people might previously have been leaning, such thoughts will be upper most in their minds.

The naivety of the Committee's main proposals is aptly summarised by Professor Pinker, in his dissenting note: "There are at least two ways in which the community-based enterprise could go, because its two main groups of advocates support it totally incompatible reasons. First, there are those who believe it would provide the ideal framework in which local communities could be mobilised into political pressure groups to obtain a massive increase in statutory resources. The danger here is that, if this expectation was not fulfilled, the consensual face of community would be transformed into one of open conflict between social workers as 'advocates' of 'community needs' and their employers. Secondly, there are those who believe that the community model would generate sufficient volume of informal care services to justify drastic cuts in statutory funding". Pinker would prefer to remain with a more clearly defined and limited 'professional' approach for he

has sensed that a broadening of social work's mandate may well take it deeper into those areas of political controversy which always threaten to engulf the profession's claims to a more neutral and expert role in managing society's social problems. Pinker is clearly happier with the management of social problems than with radical attempts at their resolution, but he rightly identifies the opening to the left which the Committee's proposals may create: "It is likely that in some local authorities, under the proposed new model, sustained efforts will be made by activists to put community social work to radical political use. Should this become widespread, the inevitable conflict would probably result in professional social work going the way of the ill-fated Community Development Projects; then, by default, the gap left by the departing professionals would have to be filled by volunteers". Whether the modern state can dispense with social work, tout court, is rather unclear. Equally not all local authorities would see demands for more resources or changes in service delivery as an unacceptable politicisation of social work. Historically there has been little difference between Conservative and Labour councils in their organisation of social work but this is beginning to change, with some Labour councils recognising that there is more to municipal socialism than simply a commitment to out spend the Tories.

Community based strategies, as Pinker rightly recognised, are a two edged sword and irrespective of social workers' own intentions an effective community outreach may well identify more unmet needs than untapped self help resources. What social workers will do about such need is unclear. Three recent reports highlight the inability of local authority social service departments to adequately discharge their current responsibilities. The DHSS sponsored study found that only one in seven children taken into care were successfully fostered, one in ten stayed with ten or more foster parents or childrens homes. (1). Children at risk from their parents receive an equally poor service. A DHSS study of 18 serious cases of child abuse found that lack of qualified and experienced staff, poor supervision, weak co-ordination between different agencies, excessive case loads and poor supervision of parents was responsible for inadequate intervention, with sometimes fatal consequences. (2). Services to the mentally handicapped are also in a parlous state. Another Government report found that community homes were left empty because of cash shortages to hire staff, inexperienced staff were left to handle cases without proper supervision, training facilities for the mentally handicapped had been further reduced and scarce resources and accommodation were improperly used. (3).

What contribution the Barclay report can make to these rather more immediate issues is unclear.

MARTIN LONEY.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Adoption and Fostering, October 1982.
2. Child Abuse: A Study of Inquiry reports: 1973-81, DHSS, 1982.
3. Development Team for the Mentally Handicapped, Third Report, 1979-81, HMSO, 1982.

PERSPECTIVES ON THE NEW TRAINING INITIATIVES

Ian Morrison and Harry Salmon

Department of Community and Youth Work, Westhill College, Selly Oak, Birmingham

Papers on Community and Youth Work No. 1, June 1982

ISBN 0 9502706 1 X. £1.00.

At first glance these two papers appear to be dealing with different themes in relation to the government's 'New Training Initiative'. Morrison's "Curriculum, Youth Work and the New Training Initiative" addresses the problem of education in the scheme while Salmon's "There is a Better Way" challenges the premises behind the government's approach and looks for an alternative model. However, beneath the different subject matter of the papers, both authors offer a radical critique of the New Training Initiative (which has since become better known as the Youth Training Scheme), and suggest more constructive approaches which would, through a consideration of the needs and interests of young people, build on and utilise the skills and resources of youth work.

The common criticisms of the Youth Training Scheme (YTS), such as the difficulties of finding placements or accusations of using young people as cheap labour, are accepted as valid in their own terms but are seen as remaining within the values of the scheme itself and therefore red herrings in relation to any real discussion of the issues raised by youth unemployment.

For Morrison and Salmon, the basic flaw in the new scheme is that of subordinating the needs of young people to the needs of the economy and of perpetuating the ideology of work in a society where work, as wage labour, is no longer an option available to all. It is accepted that the needs of the economy are important and that work is a necessary part of social life but this is only one side of the equation. The other side is the needs of individual young people and other aspects of social life which are linked to work or non-work such as housing, health and leisure. Discussions on youth unemployment and the solutions suggested, are all taking place within an ideology which sees wage labour as central to existence and which presumes this to be as permanent as the current employment situation is temporary.

Because the YTS is premised on the ideology of work and considers the needs of employers as paramount, it understands training in a very narrow and specific way — skill based and work oriented. It thus adopts a functional approach to education and constrains supervisors within the new scheme to adopt inflexible systems in order to produce tangible results which can be measured on a comparative basis. Moreover, because the scheme is so broad in its application it is in danger of generating a large bureaucratic organisation wherein the needs of the organisation take precedence over those of the young people whom it is designed to serve. Such a system can have very little connection with the reality of young people's lives and is likely to prove sterile and oppressive with little ultimate reward for either society or the young unemployed.

These papers demonstrate that there will be little room in the YTS for creativity, imagination or initiative on the part of either its functionaries or young people. Positive and constructive attitudes cannot develop without a basis in the

material life of the young unemployed. This basis has to involve the possibility of creative and socially valued activity.

As an alternative to the mechanistic and functional approach offered by the government through MSC, Morrison suggests that any scheme for the young unemployed should consider both sides of the issue — both the economy and the individual young person in a social context. Such consideration would lead to a strategy which utilised the insights of curriculum theory which sees education as a process. If the educative process was understood as an end in itself then young people would be involved in a meaningful variety of learning situations relevant to their own life experiences and realistic in terms of life's possibilities. The practice of youthwork already embodies the features of such an approach, for example in its emphasis on participation, on choice and variety. Morrison believes that the experience of youthwork should be used to develop a critique of the YTS and to draw up a curriculum based on its own educative practices which would act as a model for alternatives.

Similarly, but more radically, Salmon argues that if the economic basis of the YTS is questioned and the emphasis shifts more from the market and work to young people in society, then the youth service will be seen not only to have a central role to play in speaking for young people and criticising inadequate schemes, but also in presenting an organisational base for alternatives. The special skills of youthworkers have been ignored in the designation of youth employment schemes while the youth service has satisfied itself with attempting to fit in, albeit uncomfortably, with the strictures and practices of The MSC. No matter how sensitive, sympathetic and realistic the approach of the MSC attempts to be, it is ultimately restrained by its framework of guidelines. It can never break out of the ideology of work and the centrality of economic needs.

For both authors, the youth service, through its methods, its educated and skilled workers and its concern for the interests of young people is the obvious organisation to offer constructive criticism of and alternatives to the variety of government schemes implemented by the MSC.

Hopefully, this youth service potential does exist, but without the injection of resources and support it is probable that such potential will remain merely that. It seems unlikely that the present government will offer much support to a service whose values differ from its own. Perhaps the present peripheral position of the service and its general lack of criticism of current youth schemes is a more realistic indicator of the possibilities of youth service in relation to the young unemployed.

Nevertheless, 'Perspectives on the New Training Initiative' represents an important first step, from the point of view of youth and community work, in a radical critique of the ideology underlying youth employment schemes. As such it should be required reading for all youthworkers considering the inclusion of elements of the YTS within their own projects.

COLM NOLAN.

analysis

'Analysis' is a detachable section comprising several different categories of information relevant to the study and further understanding of youth in society. The format of the section may change from time to time according to priorities of content and available space, however the 'Reporting' and 'Monitor' features will be regularly included. Pages are unnumbered so that separate categories may be removed and filed, it is therefore important to note the chronological sequence of some material. The editor welcomes enquiries for specific information, and general comments on the feature, though it may not always be possible to answer all requests for further material comprehensively.

12. (Continued) A Manchester reader has pointed out the following: Invalid Care Allowance (ICA) is paid at the non-contributory rate though many (most?) who claim it have been long-standing contributors to N.I. The criteria for eligibility is narrow; i.e.: on attendance allowance only, rather than G.P.'s recommendation. It ceases on the death of the invalid immediately; it is suspended when the carer goes on holiday. The earnings whilst in receipt of ICA figure of £6.00 per week rises to £15.00 in November 1982.

13. An interesting case connected with the Education Maintenance Allowances reflects on the overlap facility of the poverty trap. It is quoted in No. 49 of the Welfare Rights Bulletin of CPAG. The allowances are ignored by SB officers up to £7.50 if the person is at school, and up to £9.50 if the person is at college. But not everyone is aware that it applies not only to dependants of the claimant but to the claimant as well. The case concerned a single parent with two children. She started a course and managed to get a grant for the LEA. The benefit officer at first took all her grant into account, arguing that the EMA 'disregard' only applied to dependants. Regulation 11 (4)(e) of the Resources Regulations showed that the disregard applied to an EMA paid to any person in relevant education. So Mrs. A. could keep the £9.50 of her grant.

14. New Benefit Rates: 1982 - 83. The following changes are effected from November 1982.

	Proposed Weekly rate from Nov. '82
Child Benefit - each child	£5.85
One parent benefit - first or only child of certain lone persons	3.65
Standard rate of retirement and widows' pensions, and widowed mothers' allowance - Single person	32.85
Wife or other adult dependant	19.70
Earnings limit for retirement pensioners	57.00
Standard rate of invalidity pension - Single person	31.45
Wife or other adult dependant	18.85
Invalidity allowance - Higher rate	6.90
Middle rate	4.40
Lower rate	2.20
Standard rate of unemployment and sickness benefits	
Beneficiary under pension age - Single person	25.00
Wife or other adult dependant	15.45
Beneficiary over pension age - Single person	31.45
Wife or other adult dependant	18.85
Widows' allowance (first 26 weeks of widowhood)	45.95
Maternity allowance	25.00
Attendance allowance - Higher rate	26.25
Lower rate	17.50
Retirement pension for persons over pensionable age on 5th July 1948 and for persons over 80 -	
Higher rate	19.70
Lower rate	11.80
Non-contributory invalidity pension	19.70
"Therapeutic" earnings	20.00
Invalid care allowance	19.70
Earnings limit for personal invalid care allowance	12.00
Increase on non-contributory invalidity pension and invalid care allowance for a wife or other adult dependant	11.80
Mobility allowance	18.30
Guardian's allowance, child's special allowance	7.95
Rate of benefit for children of widows, invalidity, non-contributory invalidity and retirement pensioners, invalid care beneficiaries; unemployment and sickness beneficiaries when claimant is over pension age	7.95
rate of benefit for children of all other beneficiaries	0.30
Injury benefit	27.75
Disablement benefit (100% assessment)	53.60
Unemployability supplement	31.45
Special Hardship allowance (max)	21.44

Constant attendance allowance (normal max), exceptionally severe disablement allowance	21.50
Industrial Death benefit - Widows' pension during the first 26 weeks of widowhood	45.95
Higher permanent rate	33.40
Lower permanent rate	9.86
Family income supplement - Prescribed amount for family with one child (income below which FIS is payable)	82.50
Increase in prescribed amount for each additional child	9.00
Maximum weekly amount for a one-child family	21.00
Increase in maximum amount for each additional child	2.00
Alterations in the amounts payable under Supplementary Benefit.	
Non-householder's housing contr.	3.10
Standard non-dependant's housing contr.	6.55
Modified non-dependant's housing contr.	3.10
Board and lodging meals allowances:- Breakfast	0.95
Lunch	1.35
Dinner	1.35
Expenses incidental to sub-letting:	
Furnished	2.50
Unfurnished	1.25
Other (e.g. for garage)	0.35
Deductions for fuel from inclusive rents:	
Heating	5.60
Cooking	0.65
Hot water	0.65
Lighting	0.45
Repairs and insurance allowance	1.70
	(from 1.4.83)
Central heating addition:	
Lower rate (1 - 4 rooms)	1.90
Higher rate (5 or more rooms)	3.80
Lower rate dietary addition	1.45
Higher rate dietary addition	3.35
Dietary addition for dialysis	9.60
Amount above which laundry expenses may be met	0.45
Reduction in benefit paid to strikers for their families. Disregard of union strike payments	14.50
Blindness addition to supplementary benefit	1.25
Addition for claimant, or dependant over age of 80	0.25
Debt: Direct deduction from benefit for housing and fuel debts:	
Basic rate (5% of single householder rate)	1.30
Higher rate for fuel (10% of single householder rate)	2.60
Finally the capital cut-off level for Supplementary Benefit has been raised from £2,000 to a proposed £2,500 while the level of disregard for occasional gifts is changed from £200 to £100.	

Supplementary Benefit	Proposed ordinary weekly rate	Proposed long-term weekly rate
Couple	41.70	52.30
Person living alone	25.70	32.70
Non-householder		
age 18 and over	20.55	26.15
age 16 - 17	15.80	20.05
Any other person aged:		
11 - 15 years	13.15	
Under 11 years	8.75	

YOUTH AND POLICY

the journal of
critical analysis

monitor:
june~july 1982

Unemployed Young Persons WA

Wolverhampton young unemployed, no job since leaving school; figures.

Corporal Punishment (Cost of Alternatives) WA

Sec State Education; lines, detentions and exclusions from school are used as sanctions where c. punishment has been abolished; costs cannot be estimated.

Fees and Maintenance Grants WA

Grants WA

Rates of maintenance under Mandatory Awards regulations to undergraduates; comprehensive figures in tables.

Lone Parents (Income) WA

Net weekly spending power of a lone parent with 2 children receiving ordinary rate allowances, at 9 different earnings levels; table also for some at long term rate and 9 different earnings levels; other tables show earnings-benefit differentials on gross earnings required; very comprehensive answer; 2 pages and tables.

Supplementary Benefit WA

Sec State Soc Services reviewing '21 hour rule'; appeal case currently under consideration will clarify; whatever decision of appeal Govt has decided to recast the rule 'to reflect more accurately the Government's continuing objective of providing maximum scope for unemployed people to occupy their time usefully whilst seeking work'; etc; the period should contain only actual 'classroom instruction', not lunch breaks or private study, further points on new interpretations of study; 'A' levels; 'provided he is able to demonstrate that he remains available for work' clauses; claims not allowed under existing ruling will 'be looked at again' when outcome of appeal is known; further questions;

Contraceptive Advice WA

Govt asked if any changes on contraceptive advice to children under 16 are planned; ans. No.

Voluntary Work WA

Consultation paper issued last year to voluntary groups on expansion of opportunities for unemployed to undertake voluntary work; health and personal social service fields; 200 agencies sent in comments; general welcome given to the scheme; about £3.3 million available in England for Opportunities For Volunteering; grants to local sector voluntary organisations; detailed announcement to be made in 'next two three weeks'.

Youth Opportunities Programme WA

In year from 1/4/81 to 31/3/82 70,000 young people entered YOP in Scotland; information on sex of entrants is not available, but approximately equal numbers; those entering jobs after YOP, or full-time higher education not analysed by sex.

Birth Weights WA

Birth weights in Glasgow and for Scotland as a whole for 1978-79.

Special Education (Strathclyde) WA

Several related questions; information on teachers with article 51 qualification; children with access to qualified teacher; head teachers with handicapped registered with GTC for Scotland; teachers of handicapped without article 51 qualification; adequate and efficient teaching; children in hospital schools who might normally be in special schools.

Special Education (Melville Report) WA

Act (Mentally Handicapped Children) of 1974 details; relation to Education (Scotland) Act 1981, implemented later this year or 1983; White Paper Cmnd 7991 references.

Pupil Teacher Ratios WA

Pupil teacher ratios in education authority primary and secondary schools, ref. earlier reply;

Mental Health (Children and Adolescents) WA

Report on mental health not yet received.

Unemployment Statistics WA

Jobless totals for construction industry in Glasgow area; comprehensive table given types of job and numbers.

Disabled Children (Play Provision) WA

List of agencies receiving grants from Govt; brief reply.

V23:N113

Social Workers (Barclay Committee) OA

Sec State. for Social Services considering what action appropriate on Barclay Report; short exchange.

Voluntary Organisations (Grants) OA

In 1978/79 Soc. Services Dept granted £4,445,000 to some 180 organisations under Sect. 64 of Health Services and Public Health Act 1968; figures for 1981/82 are £8,881,000 'a real increase of 33%'; details of provisional outturn 1981/82 in table with amount to each agency, (250 organisations).

Health Education Officers (Development and Training) OA

There are 450 HEO's in post; Govt currently considering proposals of Kirby report on national advisory body.

Supplementary Benefit OA

Between July 1974 and Nov 1979 real value of scale rate for children under five years fell by 3P; Nov 1980 this rate replaced by an under 11 scale rate; thus, rise in scale rate for under fives by £1.22 to present; Mr Race intervened, 'Will the Minister tell the House how many planted questions he has answered today?'; short exch.

University Grants Committee RBI

Mr D Canavan presented a Bill to make the University Grants

YOUTH Vol.1 No.3 AND POLICY

Committee more representative and accountable, etc.; speech on introduction, 1 page.

Grammar Schools WA

List of LEA's still operating Grammar schools in 1981.

Toxteth WA

HM Inspectorate of Schools has prepared a report on education in Toxteth; Sec. State Education discussing with LA.

Cot Deaths WA

Cot deaths in Wales for 1978, 79, 80; table.

Unemployment Benefit WA

Prime Minister; In May 1979 married man with two children previously on average male earnings would receive unemp. ben., earnings related supp, and child benefit; total would have amounted to 59.7% (£48.49) of the net income of his employed counterpart; figure for May 1980 is 55.9% (£55.85); figure for 1981 is 52.2% (£57.50); figs for 82 not available.

Plastic and Rubber Bullets

Prime Minister asked if she will discontinue the use of rubber bullets in UK; ans. No.

"Children and Poverty" WA

Sec State Soc Serv has studied the report 'Children and Poverty' by CPAG, but cannot endorse the report's argument.

Unemployment Statistics WA

Figures for unemployed, and unemployed school leavers in North West Region (429,524 and 17,636), Merseyside (129,155 and 5,558), Kirby area (7,761 and 293) and Ormskirk area (1,783 and 53).

Youth Opportunities Programme WA

Between July 1981 and end of year, 21 accidents involving loss of hand or foot to workers on YOP; classification of accident type given short exch.

Unemployed Women WA

On March 11 1982 there were 71,906 females registered as unemployed in UK and seeking full-time work who were not claiming benefit.

V23:N114

Criminal Justice Bill Div.

New Clause 20, Death Penalty for murder by firearms or explosives negated; New Clause 21, Death Penalty for murder of police and prison officers negated; New Clause 27, Death Penalty for murder in course of robbery and burglary with offensive weapons negated.

Criminal Justice Bill D

New Clause 30, Restriction on imposing custodial sentences on persons under 21 not legally represented; details of clause and read a second time; New Clause 3, legal representation of persons under 21 (Custodial Sentences); New Clause 4, Social Enquiry Reports on persons under 21 (Custodial Sentences); should not be seen as young person's only hope, etc (Mr Mayhew); should have the right of representation from the beginning of the case, etc. (Mr Silkin, Dulwich); young people legally represented less likely to be given custodial sentence; Govt figures suggest about 30% of those committed to Borstal training have a reading age of 10 years, etc (Mr Kilroy Silk); virtually all young people will qualify for legal aid on means grounds, etc (Mr Mayhew); read a second time and added to the Bill. New Clause 31, vagrancy offences; discussion of 1824 Act; read a second time and added to the Bill.

New Clause 37, Criteria for accommodation of children in care; reconviction rates of children in community homes, etc; young people should be detained in secure accommodation only if behaviour constitutes imminent danger to the public, etc; (Mr Kilroy Silk); read a second time and added to the Bill. Further debate on other sections and clauses not directly youth-related 40 pages.

Police Officers (Disciplinary Proceedings) WA

Resignations and dismissals 1980 and 1981 Scotland.

Unemployment Statistics WA

Average monthly total registered unemployed Scotland 1970, 1974, 1978, 1981 in table; numbers of unemployed 18 year olds Scotland 1975 to 1978 inclusive table (incomplete); average annual unemployment rate for females Scotland 1970 to 1981 inclusive in table.

Teachers (Assaults by Pupils) WA

Sec State Education will not make LEA's maintain register of assaults, etc.

Pupil Teacher Ratio WA

Ratios for maintained primary schools in England each year from 1970 to 1981 in table.

Urban Aid Programme WA

Short exchange on £70 million grant announced in April.

Child Benefit WA

Estimated costs of raising benefit to £11.70 per week subject to tax at basic rate is £1.3 Billion; at each tax payers top rate is £1.2 Billion.

Youth Opportunities Programme WA

Take up of YOP in Pr Portsmouth area, figures 'soon'.

V23:N115

Criminal Justice Bill D

Amendments debated; New Clause 18, Schedule 9, Probation and After Care; (Mr Kilroy Silk) the service seriously hampered in its attempts to provide options to custodial sentences; powers to make compulsory attendance at day centres important; training and education possibilities also important, etc; clause withdrawn. New Clause 25, Assaults on Constables; (Mr Dubs), 1980 more than 12,000 proceedings concerning assaults on police constables, of which 88% of men and 86% of women charged found guilty; by comparison offences of common assault involved 44% of men and 35% of women as guilty, a very much smaller number; further references on youth, Scarman, etc; negated. New Clause 39, Curfew Order; (Mr Lyell); objective to add a valuable weapon to the courts's armoury of non-custodial sentences; youth, streets, discos, references, etc; parental responsibility would be enhanced; person required to remain at home within certain hours, visited by a court officer, etc; probation service under considerable stress, etc; (Mr William Pitt) only method of detection for breakages of order would be large police trawls of the streets; further references by other members on hooligans, children under 14, possible extension, identification, slaves to television, etc; clause withdrawn. Clause 10, Accommodation of Young Offenders and defaulters, etc; (Dr Summerskill) sought to ensure that young offenders would be detained in youth custody centres and not in prisons for the whole of their sentence; amendment negated. Clause 11 Conversion of Sentence of Youth Custody to Sentence of Imprisonment (Mr Mayhew) several references on custodial effectiveness; amm. withdrawn. Clause 13, Release on Licence of Young Offenders, amm. agreed to. Clause 16, Attendance Centre Orders, (Mr Kilroy Silk); cheap to administer

cost of such orders in 1979-80 £35; mixing of young offenders; amm. withdrawn. Clause 19, Requirements of Supervision Orders, (Mr Mayhew); to restore confidence of the courts in supervision orders; amm. withdrawn. Schedule 9, Probation and After-Care; (Mr Stevens), day training centres; amm. withdrawn. Schedule 12, Minor and Consequential Amendments Scotland, Injury to Electricity Line, meters, etc. amm. made. (total 40 pages).

V23:N116

Greater London Council (General Powers) No 2 Bill RB*2

Sex shops and amusement arcades; bingo; prostitution; soliciting in car parks; age of female prostitutes, '14, 15 or 16 years old', etc.

Unemployment (Cleveland) Adj. D

Mr I Wigglesworth (Thornaby); Just before the end of spring term, 10 vacancies at Careers Offices and 4,262 young people eligible to leave school; about 80% have returned to school; only 823 or 20% sought employment; 414 entered YOP; 356 registered as unemployed; 43 out of the 4,262 found regular employment; of young people on the register 1,132 unemployed for six to twelve months; 1,627 for over one year; total unemployment in Cleveland is 18.5%, or 50,000; regional figure is 16.3%, national is 12.6%; several further references and exchange; adjd.

National Out of School Alliance WA

Grant of £30,000 for 3 years.

Teachers WA

Numbers of teachers employed in Wales compared to 1979-80 and 1980-81; table.

School Books and Equipment (Expenditure) WA

Expenditure by 8 Welsh authorities from 1975-76; table.

Unemployment (Costs) WA

Additional costs of 10,000 unemployed (excluding school leavers) estimated at £18 millions for 1982-83.

Unemployment Statistics WA

Figures for each travel to work area in Co. Durham at 15/4/82; table. Wolverhampton also; since 1979 % increases and figures for young people under 20 years.

Crime (Rural Wales) WA

Changes in recorded serious offences not different substantially from England and Wales as a whole, etc.

Teachers (Shortage Subjects) WA

General references on initial B.Ed. courses; on arrangements after 1982-83, 'currently being considered'.

National Society For the Prevention of Cruelty to Children WA

Grant totalling over £450,000 during the next three years.

Unemployment Statistics WA

Figures for Merseyside, the North West, Kirby and Ormskirk of unregistered unemployed 'not available'.

Crossbows WA

Information on sales not collected.

V24:N117

Lead Free Petrol OA

Several references to children in potential danger; exchange by several speakers.

Job Prospects D

Exchange (22 pages); youth and vocational training, briefly; hints of compulsion; coercion; discussion around 900,000 young people reaching school leaving age this year, but only 600,000 attaining retirement age, etc;

Teachers WA

Class sizes in England Jan. 1981 were 25.5 primary and 21.5 secondary; 30% of primary classes and 14% of secondary contained more than 30 pupils; estimates on additional teachers required to reduce all classes below 30 not certain.

Religious Education WA

Number of teachers in training from Voluntary Church of England and Roman Catholic colleges taking qualification in religious education (table).

School Controlling Bodies (Appointments) WA

Govt proposals to establish examination council and a school curriculum development council will be 'able to draw on the experience of practising teachers', etc.

School Leavers (Illiteracy and Innumeracy) WA

Percentage of leavers illiterate and innumerate not known.

Non Residential Sixth Form Education (Costs) WA

Estimates of costs to public funds of maintaining 16 to 17 year old in non residential sixth form, etc.

Toxteth WA

Sec. State Education to meet representatives of Liverpool LA to discuss HMI's report on education in the Toxteth area.

Home Beat Police Officers WA

Home Office sponsoring research on effectiveness of home beat policing and 'a range of relevant subjects', etc.

Educational Expenditure WA

Several questions on expenditure; Wales; expenditure on Education, Science, Arts and Libraries (Wales) between 1976 and 1984 (Youth Service: figures included); broken down into categories for schools, sec. and prim; pupil numbers; ratios; and special schools, etc; comprehensive table.

Unemployment and Drug Consumption WA

Sec. State Scotland asked to evaluate number of males unemployed and number of sedative prescriptions; an. 'would serve no useful purpose'.

One Parent Families WA

At 1981 census in Scotland there were 40,455 households in which only one adult (over 16) lived with one or more children under 16; figure 'may' only account for about half of real one parent family number.

School Meals WA

Numbers of children in schools in Scotland taking school meals, with changes in 1980-82 (table).

Educational Expenditure WA

Scottish Education Dept expenditure 1976 to 1984; prim. sec; special

YOUTH Vol.1 No.3 AND POLICY

and other categories; (Youth Service: figures included); total for education, Arts and Libraries programme; pupil and teacher numbers; including under fives; and special; students; advanced courses; etc; comprehensive table.

Youth Opportunities Programme (Costs) WA

Gross cost to public funds in 1981-82 per trainee on YOP was £40.50 per week.

Blackburn WA

Details of MSC schemes in Blackburn travel to work area in April 1982, YOP, CEP & TOPS (table).

Temporary Short Time Working Scheme Compensation Scheme WA

Number of jobs supported by scheme in Northern Region, Cumbria, North West region, (table).

Cumbria WA

Number of young employees in Community Industry in West Cumbria in April 82 was 102; 18 adult staff additionally.

Cumbria WA

Numbers of young people registered as unemployed in each travel to work area on 15th April 82 (7 areas); additional information on unemployed in Workington; table.

Dangerous Mentally Handicapped Children WA

Short answer on facilities; numbers not given.

Abortion WA

Number of therapeutic terminations in G. Britain on women from Northern Ireland since 1978 (table).

V24:N118

Local Government and Planning Bill (Scotland) Bill D

Of indirect relevance to youth, mainly through clauses 12 and 13, Islands or District Council's Duties in Relation to the Provision of Recreational, Sporting, Cultural and Social Facilities and Activities; various amendments; debate in whole, 22 pages.

North East Lancashire (Enterprise Allowance Scheme) Adj. D

Mr J Lee (Nelson and Colne); rise in unemployment approaching 350% since mid 1979; general debate, small business, enterprise, etc.

Overseas Students (Fees) OA

Exchange on subject of present policy.

Schools (Corporate Worship) OA

Exchange on subject of worship in schools; between 20,000 and 25,000 schools in UK; Govt receives 'no more' than six complaints per year; etc.

Truancy OA

Short discussion on causes of truancy, etc.

Independent Sector OA

Sec. State Education; 'our education system as a whole can only benefit from the diversity that a flourishing independent sector brings', etc; exchange.

Expenditure Cuts OA

Exchange on expenditure; White Paper Cmnd 8494 sets Govt targets; Sec. State, 'quality (does not) match exactly with resources', etc.

School Meals OA

Liverpool; 37,960 pupils took meals, 21,523 received them free, in 1981; comparable figures for 1979, 50,075 and 19,874, etc.

Biotechnology Research OA

Some figures on Govt expenditure on Biotech. in education.

Special Schools OA

Exchange around Govt. policy on special schools; namechanging, integration, etc.

Secondary Education OA

Concern of industrialists about secondary standards; relevance of curriculum to 40% of pupils who are not academic; lack of resources; recent HMI's report, etc; exchange.

Teacher Training OA

Govt no plans for a shortening of teacher training courses; some references to continued shortage subjects, etc.

Expenditure OA

Net institutional recurrent expenditure per pupil (secondary) in England 1980-81 was £771; working class students into higher education, etc.

Schools Merger (Merseyside) OA

In 1986 there will be 3 million fewer children in school than three years earlier; references to mergers and closures, etc.

Youth Training (Educational Places) OA

Brief exchange on arrangements for introduction of new youth training proposal; funding; colleges, etc.

School Curriculum (Sex Discrimination) OA

Girls are under performing in science and tech. subjects; LEA's require pressure to take women's rights seriously, etc. brief exchange.

Numeracy and Literacy OA

Govt accused of not taking recent HMI's report seriously; ans (Sec State) serious problems connected with falling school rolls; real spending per child is at record level, etc.

Further Education WA

Numbers of students attending in Northern Ireland between ages 15 and 16; Govt statement on future policy later.

Students WA

Numbers of students from Northern Ireland attending colleges of education in Britain, 22.9% of all awards.

Primary Schools WA

Figures for school closures in Northern Ireland.

Pupil Teacher Ratio WA

Ratios given for certain schools in Northern Ireland.

Education (Public Expenditure) WA

Proportion of N. Ireland public expenditure spent on education for each year since 1972 in table; (for 81-82 is 15.3, for 71-72 was 15.9).

Crossbows WA

Govt 'reviewing' possibility of licencing crossbows as deadly weapons.

Community Projects Foundation WA

CPF survey in Gwent; poor health among unemployed, Govt invited to

declare policy; ans. Newport B. Council will receive urban aid grant for a people and work project on positive solutions to unemployment.

Supplementary Benefit WA

Prime Minister; confirmed Govt intention to change 21 hour rule for unemployed taking courses.

Compulsory Military Service WA

Govt confirmed that there are no plans at present to introduce compulsory military service.

Unemployment Statistics WA

Figures for unemployed young people jobless since leaving school in North West region, Merseyside, Kirby and Ormskirk; figures for unemployed in North East Lancashire; specific question on youth unemployment figures, comparing April 1979 with April 1982; as follows,

Under 18's:	April 1979	April 1982	Increase Rate
	76,608	193,354	152.4%
18 and over:	1,263,987	2,814,442	122.7%

Easter leavers included for 1982 but not for 1979.

Manpower Services Commission Schemes WA

Figures for people on schemes in West Midlands, YOP, CEP, TOPS, etc; table.

North East Lancashire WA

Numbers in YOP for Hyndburn District area, and Preston MSC area, table.

Youth Opportunities Programme WA

Portsmouth and Portsea figures of eligible youth not taking up YOP not available.

Lead Pollution WA

Increased risk of still birth due to lead not conclusive.

V24 N119

Rother Valley D

(Mr P. Hardy (Rother Valley) introduced; in three employment areas of Rotherham, Dinnington and Maltby there are 14,829 unemployed and 120 vacancies; 16,000 unemployed in the constituency as a whole, etc; points made on apprenticeship decline, school leavers and voluntary organisations; exchange and adjournment.

Criminal Justice Bill R3

Debate on the Third Reading (20 pages); offending rate for young criminals; young offenders and imprisonment; reduction of prison population; reconviction rates for Borstal detainees; recidivism in general; Clause 21 on Community Homes; numbers and costs of new legislation on Community Homes; some debate on Care Orders; Metropolitan Police arrest rate for 1981 show that 25% of arrests in London were of children between 10 and 16, the next 25% were of young people between 17 and 21, 'most' of the remainder were in their 20's or 30's (Mr J. Wheeler: Paddington); general debate on these and other youth-related matters; read third time and passed.

Family Support WA

Tables giving combined value of child support for each child in standard tax rate paying families at November 1982 prices, etc.; ages under 11, 11 to 15, 16 and over; comprehensive.

Family Income WA

Rate of child benefit increased to £5.85 in November 1982.

Child Benefit WA

Benefit would need to be increased (after November '82) by further 40p. to restore it to its April 1979 value.

Visually Handicapped (Educational Provision) WA

Social Services considering 'sympathetically' the possibility of a conference on visually handicapped and education.

Assisted Places Scheme WA

About 175 additional assisted places will be available from the next academic year.

A Level Passes WA

In 1980 total of 384,000 A level passes granted by English Examination Boards; 301,000 in 1971; 168,000 (with Welsh) in 1961.

National Anthem WA

Govt asked to issue guidance on when National Anthem should be used in schools; Sec. State considers several occasions 'appropriate' but declines to give guidance.

Science Students WA

In 1981-82 research councils made 5,851 research awards; in 1982-82 they plan to make 5,496.

Education and Training WA

Exchange (half page) around unified education and training allowance for 16 to 18 year olds; New Training Initiative, Continuing Education, etc.

Secondary Schools (Pupils Selection) WA

Within 1980 Education Act local authorities are 'free' to make their own arrangements for admissions to schools in their areas', etc.

School Voucher Scheme WA

An experimental school voucher system is 'being considered' by Government, etc.

Teachers WA

Nearly 18,000 teachers will qualify in 1982 in England and Wales; just over 16,000 are likely to seek teaching posts; there will be 15,000 full time vacancies at maintained schools, etc.

Pupil Numbers WA

Table on falling rolls in nursery, primary and secondary from 1979, etc.

Students (Background) WA

Vol 24, col 8 referred to as answer to question 'What proportion of university students have working class background?'

Higher Education Institutions (Credit Transfers) WA

Experiment of credit transfer in South West regional advisory council area on 'pilot scale', etc.

Peace Studies WA

YOUTH Vol.1 No.3 AND POLICY

No details on how many local authorities have incorporated Peace Studies into the curriculum.

School Playing Fields WA

Govt 'considered' representations before completing sale of school recreation areas, etc.

Primary Schools (Economies) WA

No recent detailed figures available on primary economies yet.

Higher and Further Education WA

OECD table giving relative proportions of national populations entering further and higher education in UK, Germany, France and USA, for 1977-78.

Warnock Report WA

'Not possible to estimate costs of implementing Warnock proposals, etc.'

Toxteth WA

Sec. State (Education) 'already aware' of suspension of CEO and delay in appointing new Chief Inspector, etc.

Wales Unemployment Statistics WA

Totals of unemployed, and numbers unemployed for over a year in eight Welsh areas 1977 to 1981 in table (comprehensive).

Skillcentres WA

Questions on Charlton skillcentre; courses; starts and completions of courses, etc. varied exchange around the subject (half page).

Community Enterprise Programmes WA

'No change' in guidelines for CEP, etc.

Elephant Jobs Ltd. WA

Exchange on subject of YOP and MSC, etc. (half page); Govt satisfied that rules for granting funding have applied fairly to this firm.

Crime Statistics WA

Various figures on crime in Scotland; vandalism, malicious damage, breach of trust and embezzlement in 1981, (table).

Anorexia Nervosa WA

Number of discharges from Scottish Hospitals 1977 to 1979 inclusive; brief exchange on therapy, etc.

Family Statistics WA

Number of families in Glasgow and Scotland with children of various ages and as a percentage of total number; table.

Foster Placements WA

Numbers of fostered children in England and Wales 1975 to 1980, table.

Adoptions WA

Numbers of adoptions of children in England 1976 to 1980 inclusive, table.

Maternity Grant WA

Grant increased to its present level of £25.00 in 1969; would have to be increased to £112.00 to restore its value to 1969 prices; 55,000 mothers did not qualify for grant in 1980; etc.

V24 N120

Portland Borstal OA

Cost per week for this institution not available; cost per week for keeping a person in a Borstal is £180.00 (1980-81). In future sentences will be 'determinate'; reconviction rate for young people leaving Bortals has increased 63% to 69%; for juveniles it is 83%.

Merseyside Community Relations Council OA

Last 3 financial years Commission for Racial Equality has given Merseyside community relations council grants of about £25,000, £37,000 and £39,000.

Prison Statistics OA

Total prison population (England and Wales) on 14/5/82 was about 44,300.

Police OA

(Mr Whitelaw) Total strength of the police service increased (England and Wales) by 8,480 since May 1979; stood at 119,973 at March 1982. Total strength to increase to 121,000 by March 1983. 'There will be more police on the beat. I gave that assurance (of Toxteth) and I mean it.' Exchange and interruptions. 'The morale of the police service is extremely high'.

Police (Establishment Strengths) OA

National average ratio is one policeman to 431 members of the community. Thames Valley, it is one - 565.

Miscarriages of Justice OA

Not possible to abstract figures for any year. Free pardons given as follows: 1977 169; 1978 91; 1979 177; 1980 270; 1981 161.

Higher Education WA

(Sir Keith Joseph) Minister reported on Consultative Document Higher Education Outside the Universities. National Advisory Board (NAB) met on 1/2/82; 'urgent programme of work'.

Playing Fields OA

Govt. has received representations about the disposal of playing fields; check, revealed 'none were being disposed of unnecessarily'.

Urban Programme WA

(Planned) expenditure Urban Programming since 1978 - 79 as follows;
1978 - 79 138.0 (millions at outturn prices)
1979 - 80 173.5
1980 - 81 201.8
1981 - 82 215.0
1982 - 83 270.0

Youth Opportunities Programme WA

All areas permit YOP working on Saturday mornings.

Self Help Project Groups WA

Self help project groups assisting the unemployed in obtaining help through information and resource networks do not 'merit special help from public funds'.

North East Lancashire WA

Table showing numbers of young people participating in YOP in certain North East Lancashire areas.

Liverpool Croxteth Comprehensive School WA

Statutory objections to school closure have reached 73; signatures received 6,481; school to close in September.

Toxteth WA

Four parliamentary questions received so far on H.M.I.'s report on education in Toxteth.

Examination Policy WA

Prevocational qualification statement published on 20/5/82.

Citizens Band Radio WA

Over 250,000 licences issued prior to 20/5/82.

Voluntary Police Cadets WA

Volunteer cadet schemes now in Gloucestershire, Northumbria, Sussex and Thames Valley; 'an excellent way of promoting better understanding between the police and young people. We should welcome more...' (Mr Mayhew).

Inner City Areas (Capital Programmes) WA

Expenditure allocations for 1982-83 for all services are £810 millions: (1979-80 figure, £1,086, but includes law and order services).

Motor Cycle Crash Helmets (Re breathing) WA

Poor ventilation of some helmets may have contributed to crashes; no medical data yet.

Family Status WA

In 1980 about 10% of economically active men over 16 but under 65 had 2 dependent children and a working wife.

Family Incomes WA

Income of families with 2 children under 5 on supplementary benefit compares with the average income of those at work in % terms, as follows;

1979 55.3%
1980 58.7%
1981 61.1%.

Special Hospital Patients (Contact with Children) WA

No plans to introduce legislation empowering veto to LA's in appointing ex patients of special hospitals to jobs with child contact.

Supplementary Benefit WA

Govt. 'considering' the situation whereby a foster child is not treated as a dependent (family) for benefit purposes.

Supplementary Benefit WA

People under pensionable age entitled to long term SB rate after continuous receipt for 52 weeks.

Unemployment and Health (Research) WA

Govt. 'considering' research into relationship between unemployment and ill health.

Family Incomes WA

Comprehensive table of the effects on working families of the current year's income tax and social security changes.

V24 N121

Derelict Land Bill 2R

D. (Mr Greenaway) In some areas of London playing fields used for building development... taken from the community... every 10 years on area the size of Oxfordshire disappears under concrete... I have taken children from the city to the countryside. At the age of 15 or 16 they may see a worm for the first time, etc., etc. City farms, ref. Jungle playgrounds, ref. Cycle tracks, ref. etc., etc. Some figures on dereliction, reclamation, etc.

Nursery Education WA

Expenditure on under 5's education 1982-83 £254 million (current) £12 million (capital). Cost of extending to all 3 and 4 year olds estimated at £425 million with £800 million initial capital costs.

University Grants WA

Recurrent Grants to all universities in comprehensive table for 1982-83, and totals UK.

Crime Statistics WA

Recorded crimes in Scotland for 1980 and 1981; total 724,000 and 744,000 respectively; broken down into categories (table). Persons against whom a charge proved, by type of crime and ages 8-18, 16-20, 21+ (table).

Apprentices WA

Numbers of apprentices in France 220,000, Germany 1,500,000 and GB 463,000 (1979); figures for % of skilled wage also.

Youth Opportunities Programme WA

Cost of increasing YOP allowance to £30.00 per week would be £72 million in full year.

Unemployment Statistics WA

No lists of unemployed men between 18 and 28 are being drawn up (Mr Peter Morrison).

Glue Sniffing WA

'Health Trends' (DHSS; May 1982; 75p.) includes paper on solvent abuse. Reliable information on the problem not readily available; Dept. ready to fund research.

V24 N122

Primary Schools (Pupil Costs) OA

Net recurrent expenditure per pupil in primary schools in Wales was £571.00 in 1980-81, excluding meals, milk and transport.

Unemployment Statistics OA

On 15/4/82 unemployment in Wales totalled 171,349; (16.1%); Mid-Glamorgan 32,815 (17.0%); Aberdare 3,866 (17.8%); exchange.

Police (Merseyside) WA

Since April 1981 strength of Merseyside police has increased by 34 officers, to 4,631 (31/3/82).

Police Force (Ethnic Minorities) WA

(Mr Raison) 'Vigorous steps should be taken to recruit ethnic minority police officers...'; etc.

Disabled School Leavers WA

Representations received concerning the provision for disabled young people in the new youth training scheme; White Paper makes it clear that the new scheme will encourage the participation of all handicapped young people who can benefit from it; exchange.

YOUTH Vol.1 No.3 AND POLICY

Community Enterprise Programmes WA

Exchange on House of Lambeth Project; other references to MSC and NTI.

Unemployment Statistics WA

Numerical and Percentage breakdown of unemployed in England and Wales for one year or over by males, both sexes, and several age groups; total at 15/4/82 670,122 males; all 840,000.

Lead Levels WA

(Mr Kenneth Clarke) Lancet Report on lead levels; 'not yet complete'.

Child Care Act 1980 WA

Govt. 'considering' revision of the regulations governing Community Homes for children following passage of the Criminal Justice Bill.

Secure Places WA

In England and Wales some 526 secure places for young people; projected number for 1984 is 603.

Petrol (Lead Content) WA

Average size car 1600cc engine using lead octane fuel will do 'about' 32 miles per gallon; similar car on unleaded petrol will do about 30 miles; increase of about 6%.

Abortion and Birth Statistics WA

Terminations, Still Births and Perinatal Death in Ayresshire and Arran Health Area (table).

Unemployment Statistics WA

Figures for males, both sexes, in eleven age groups (Scotland); comprehensive table.

Plastic Bullets WA

Six people aged 18 or under have died from injuries received allegedly after being struck by plastic baton rounds; 4 males, ages 10, 11, 13 & 15, and 2 females aged 11 and 14.

Lead Levels WA

Govt. 'studying' American reports into lead levels with 'care and urgency'.

Petrol (Lead Content) WA

(Mrs Chalker) Planned reduction to 0.15 g: per litre of lead will require oil industry to invest £200 millions in the next three years; 2½% more crude oil would be required; cost about £150 millions per year; other figures.

V24 N123

Adjournment (Spring) D

References to Elephant Jobs Ltd; CEP sponsored.

Unemployment Statistics WA

Figures for OECD countries 1965 to 1981, as % of total labour force; (1979 5.1%; 1980 5.8%; 1981 6.8%). Unemployment in selected areas of Hampshire, numbers and % rate (table). Registered disabled unemployed by categories, blind, totally deaf, epileptic, mentally handicapped and mentally ill; total 8/4/82 was 76,939; figures in comprehensive table. Exchange. Figures for unemployed in Woverhampton, duration and age groups (comprehensive table). Figures for unemployed in West Midlands by same categories as above (comprehensive table).

Disabled Persons (Employment) WA

Comprehensive figures for placings of disabled by resettlement officers, 1981 and 1982. Additional figures registered under the Disabled Persons (Employment) Act 1944 in G.B.

Manpower Services Commission (Schemes) WA

Comprehensive tables on number of people on MSC schemes in Woverhampton and West Midlands.

V24 N124

Football Authorities (Discussions) OA

(Mr Harry Ewing) Is the Secretary of State aware that St. Mirren has not won a game since the Under Secretary of State for Scotland visited Hampden Park recently? Exchange.

Code.

All sources are Official Report (Hansard).

Headings as are published.

The following code describes the references used.

DIV	Division
D	in debate
S	statement
WA	written answer
AMM	ammendment moved
OA	oral answer
RB	reading of Bill, 1, 2 or 3.
V	volume of report
N	number of report
etc;	this item continued as such
adj;	adjourned
ans.	answer
exchange;	comment by Members on the subject at some length
table;	figures given in chart form.

reporting

june~july 1982

'Reporting is a ready reference digest and source-list of press reporting on the general subject of youth affairs. The feature will be continued chronologically in future issues, but it should be noted that the sub-headings do not form a consistent index. The editor welcomes comment on the feature and suggestions for its future content and format.

- 4-6-1982 **Sex Discrimination:** Survey of school-leavers in Inner London reveals that 16 year old girls still end up in the traditional 'female' jobs despite all the talk of widening career horizons. (T.E.S.).
- Adventure Training:** Four out of five hardened young offenders are said not to return to crime after a radical new course involving gruelling outdoor activities. (Times).
- Solvent Abuse:** Report published on solvent abuse in Scotland recommends widespread reforms. Available from Scottish Health Education Group, Woodburn House, Canaan Lane, Edinburgh EH10 4SG.
- 8-6-1982 **Community Service:** Anthony Marlow M.P. speaking at a seminar organised by Youth Call suggested that the M.S.C. should include a period of community service in its training programmes. (Times).
- Non-Accidental Injury:** NSPCC annual report published. Shows a 6% rise between 1978 and 1981 in non-accidental injury cases dealt with. (Guardian).
- 9-6-1982 **Age of Majority:** Law Commission to send out 20,000 pamphlets to schools inviting the opinions of pupils and teachers on whether those aged 16 and 17 should be allowed to buy goods on credit and be liable at law for any breach of contract. (Times).
- 14-6-1982 **Schools/Nationality Act:** NUT has advised members not to comply with any requests for teachers to examine passports or entry documents under the new Nationality Act to be introduced in January 1983. (Guardian).
- 17-6-1982 **Scarman:** Circular from Home Office urges all police forces to follow the recommendation of the Scarman Report and set up police-community consultative committees. (Times).
- Vandalism:** Birmingham City Council announce plan to approach M.S.C. to enlist unemployed people for a 50-strong uniformed anti-vandal squad. (Guardian).
- 18-6-1982 **Media:** Central Television broadcast extracts from a documentary about glue-sniffing, racialism and drunkenness amongst Coventry teenagers in defiance of a ban imposed by the Coventry Council. (Guardian).
- 19-6-1982 **Handicapped 16 to 19:** NUT claims that at least 1 in 10 L.E.A.s in England and Wales are breaking the law by not making proper provision for handicapped 16 to 19 year olds. (Guardian).
- 21-6-1982 **Young People in Care:** D.H.S.S. refuses to circularise local authority Social Services Departments to tell them not to charge 16 year olds on the dole or YOPs although this appears to be illegal. Children's Legal Centre claim up to 24,000 young effected. (Guardian).
- 22-6-1982 **Youth Training:** Department of Employment drop proposals to withhold supplementary benefit from young people who refuse places on the Youth Training Scheme. (Times).
- Adventure Training:** Army opened its 'high adventure' camp at Fort William, Scotland. First batch of 300 16 to 18 year olds joined the scheme which has an annual budget of £1.5 million. (Guardian).
- 24-6-1982 **Income Maintenance:** Social Security Commissioners are to rule whether Scottish school-leavers can claim up to £400 SB, if they leave school before they take their examinations. (Guardian).
- 29-6-1982 **Nutrition:** British Nutrition Foundation published research that shows one child in ten go to school without breakfast.
- 1-7-1982 **Race and Employment:** Survey carried out for the BBC programme 'Brass Tacks' showed that almost 60% of employers discriminated against young black applicants.
- 5-7-1982 **Law and Care:** Concern expressed by the Magistrates Association over a High Court decision that local authorities were not obliged to pay the fines imposed on young people in care. (Guardian).
- 6-7-1982 **Young People in Care:** Reported that officials at the DHSS are pressing ahead with plans to build between 50 and 100 new cells to lock-up 'difficult' young people aged 10 to 16 who are in care. (Guardian).
- 9-7-1982 **Young Conservatives:** Publication of official report strongly criticising the Chairman of the Federation of Conservative Students. Hints that Mr. Monteith should tender his resignation following two grave errors of judgement. (Times).
- 13-7-1982 **Voluntary Work:** DHSS agree to grant £6,000 to enable disabled people to volunteer for work in prisons, borstals and children's homes. Programme launched by CSV and Spastics Society. (Guardian).
- 14-7-1982 **Airguns:** British Veterinary Association and the RSPCA agree to launch a joint campaign for the introduction of tighter controls on the sale of airguns and crossbows, including the banning of mail order sales and their use by persons under 17. (Times).
- 16-7-1982 **Borstals:** Government decision that all staff in borstals must start wearing prison officers uniform over the next two years has according to report led to protests amongst staff at one institution. (Guardian).
- 20-7-1982 **Charities:** According to report published by the Charities Aid Foundation the recession has led to a 3% drop in donations in the last financial year. Contributions from industry fell by 11%. (Times).
- 21-7-1982 **Unemployment:** DES announce figures showing that nearly 1 in 2 school-leavers still unemployed. (Guardian).
- 23-7-1982 **Youth Worker:** Following revolt by Labour councillors on ILEA the dismissal of a youth worker convicted of attacking a fellow youth worker is blocked. (Guardian).
- Legal Rights:** House of Lords rules that an accused person can opt for trial by jury even though they were under 17 when the first court appearance takes place provided they are 17 when the court decides where the case should be tried
- CND and YOP:** MSC announce that CND can not have their handbills printed by Hastings Community Service Council if it involves the use of MSC funded staff. (TES).

Before the General Election which is expected in 1983 we hope to publish the relevant manifesto material of each party insofar as it is applicable to youth specifically. Included here is the resolution passed at the Liberal Party Assembly in September. Contributions from other parties will follow in future issues.

Agenda 20. A Liberal Charter for Youth.
Report of Commission.

Chairman: Michael Anderson, PPC Epsom and Ewell.
Mover: Alan Leaman.

This Assembly believes:

- i) that a Liberal society would be the one in which all people are able to participate regardless of their age;
- ii) that the failure of politicians of all Parties, of the Trades Union movement, and of society in general has brought about the alienation of youth from our social, cultural, political and economic life, and that specific action must be taken now to remedy this;
- iii) that political parties cannot produce universal solutions to youth issues; their role is to provide a climate in which young people can tackle their problems themselves;
- iv) that British society is patronising and hierarchical. The Liberal Party should lead the challenge to these attitudes.

Assembly recognises that above all, young people need fulfilling occupations, and that youth unemployment is one of the great evils of today. There must be both a change in this Government's economic policy and in our attitudes.

Assembly resolves that:

- a) at 16 young people should have the real opportunity and, as of right, the economic independence to choose between work, education, training work experience and community service; and that none of these should involve any element of compulsion;
- b) the school leaving age should not be raised; that there should be closer contact between the school and the community; that there should be greater provision for mother tongue and English-as-a-second language teaching; that young people should participate in the running of their schools and that continuing education provision is vital in making the bridge between school and work;
- c) The Manpower Services Commission has proved inflexible, inadequately resourced, unaccountable and out of touch with young people's requirements; it needs restructuring to provide more local control and, in particular, more youth participation through local trainee councils. It also needs adequate local resourcing including professional training personnel;
- d) the Youth Training Scheme should be adequately financed by central government to contain an educational component of high standard; relevant training to provide basic transferable skills; personal development and experience in a work environment, and provision of a community service option; and safeguards to ensure that young people are not used as cheap labour.

This assembly calls for:

- 1) a uniform age of majority (16) replacing the present ad hoc system of entitlement at which young people would become fully independent financially, socially, sexually and politically (and for the changes in legislation to facilitate this);
- 2) the age for voting and candidature in local and national elections to be the same and to be reduced to 16;
- 3) comprehensive provision of social and political education;

4) a Statutory Youth Service, in the management of which young people effectively participate. This service must cater for the needs of the disadvantaged; particularly young women, young people with disabilities and ethnic minority youth;

5) increased resources to be made available to enable locally-controlled Careers Services to provide effective support for young people;

6) projects through which young people can be involved in creating their own employment;

7) the development of local youth councils throughout the country along the lines pioneered by the British Youth Council;

8) recognition for the special difficulties of young people in rural areas;

9) more sympathetic funding of youth cultures and better access for young people to leisure facilities;

10) provision of 'contact' centres for the young unemployed;

11) urgent reform of the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act to include young people under the 'priority category';

12) implementation of the Scarman Report and representation for young people on police local liaison committees;

13) fair provision for the needs of gay youth;

14) greater emphasis to be given to detached youth work;

15) reform the immigration laws to allow the children of, and those engaged to, UK residents to join them.

This assembly believes that the Liberal Party has a crucial role to play in meeting the needs of young people but, so far, we have failed. Assembly calls on the Party to demonstrate the seriousness of its intentions by setting an example as well as by legislation when in power. It, therefore, calls upon the Standing Committee in conjunction with ULS and NLYL, to draw up a Youth Manifesto containing the ideas and aspirations of young people in the Party. Assembly further calls upon the Officers and Committees of the Party to involve more fully the youth wings of the Party, particularly through a Party Political Broadcast.

AMENDMENT 1: Proposer: Cllr. David Bellotti, PPC Lewes.

ADD: Section 4), after "service" with adequate grants for voluntary youth organisation";

AMENDMENT 2: Proposer: Cllr. Dick Hains.

ADD: Section 11), after "priority category" and an obligation to house young people leaving the care of a Local Authority";

SEPARATE VOTE; There will be a separate vote on Section 1): the words "and politically" and Section 2): the words "and to be reduced to 16;"
(Carried).

contributors

Don Blackburn is Deputy Head Teacher at a Special School in Leicestershire and is currently doing research at the University of Leicester on handicapped young people.

Bruce Carrington lectures at the School of Education, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Paul Cavadino is Senior Information Officer of the National Association for The Care and Resettlement of Offenders; the Assistant Secretary of the Parliamentary All-Party Penal Affairs Group; and the Secretary of New Approaches to Juvenile Crime. The views expressed in the article are, however, personal to the author.

Oliver Leaman lectures at the I.M. Marsh Campus of Liverpool Polytechnic.

Robert Ling is employed in the Department of Education Enquiry, University of Aston, Birmingham.

Martin Loney is lecturer in Social Policy at The Open University.

Malcolm Macourt is a member of the National Management Committee of FRIEND, the gay befriending and counselling service. He was co-ordinator of FRIEND, Newcastle from 1978 to 1981; he is a member of the Management Committee of Tyneside Gay Teenagers Group; the editor of *Towards a Theology of Gay Liberation* (published by SCM Press, 1977, £2.95). He teaches Social Research Methods in the School of Applied Science, Newcastle-upon-Tyne Polytechnic.

Robert Mawdsley is at the London School of Economics doing post-graduate research into the juvenile reformatory movement 1860 - 1900.

Colm Nolan is a part-time youth worker in Sunderland.

David M. Smith is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Sociology, Middlesex Polytechnic.

Jean Spence is a youth worker at Southwick Neighbourhood Youth Project, Sunderland.

SUBMISSIONS

Material for the journal, including correspondence is welcomed within the stated editorial aims of relevance to the analysis and debate of issues surrounding youth in society from a perspective of the serious appraisal and critical evaluation of policy. Articles, papers and reports may be of any length up to 10,000 words, though in normal circumstances only one extended feature may be included in each issue. For reasons of space editing may be necessary without consultation, but where possible extensive alterations will be returned to the contributor for approval. All submissions should be typed in double spacing on white paper (for photocopying). Additional material such as diagrams, tables and charts should be clearly marked and included in the relevant place. Material not published will be returned if possible, but contributors should note that this cannot be guaranteed and are advised to keep copies. All materials should be sent to the relevant editor.

ARTICLES

Editor: Tony Jeffs, 'Burnbrae', Black Lane, Blaydon Burn, Blaydon, Tyne and Wear.

ANALYSIS

Editor: Frank Booton, 8 Cedars Park, Sunderland, Tyne and Wear. SR2 7TQ.

Enquiries for specific information are welcomed, though comprehensive answers may not always be possible.

REVIEWS

Editor: Keith Popple, 16 Coquet Terrace, Heaton, Newcastle-Upon-Tyne. NE6 5LD.

Suggestions for future review material and names of possible contributors are invited from the readership.

FEEDBACK, ERRORS AND INDEXING

The editors welcome general comment on any aspect of the journal, and would be particularly interested in recommendations for future content and the information needs of the readership. Whilst every effort is made to check factual material, the editorial group are not responsible for statistical errors in material accepted in good faith from reputable sources. Where possible information will be updated in future issues and any errors corrected. An index will be published in the first issue of each subsequent volume.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

Business Editor: Annie Franklin, 48 Salters Road, Newcastle-Upon-Tyne NE3 1DS.

Individual copies £2.50 post free.

Subscription is £9.00 per volume, post free, and will include all back numbers in that volume if available.

Special subscription terms can be negotiated on request for students, the unwaged and bulk orders.

Institutions will be charged the normal subscription rate.

Overseas subscription rates:

Eire £10.50

Europe £12.00

US and Canada: Surface £12

Air Mail £16.00

Other: Surface £14

Air Mail £20.00

Details of rates for Advertisers are available from the Business Editor.

£2.50

YOUTH AND POLICY

**the journal of
critical analysis**