youth
&policy

the journal of critical analysis

issue number

winter
2002/3

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Youth & Policy is devoted to the critical study of youth affairs and youth policy. The National Youth Agency provides information and support for all those concerned with the informal, personal and social education of young people.

WORKING ALL THE TIME:
Student Incomes and Employment

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According to Smith and Taylor (1999) the rise of the student worker is one of the most important labour market developments since the Second World War. Although this claim may be slightly overstated, at least when compared to the changes in the gender composition of the labour force and the associated growth in part-time employment in the second half of the twentieth century, employment surveys do suggest that the youth labour market has been radically overhauled by the increase in the number of student workers. Students are more actively involved in the labour market than at any other time in recent history. Thus in 1984 over 300,000 full-time students aged 16-24 were combining work and study, but the figure had risen to over 900,000 by 1998 (IDS 1999). Perhaps surprisingly, the youth policy literature has has little to say about the causes and consequences of the increase in student workers (though see Lucas 1997).

This absolute increase cannot be accounted for by growth in the number of students alone: between 1984 and 1998 the number of full-time students aged between 16 and 24 increased by 72%, while the number of students who were also in paid employment increased dramatically by 180% (IDS, 1999:10). Rather, the rise in employment is seen as one way for students to resolve the growing pressures on their income, variously caused by the phasing out of maintenance grants, reductions in welfare benefits, introduction of loans and real increases in the cost of living. At the same time, students' need for part-time employment also satisfies the demands of employers for flexible workers especially in the service sector where longer opening hours in the retail and leisure industries are becoming the norm. One way for employers to match staffing levels to these new schedules is to employ part-time staff – including students – on flexible working contracts. Indeed, students may even be the ideal flexible workers (Lucas 1997).

Students *per se* are not new to the labour market. In a traditional model, where funding from parents and/or from a means-tested grant was geared towards supporting full-time education, many students worked over the Summer to clear debts, build reserves for the year to come and perhaps gather enough money to go on holiday. As Ford et al (1995: 187) point out, 'this model of higher education assumes that any employment undertaken by full-time undergraduates is incidental and confined to vacation work'. The situation today is markedly different because the changes outlined above mean that growing numbers of students are involved in part-time employment

during term and work consistently throughout the year. For many of these students the money they earn is part of a basic income package and is essential, rather then incidental, to their ability to stay on at University.

A small but growing body of research has begun to chart the changing labour market participation of students during term, taking as its starting point concerns that poverty is becoming more widespread amongst the student population. There is certainly ample evidence that the incidence and extent of part-time working amongst the student body is increasing: for example, Callender reports that in 1998/99 as many as two thirds of Scottish students were in paid employment for some part of the academic year, and that 83% were working over the summer vacation (cited in ICISF: 70). The majority of research evidence suggests that students work primarily for financial or instrumental reasons, using the money generated to help reduce a large income gap that cannot be bridged by either parental assistance or by resort to student loans and other sources of debt (Ford et al, 1995; Soreson and Winn, 1993; Paton-Saltzberg and Lindsay, 1993; Smith and Taylor, 1999). As evidence of this they cite the higher percentage of worker students who have large debts (including student loans and overdraft facilities) or who expect to borrow more during their course of study compared to those who are not in employment.

There has also been concern that term time employment has had a detrimental effect on students, especially on their academic performance. Because the part-time jobs that students secure tend to be in the low paid areas of the service sector, many have no choice but to work long hours, often in the evenings and the weekends, if they are to stop themselves sliding deeper into debt (Lucas and Lammont, 1998; NUS, 1999). One study based in Glasgow suggested that students were working an average of 14 hours a week in paid employment and in some cases as much as double this (Smith and Taylor, 1999). Another study based in Manchester indicated that 30% of working students were employed for 20 hours per week or more (Curtis and Shani, 2002). This raises concerns that the demands of paid employment will conflict with study commitments, through missing classes/lectures because of hours worked, and by not having enough time or energy to prepare thoroughly for essays and examinations. This fear was supported by the Glasgow study, which showed that over two thirds of working students felt their studies had suffered as a result of the demands of paid employment. In common with other studies of low income households, some evidence suggests that students with financial pressures experience greater emotional difficulties and other stress-related problems, although these connections remain to be more fully explored. Further, there is growing unease that the expectation of student employment is becoming routine, and may be deterring some groups from applying to University (Furlong and

Biggart, 1999; Sawyer and Carroll, 1999) or may be acting as a barrier to students leaving home to go to University because they fear they will not be able to find another job in an unknown area (THES, 2002).

What has been missing from the analysis so far is a more detailed examination of the different labour market strategies that students adopt in the face of the changing funding arrangements. In common with a wider trend within the youth literature, emphasis is often placed on the structural difficulties and disadvantages faced by young people, in this case on those students who have little choice but to work if they are to remain at University. As a result, we do not know much about the employment decisions made by a broad cross section of the student population, including those who choose not to work during term. And, although it is often assumed that parental financial support will be the key factor in protecting (middle class) students from working long hours during term time, this has not been investigated in any detail. The research reported on in this paper seeks to fill these empirical gaps by examining in more detail the labour market strategies and choices made by students experiencing a wide range of circumstances. Two particular dimensions of these issues are explored.

First, the paper considers the support that parents give to students, and any connections this has to decisions students make about taking on paid work. Research has shown that participation in term time employment is closely associated with overall levels of basic income which, for students caught under the transitional arrangements, might be defined as the level of any state-assessed maintenance grant and/or the level of any recommended parental contribution. Ford et al (1995) found that students with parental contributions in excess of the recommended amount were less likely to work during term. However students on low incomes – who received less than the full assessed parental contribution – were more likely to work. More recently, with the phasing out of the grant and consequent reduction in the basic income of students from poorer families, the distribution of term time work is becoming more closely associated with the level of any parental contribution and, by default, with the parents' class location (Callender and Kempson, 1996). A survey undertaken in Newcastle in 1998 found that 14% of students with professional parents worked during term, compared to over half of students whose parents were employed in skilled manual jobs (Barke et al, 2000).

Although familial financial support is a key influence on students' labour market decisions, the analysis in this paper also explores the broader familial processes which underpin students' choices about working (and borrowing). Accounts of socialisation and development are important, especially those which look at the

role of paid employment as a standard feature of adolescent development (Mortimer and Finch, 1996). Research has shown that part-time work is a normal part of life for many children in Britain, and that before they leave school between two thirds and three quarters of children will have held down a paid job (Mizen et al, 1999). Often labour market participation is actively encouraged or expected by parents. In working class families parents may expect some financial contribution from children who have stayed on in education beyond the official school-leaving age. Equally, parents may regard work as one important way for young people to begin the transition to adulthood and full independence, because it teaches them budgeting skills, self discipline, time management and so on. Or, in less affluent families, young people's wages may make an important contribution to cover the (growing) costs of clothes, going out and so on. However, going to University may be associated with a different set of parental expectations and assumptions about combining work and study. For example Ford et al (1995) found some evidence that the level of the parental contribution was negotiated with students and was set at a higher level explicitly so that the student would not have to work during term. There is also some evidence to suggest that the beliefs of debt-averse students, who are more likely to work during term (Barke et al 2000), are inculcated by parents (Christie et al, 2000). The analysis in this paper therefore considers variability in student support in terms of the 'trajectories' which parents associate with the provision of support, and which recognises that students are moving between periods of dependence and independence (Dey, 1999).

Second, the paper considers the active choices that students make about whether and when to take on paid work. Accounts of students' employment patterns often fail to acknowledge that actions are meaningful in their own right or that students are purposeful social actors, who develop a range of different strategies in response to financial pressure. The study by Barke et al (2000) found that the decision to work was affected by a range of individual attributes including housing circumstances (students living at home were more likely to be working than those who had left home), gender (women were more likely to work than men) and attitudes towards debt. These students are often described as being more 'risk-averse' or 'debt-averse' than those who choose to borrow, either because of their discomfort at the idea of debt *per se*, or because of their anxiety at the burden to be faced when starting out in the 'real world'. Despite widespread concerns that student loans are an 'imperfect substitute' (Woodrow 1999) for the maintenance grant, and force risk-averse students to work, evidence about the extent to which working is a substitute for borrowing is not clear cut. Ford et al found only a 'small minority' (1995:194) of students who reported that they worked in preference to borrowing; in contrast the proportion rose

to over one in five in the study by Barke et al (2000) and was a strategy pursued by debt-averse women. Commentators report that negative attitudes are common amongst this section of the student population, with many students expressing resentment at having to work to afford the 'luxury' of study (Bilcharski 1999). In this study the trade-offs that students make about working or borrowing, and the extent to which these are steeped in their attitudes towards risk, are approached with an open mind.

Although studies of term-time employment indicate that inadequate income is the key factor motivating students to work, other social values and attitudes are also important. In the Glasgow study, students attached some importance to the non-financial aspects of their jobs, citing as important the experience of working, that it was good for putting on their CV and the possibility to obtain transferable skills (Smith and Taylor, 1999). Lucas and Ralston (1997:61) also suggest that there are positive social aspects involved in going to work: 'work is fun or work is a change of scene', although it is likely that these are unexpected benefits of taking a job, rather than the main reason. To the extent that the majority of school children have some labour market experience, the Manchester study indicated that working whilst at University was an automatic continuation of a known practice (Curtis and Shani, 2002). Of course these experiences are uneven and are bound up with the amount of any basic income as well as with how individuals perceive and interpret their status as University students.

Given that the expectation of term time employment is becoming routine there may be important issues about the choice of University with regard to access to jobs in different towns and cities (Ford et al, 1995, Callender with Kemp, 2002). The mix of jobs available in the local labour market (for example the number of full and part-time jobs, availability of temporary contracts, industrial composition and wage rates), along with employers' perceptions about the benefits of employing students, are significant factors underpinning the extent to which students are able to realise their decision to work. Opportunities are geographically uneven. The Newcastle study (Barke et al 2000) found that of those students not working over a quarter (28%) had not been able to find a suitable job, and a further 6% had not been able to find any job. In another study in Belfast, Leonard (1995) found that as many as 50% of the non-employed students had not been able to find work. She suggests that the spatial mismatch between residential neighbourhoods, the University area and the location of employment is a powerful constraint on the ability of students to work during term. More qualitative work is required to unpack the specific ways in which geography enables or constrains students'

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labour market participation. The analysis in this paper therefore considers the choices and trade-offs that students make in the context of the opportunities available to them in the local labour market.

These perspectives on the current student experience enable a more rigorous analysis of the role of term-time employment in students' overall package of financial resources. In this way it becomes possible to identify those groups for whom earnings from paid employment are not a supplementary source of income, but are indispensable, because they could not complete their courses without them.

Methods

The research consisted of semi-structured interviews with 49 students. Respondents were selected from two universities within the city of Edinburgh, namely Edinburgh University and Napier University. These two Universities were chosen because of the contrasts between them. Napier, a new university, draws on a locally-based population, caters well for mature and part-time students and tends to have low entrance requirements. Edinburgh, by contrast, is an elite university with a national catchment area, high entrance requirements and a relatively poor record on widening access. Students at both Universities were recruited from within the Social Sciences and were split 25: 24 Edinburgh: Napier. All of the students were in the third year of a four year social sciences degree programme. Further, the participants were all under 25 years of age in an attempt to maintain the focus of the work on the conventional path where students go to University at the age of 17, 18 or 19, immediately after finishing school, and at a time when they are generally expected to have some recourse to their parents. The sample contained 14 men and 35 women, partly reflecting the gender breakdown in the social sciences. Despite efforts to recruit a range of students from across the social income distribution, sharp contrasts did not emerge. This was primarily because Napier University had recruited the majority of its student through clearing, consequently rupturing the anticipated connections between low income students and attendance at a local University.

Interviews took place during the third term of the academic year 1998/1999. The interviews were semi-structured and focused on students' experiences of accommodation, debt, income, employment and negotiations with parents. The majority of the interviews lasted for about one hour, were taped, fully transcribed and analysed systematically and rigorously using Nud*st, one of the software packages that aids qualitative analysis. This involves pulling out common themes - or codes - from the interviews and using these to build up an understanding of their applicability to students across a range of circumstances.

Student resources

The students who took part in the study were affected by the transitional arrangements so that half (24/49) were still entitled to either a full or a partial grant. The basic income package could be assumed to be the maximum grant of £1,795 (either paid by the state or by parents) plus the maximum loan of £1,800 - an annual income of around £3,600 per annum. Although this amount is meant to cover the full twelve month period, in practice all of the students in the study thought of it as being for the nine months of the academic year, giving them an income level of about £400 per month. At the time of the study rents in Edinburgh were around £200 per month, and 14 students were fortunate in being able to find nine month leases. Overall then a student on the basic resource package would be living on the residual after rent - around £200 each month to cover food, utilities, transport, books, socialising and so on.

Although it was possible to live on this amount - and two students managed to do so - the majority aspired to a better standard of living than afforded by this sum, and spent more than this. The average amount spent by the students during the course of the academic year was £5,788, or more than £2,000 higher than the basic resource package (see also ICISF, 1999). Students largely accepted maintenance grants and parental contributions as a 'given', so the choices available for increasing income were to work, to take loans, or to use overdrafts and credit card facilities. On average, across the students as a whole 35% of income came from parents, 16% from the grant, 15% from term-time work and 13% from overdrafts and other credit card debts. Of course, there was considerable variation around that mean, and for students who worked, the percentage of income generated from term time employment rose to 30%.

As shown in figure 1, in the majority of cases (46/49 students) student income for the nine months of the academic year was well above £3,600. Gill[1] had the lowest income of all the students at £3,100, closely followed by Henry at £3,550 and Mary at £3,675. At the top end of the income spectrum, four students had incomes in excess of £8,000. Richard had over £12,000. Of this a substantial amount, £1000 per month, came from a trust fund, while he had supplemented this with an overdraft of £3,000. By contrast Karen, who had the next highest income at £9,950, had a more mixed profile and pushed up her overall income levels by working long hours: while she had a full grant and a parental contribution (£250 per month), she had maximised other discretionary monies by taking out a full student loan, pushing her overdraft to £800, and earning £400 per month from a sales job. Despite these more extreme cases, a solid core of 33 students had a total income of between £4,000 and £7,000.

Figure 1 Sources of academic year income, 1998-99, Edinburgh and Napier University students

Legend:
- Overdraft
- Work
- Student Loan
- Grant
- Parents

N - Napier University
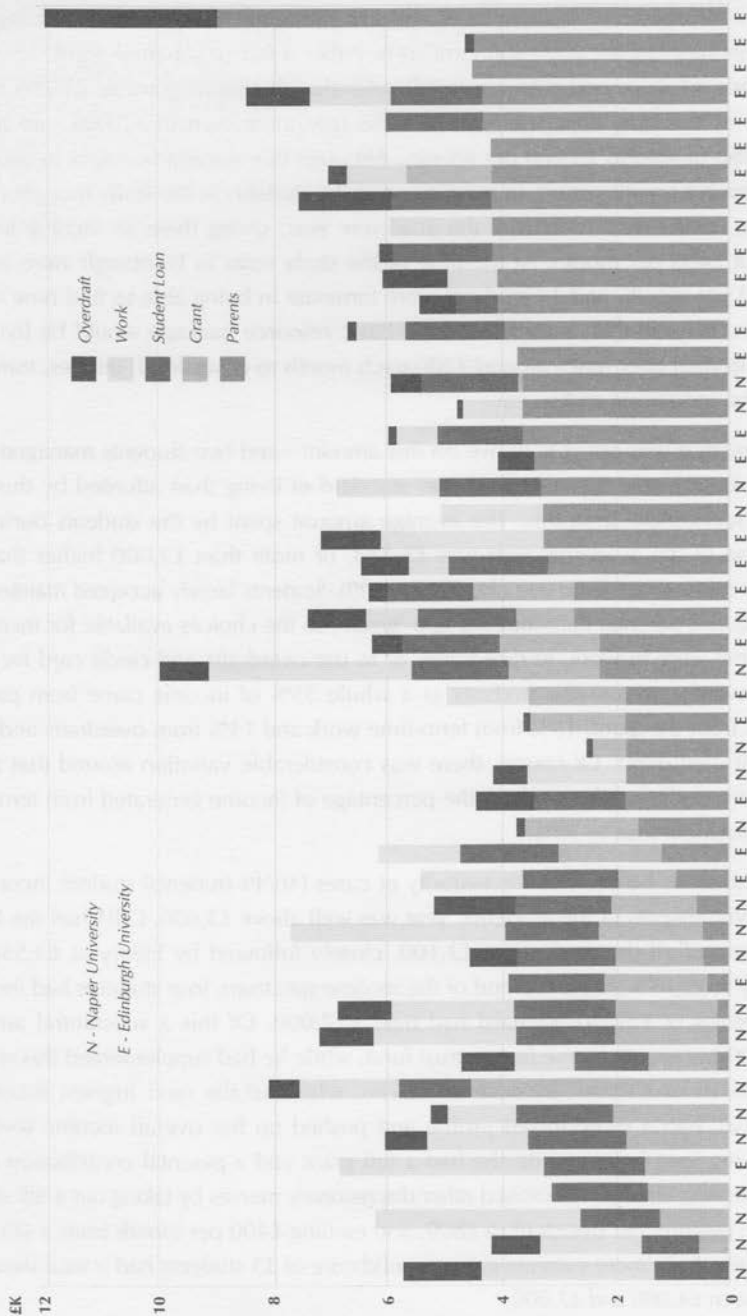E - Edinburgh University

Figure 1 shows total incomes and the relative importance of different sources across the sample.

Students exercised choice in how to supplement their initial resource package but this involved them in ranking the different sources of money they preferred to use. Inevitably, as shown below, some had limited choice about avoiding their less preferred source. For some of the interviewees the first choice to supplement income was to work. However, others looked to work only after other sources of money were exhausted, citing as a disadvantage the low wage rates on offer and the potentially negative effects of work on their social and academic life. Although student loans had become a well-established feature of student finances, there were some who were strongly debt-averse, while others saw student loans as an immediate and obvious source of money to use. In common with other studies we found that students were more likely to take out a student loan as their University career progressed. In the following section, the decisions that students made about working during term-time, and their connections to levels of familial support and attitudes towards debt, are explored more fully. We begin by looking at the job opportunities available to students in the Edinburgh labour market.

The Edinburgh economy

Ford et al (1995) have suggested that a student's choice of University may have a direct influence on their ability to find work because of the locally-differentiated nature of labour markets. Local conditions mediate between the supply of students to the labour market and the demand for student workers (Leonard, 1999). Edinburgh has a lively and buoyant economy (Bailey et al, 1999) and a number of factors underpin a healthy demand for student labour. First, the city is dominated by service industries, where students are more likely to work, and a recent proliferation of cafes, restaurants, hotels and bars has brought new opportunities for part-time work. Second, the city has a thriving tourist industry and there is a strong seasonal demand for workers in various visitor attractions, as well as in the hospitality industries. During the Festival there is a healthy demand for workers to cover ticket sales, distribute flyers and generally service the needs of a 24-hour city. Third, and more speculatively, employers may be aware of the existence of a large pool of student workers and may have sought to capitalise on this (see Nicolson and Wasoff 1989).

The city context evidently shaped the opportunities open to students and work could be considered a freely available choice for all the students in the sample. Just over half (26) of them had worked at some point during the current academic year, and generally they experienced few problems with finding jobs. Euan[2] (£130 PC, £1780 G) expressed a common view:

Interviewer: *Would you say it was easy to find a good job?*

Euan: *Yes. Edinburgh is such a service based city. The tourist industry in the summer is huge. If you want a job you'll find one.*

None of the remaining 23 students was actively seeking work: either they did not want or need to work or they had thought about it and decided not to go any further. This contrasts quite markedly with the experiences of students based in other UK cities where a significant minority of undergraduates were looking for work but were unable to find anything suitable in the local area (Leonard, 1999; Barke et al, 2000).

In other ways the experiences of the Edinburgh cohort confirm existing research findings which show that working students are concentrated in particular sectors, primarily sales and personal services, as well as in jobs where wage rates tend to be low (EPI, 1997; Smith and Taylor, 1999; Ford et al, 1995). All 26 of the term time workers were employed in service sector jobs: nine worked in shops, and 11 were employed in hotels, restaurants or pubs. The remaining six students were employed either as call centre workers, librarians or babysitters. Wage rates were low and ranged from £3.20 per hr[3] to a maximum of £5 per hr. Hourly rates were typically lower for students working in restaurants and hotels than for those working in shops, presumably because waiting staff were expected to benefit from tips. Tips could make a big difference to take home pay as Simone (£1,480 G) explained:

> I was getting a small wage (laughs); I think it was £3.45 an hour, was the actual pay, but it was good tips on top of that, so it totally varied, I mean ...my wages it was about.. I don't know, between £60-100 a week, depending on how many hours I did .... But then my tips on top of that would be between, I don't know, between £30-50 a week; so it was quite good; it made up the hourly rate to between £5-7 an hour, which is alright, and they were really flexible as well; it wasn't too late at night, and taxis home and things, which was good.

Mostly students accepted that the wage rates on offer would be low and only occasionally were working students scathing about the pay on offer. It was more common for students who did not work during term-time to cite low wages as a disadvantage. Henry (£200 PC, £1650 G) preferred not to work during term because of the low wage rates on offer and implied that in Edinburgh the youth labour market was increasingly structured around poorly paid 'student' jobs. He commented that working as a waiter over the Summer:

> was fairly good fun but it didn't really ... there was no decent money at all really. I got paid student rates which is not very much and was doing very few shifts

The number of hours worked by students each week varied significantly, from those who worked on an occasional basis to those who had to work regularly throughout the term. In total ten students worked for ten or more hours each week

(the maximum threshold level recommended in the Cubie Report because of threats to academic performance and effects on quality of life. Clear differences in the working patterns of students emerged and are discussed more fully in the analysis in the next section.

One common pattern across the sample was that working students had distinctive employment profiles (see also Ford et al, 1995), and tried to arrange work around their studies, most commonly by working in the evenings and/or the weekends. William (£480 PC)) sold kitchens and described his hours - early evening - as good 'because he's free from University then'. This division between work time and study time was tied up with the system of mental time-keeping used by the students, whereby different times of the day were earmarked for different activities. Of course, the meanings associated with different times were interpreted by the students themselves to fit the patterns of hours of work available to them. John (£300 PC) had been offered a job on a weekday, a Tuesday, when he had no scheduled classes, and justified his decision to take it:

> *It was pretty knackering because I would get up at 9am and then work the whole day and get back and be absolutely shattered. I just decided that's OK., Tuesday is not University day, it's a day that I work and I won't think about University studies until the next day* (John: Edinburgh).

The students who worked during term generally tried to emphasise the benefits of their employment patterns: they tried to work hours that did not clash with classes, at times when they did not want to do University work anyway, and a few argued that working was another way of having a social life. Of course, these may have been *ad hoc* rationalisations so that the students did not present themselves as failing academically, not least to an academic, but in some cases the protection of University work was not always successfully maintained. Student incomes and debts fluctuated considerably over the academic year and they sometimes had to take desperate measures towards the end of the term/year - including working longer hours - when other sources of income had been exhausted.

The majority of the working students indicated that they had actively sought to improve their employment conditions, year-on-year, primarily by learning from previous experiences. This included positive actions like looking for jobs with better conditions (primarily better hours and/or developing good working relationships with managers and other staff so that they were in a position to negotiate about terms and conditions. Most students had some flexibility in the hours they worked each week. MaryAnn (£400 PC) worked for anything between four and 20 hours each week in a small shop:

Yes, it's really good, and they're so nice to me, the people are really nice, and you know, if I need the weekend off to go away, then they're fine; then they'll just say OK, well, you cover my shifts next week, or...you know. They're really good.

But, on the downside, employers were not always so benign. In this case, MaryAnn's employers were not flexible at busy times of the year, and she felt her studies suffered.

I suppose at Christmas it's bad, because the shop's so busy, so I'm in there all the time; if I'm not in University I'm in the shop; and you come home at night and you think, oh god, I can't do this. You know, I've got to study and I [...] I just want to do nothing. But...other than Christmas it's fine, I can sit in the shop and read a book...it's not that busy, I can study, I can do course work or whatever else...it's fine.

There are important questions about the potential of different groups of students to be exploited by their employers. Some students were in a position where they felt they could not leave a job despite being unhappy about the conditions, or being unhappy about having to work when they wanted to spend more time studying. Gavin (£100 PC, £1,000 G), for example, worked as a waiter during term. Although he had some flexibility about shifts he felt 'very uncomfortable' about turning work down and worked between 20 and 25 hrs per week during second year. He knew he couldn't afford to lose the income just then, and felt it might jeopardise his chances of doing more shifts over the summer:

It was to keep the job. ...At that point that was the way it was. I know I was a good worker. I felt that if they asked me to do a shift that if I kept saying no, you know, that they would think during the summer that I wouldn't need to increase my shifts. I felt an obligation to work more.

This opens up the possibility for exploitation of student workers (Lucas and Lammont, 1997). Other more fortunate students could afford to give up work when studies became more pressing. Marie (£480 PC), admittedly an extreme example, had a generous parental contribution, but worked because she wanted more money to support her lifestyle. She described her job waitressing as 'miserable' and gave up because her evening shifts interfered too much with her social life. It seems that in the student labour market there is flexibility for some but not for others, and that this is bound up with the overall package of resources available to the student. As we show in the analysis below, differences in the core parental contributions contribute to new forms of polarisation amongst different groups of students, which are closely related to the choices and constraints students face in the labour market.

Why do students work? The difference that parental support makes.
Analysis of the qualitative data allows the construction of four groups of students according to the ways in which they drew upon income from paid employment during term (namely employment essential; supplementing income/lifestyle; prudent non-workers; and privileged non-workers). These clusters are outlined in more detail in the following section. What emerges strongly is that students make very different calculations and trade-offs about whether or not to work, with the extent of any parental contribution emerging as a strong determinant of the working choices available to them. As we go on to show, it was also evident that the extent to which each student supplemented their basic resource package by working was shaped by their housing circumstances and by their employment decisions over the Summer.

1 Employment essential
This group consisted of 14 students in total who worked out of financial necessity, split 10:4, Napier: Edinburgh. They tended to have no or low financial support from their parents, and all but one were entitled to either a full or a partial grant. In six cases, parents were expected to top-up a partial grant, but did not make the contributions. Given that the student loan is a discretionary source of income, all the students in this group were immediately faced with a gap between the income available to them and the basic resource package of £3,600.

The key characteristic of these students was that employment was essential to their income strategies. They had no choice but to work during term, and they had to work regularly if they were to make ends meet throughout the academic year. For example, Peggy had a full grant (£1780), and her parents gave her a small contribution of about £20 per month. She worked in a newsagents out of financial necessity:

I feel that I have to work because I need the money. I couldn't cope without that money, but at the same time I don't mind working, I quite enjoy it actually.

With two exceptions, students from this group worked in shops, supermarkets and in bars and restaurants doing routine unskilled jobs. There was limited flexibility for them to give up their jobs during difficult or stressful periods and they often found it difficult to manage the work/study balance especially towards the end of term when exams and essay deadlines were looming. Peggy in the above example said that it was 'hard sometimes' to work and study:

I just find round exam times it's quite stressful trying to get work done for Uni and work at [name] because they still expect you to come in and do your shifts you know

The fact that it was difficult for the students to give up work also meant that they were more at risk from exploitation in the labour market. They often found it difficult to say no to extra shifts because they were afraid of losing the job altogether.

Work was a serious matter for these students, and they put in the longest number of hours of all the working students. Kirsty (£1,200 G), like the majority of this group, worked for more than ten hours a week. At the time of interview she had a new job as a sales assistant and although she usually managed to work 13 hours, she worried about her finances because:

> *I'm only contracted to 4 hours a week, so, I mean at the moment it's really good, I've been working Saturday and Sunday, sorta 9-6 and 12-4, but generally speaking I am only contracted to 4 hours a week so I think over the Summer I'll have to find something else.*

Unfortunately the pressures were exacerbated because she was paid on a monthly basis. In common with the other students in this group she would have preferred to budget from a weekly pay cheque:

> *I knew [at previous job] I had that money coming in, I was getting like £75 to £80 guaranteed every week, and again [retailer] is monthly pay which I find absolutely terrible to cope with, I can't get used to that at all, but it's OK, it's better than some...*

The costs of term time employment weighed most heavily on these students. Working continuously throughout the academic year, and working long shifts often into the small hours of the morning for those who had bar or waiting jobs, was tiring, time-consuming and a constant source of pressure. The few students who admitted to missing lectures and tutorials were drawn from this group. Non-attendance arose because either they needed money and had decided to work during the day time, or because their working schedule had left them exhausted and unwilling to go into University. They spoke too of their sense of exclusion from University life, and of the social divides between working and non-working students, although these sentiments were more marked amongst the four Edinburgh students. Gavin (£100 PC, £1,000 G) explained:

> *They [non-working students] have more time to study and to socialise because they always have their evenings free and they can work [study] around that.*

Because of the pattern of shift work he felt excluded from wider social aspects of student life:

I will work on a Friday [...] and then someone says there is a party and all my flatmates go and I can't go, and they come back and they talk about it... that can be hard sometimes because you feel like you're missing out on something vital, you know?.

But employment also brings benefits and amongst this group there was a strong sense of pride that they were making their own way through University by working. Often this was linked to an acute awareness of their parents' financial circumstances: they did not want or indeed expect to receive financial support from them, and they took pride in trying to be financially independent. On arriving at University they expected to continue to work part-time, as they had done whilst at school. These students did not resent the fact that they had to work. Rather they saved their resentment for other students who did not understand the financial circumstances that meant they had to work. Simone (£1,480 G) put it thus:

They don't understand, they just don't grasp the concept of actually having to work, you know, they'll work when they want to have an extra bit of money; but, I mean, he's [a friend on the same course who had generous financial support from his parents] going to Cuba for 3 weeks in September on an all-inclusive holiday and he'll be spending £900 on it; it's a totally different thing.

Contrary to previous research findings there was only limited evidence of debt-aversion amongst these students, who came primarily from lower income backgrounds. Any debt aversion was aimed at overdrafts rather than at student loans. Only one student, Andrew (£200 PC, £1,700 G) worked explicitly so that he would not have to take on any debt at all. Although all the students in this group expected to work when they came to University, none chose Edinburgh in preference to other cities on the basis of the employment opportunities available locally.

2. Supplementing income/lifestyle

The second and largest group consisted of 15 students, split 5:10 Napier: Edinburgh, who worked primarily to supplement their parental contributions. In contrast to the 'employment essential' students, this group was characterised by strong familial financial support and received parental contributions of between £300 and £480 per month. In eight cases the student received a contribution of equal to or greater than the basic income package of £3,600. They used this money to budget for the essentials, that is for housing, utilities and food.

Having support from parents meant that these students had a choice about whether or not to work during term time because they could have survived without the extra money. Income from work was generally for extras or to make budgeting easier.

Gail received £380 from her parents each month and worked irregularly:

I do one-off jobs, and then maybe helping out at a careers fair, things like that for just one or two days mainly

She went on to describe the benefits of having some extra money:

It's just gone on everyday stuff. It's just like supplementing what my parents give me so that it's less worrying at the end of the month. It just gave me that little extra cushion.

This flexibility about working also gave the students more choice about the kind of job they would take. In contrast to the first group they worked in a more diverse range of jobs, including childminding, driving and kitchen sales. Sometimes the jobs overlapped with students' interests or hobbies. For example Peter (£450 PC) sold rugby brochures at Murrayfield and 'got to watch the game' whilst Nigella (£350 PC) worked on Saturday mornings as a swimming instructor.

Another reason for working was to support a particular kind of 'lifestyle' that they did not feel comfortable about using their parents' money to cover. Most commonly this was the money they wanted to use to go out and socialise with other student friends and flatmates. Liz had a parental contribution of £360 per month and worked two nights a week in a pub during term so that she could finance her social life. She commented that she could survive:

if I didn't go out, if I really really cut back but I'm not that kind of person ha ha ha. I can't stay in, I get bored.

Occasionally students would be working to save up for something special, like a holiday in the Easter break (Claire, £435 PC) or they would just 'blow' the money on 'shopping trips' (Rosemary, £460 PC).

Although the students had an active choice about working, they had very mixed views about the benefits it brought, which were related to their perceptions of the circumstances under which they had taken on the jobs. Those who worked throughout the year for 'extras' were broadly positive in their assessment of the benefits it brought. Jeni (£365 PC) outlined what she saw as the good points of her job as a waitress:

I think I would get bored if I didn't [work]. I just think... It's something different to do. Somewhere where you don't have any hassles, you just go and do what you've got to do and go home and you meet new people through it and I think it's good to go and have a job because it shows that you are willing to do something extra on top of like Uni.

However, other students who worked because they wanted money to finance a particular lifestyle, often based on expensive dinner parties, sports activities and trips abroad at Easter, were much less sanguine about the benefits of working. Without working they didn't have the means to 'keep up' with friends. Ian (£400 PC) was a case in point:

> *The friends that I do spend most of my time with.... we're all living in very comfortable flats and a lot of my friends own their own flats up here. I am assuming that they do come from fairly wealthy backgrounds - a lot of them have their own cars up here as well.*

On a parental contribution of £400 per month[4], he was finding it difficult to manage and had taken a 'tedious' job in a supermarket. This helped to finance his lifestyle:

> *Like, with the Ski Club, I've been off to the Continent the last three Easter holidays and lots of them come on that and we all do sort of similar, sort of more pricey things. Sort of, parties and that sort of thing.*

Unlike the students in the 'employment essential' category, this group of workers spent less time in employment, usually between 5-8 hours per week. They also had more flexibility about giving up their jobs and four of the students had stopped working part way through the academic year. Patrick, who had a parental contribution of £300 per month, explained his reasons for exiting from the labour market:

> *I worked during the first semester up until Christmas time in the [hotel]. I was working three nights a week in there part time but when the exams started coming, the exams just after the Christmas holidays and I wanted to go back home for the two weeks of Christmas holidays, and be with my friends and family, and then after that it was exams, so I just thought, you know, I'm not going to do this. So I quit it and I haven't [worked] since.*

Working as a way to gain independence from parents again emerged as an important theme, but here the emphasis was very different to the previous group. Here, students regarded earned income as their own money and so they felt they had greater freedom about spending it as they wanted, and without having to justify it to their parents. Although keen to gain this (financial) independence, there was a stronger sense of implicit parental involvement in the decisions the students made about working. On the one hand, there was more evidence of debt aversion (five cases), and this was an attitude students attributed to their parents. Lynn (£200 PC plus parents cover cost of mortgage) explained why she thought working was her best option:

> *but the thought of coming, of starting actually, in the real world with a huge debt already to pay. It's just, I think it's my mother's sort of influence, don't ever be in debt.*

And later:

I don't like asking my parents for money which is why I got a job.

On the other hand, there was also more evidence of parents stating their unhappiness or unease about their son or daughter working during term-time, perhaps because they were giving what they regarded as reasonably generous contributions to protect students both from accumulating debt and from being exploited in the labour market.

3. Prudent non-workers

A total of seven students fell into this group, split 4:3, Napier: Edinburgh. Potentially the most interesting group in policy terms, they had made an active choice not to work during term time. This was despite the fact that they all had low incomes, having full/partial grants and also some limited financial support from parents. Their parental contributions ranged from £40 to £200 per month. In one case a student received a partial grant that her parents did not top-up.

For this group, decisions about income and expenditure were not taken lightly, and involved the students in making conscious choices between working, borrowing and studying. Some of the students felt they could not work and do justice to their studies at the same time. . Gill (£1,400 G) commented:

In a way I know as well I can survive on the money I've got so if I did work it would be extra. So I just figure study is more important.

Allied to this, was a belief that if working they would not get the full benefit of the University experience. Frank (£40 PC, £1,780 G) accepted frugality as the price he had to pay to get the most from his time as a student:

but I don't think that's [working] the way to get your best out of the University years, I don't think it's a time when you should be slaving away at some sort of, you know in some restaurant, serving people food just so that you can get by, just because I think it's a time when you ought to be meeting people and you ought to be socialising and you ought to be, sort of, finding out what the world is outside of your home.

As a whole these students were quite conservative about their outgoings, and tended to be consciously economising. They preferred to do without rather than have to work to finance a more comfortable lifestyle. Mary (£175 PC) spoke about the choices she had made, which provide a marked contrast to Ian in the previous group:

I eat pasta all the time; I don't really buy meat. I don't really eat meat anyway but...all of us [in the flat] don't have any money, it's not just me ... But we're all in the same boat so its not like they're going out and I'm staying in by myself or anything.

In four cases the students had actively chosen to take out a maximum student loan in preference to working during term. Joyce (£50 PC, £1,780 G) spoke about borrowing:

I just thought it made sense. It was money that was going at a very low interest rate and so whether I did need it or whether it was in my bank account, either way, I couldn't lose because my bank account was higher interest than they were charging and if I needed it then it would be there. So I just thought it was a facility that was worth taking advantage of really.

The experiences of this group provide an important contrast to studies which suggest that students from low income families 'have' to work and are most likely to be debt-averse. Here, students were confident enough about their future career prospects to take the risk of accumulating successive debts from the student loan, rather than take the risk of jeopardising their studies by working during term-time.

4. Privileged non-workers.

This group consisted of 12 students, all but three of whom were at Edinburgh University, and who enjoyed the most comfortable lifestyles as students. They had not given much consideration to working during term and were able to choose to not work. Not surprisingly they were characterised by high parental contributions, with the majority receiving between £400 and £500 per month. In one extreme case a student received a monthly income of £1,000 from a trust fund. At a minimum, parents were fully funding the basic resource package of £3,600.

This group did not have money worries and could adequately support their lifestyle without working during term. Some commented that they had 'absolutely no need' to work (Richard, £1,000 PC), that they were 'lucky their parents were supporting them' (Hilary, £420 PC) or, in common with the prudent non-workers, felt they had 'too much studying' (Shannon, £200 PC, plus parents cover costs of mortgage). Students who wanted to increase their income preferred to use the student loan. It is interesting to note that 5/7 who had taken out student loans were using the money to fund 'good holidays' or 'travel' so that they 'could make the most out of their time at University' (Margaret, £385 PC).

More than half of the group suggested that their parents were anti-debt and anti-work during term and it is possible to speculate that parents were making high contributions in order to protect students from having to work or borrow. The majority of the students in this group felt they could depend on their parents to bail them out if they needed more money, either through cash donations or providing interest-free loans. Elaine (£462 PC) commented:

I've got a loan off my father at the moment because I couldn't pay the bills at all and my overdraft was too big. I needed money instantly basically to pay the bills.

There was also a strong sense from some of these students that they were trying to escape from the adult responsibilities of working for as long as possible. Jules (£500 PC):

I've got the rest of my life to work and you know...fortunately I'm in a position where I can get through without having to work. My flatmates all work, and you know I've tried to avoid that as much as possible.

This was backed up by comments about the sheer impossibility of combining their social lives and studying with working during term, a marked contrast to the experiences of the students in the 'employment essential' category.

Summer employment and parental support

The analysis thus far has indicated that the amount of any parental contribution is a key factor in influencing whether or not students will work during term-time. But it is also the case that patterns of term-time working are influenced by the actions of students (and their parents) during the Summer. Students' choices about where to live, whether to work, and what to do with any Summer earnings also shaped decisions about working during term time.

In all but one case, the students in the study were fortunate enough to have a parental home to which they could return whenever they wanted. Parents who could not afford to give financial support during term were able to offer their student sons and daughters free accommodation and board over the Summer holidays. This shaped the choices the students made about working. In 48/49 cases the students took it for granted that they would work for at least part of the Summer, and indeed a significant majority also worked during the other vacations. Although few parents explicitly stated that their student son/daughter should find a job outside term-time, they found other ways to make this view clear.

Free housing over the summer was the essential factor discriminating the 'prudent non-workers' from the other working students. These students sought out nine month leases (readily available in the Edinburgh housing market) knowing that they would go home to work over the holidays. The students had jobs held open for them locally – usually jobs that they had worked in whilst still at school – and saved up any money they earned so that they could support themselves without working during term-time. Gill (£1,400 G) went home during each vacation:

it's pretty good because I have been working in a shop at home since I was like 14 and they always keep the job open for me every time I go home, even Christmas, Easter holidays, Summer time and they usually give me about 4 or 5 shifts a week. That helps as well. All the money I make over the Summer I usually save most of it and put it in my bank account here in

Scotland, so that gives me like another £700 or £800 that I have made over the Summer to help me live here.

For the 'employment essential' students different Summer employment strategies emerged based on whether or not they had run up large overdrafts during term-time. Those students who owed money to the bank had little choice but to go to a parental home over the summer and find a job locally. This enabled them to pay off debts (primarily overdrafts), and perhaps save up some money for the year to come or have a holiday. Yvonne (£1,780 G) was fairly typical:

I go back home, because of my rent and my parents won't take any money off me, and get all my food and pay off my overdraft...

It would have been 'impossible' to clear her debts any other way. Clearly her vulnerability to risk - and that of the other students similarly affected - would have been much greater if she had not had a home (and a job) to which she could return, and if the Edinburgh housing market did not afford short term leases.

The students with no overdrafts to pay off adopted a different strategy to Summer working/living at home. They tended to stay in Edinburgh over the Summer, having taken on 12 month leases, and continued to work in their term-time job, although usually on a full-time basis. They needed regular and continuous employment in order to meet the monthly rent, and, again, this group was open to exploitation. Nuala (£50 PC, £1,780 G) worked full-time in a book shop but ended up in a situation where she couldn't turn down extra hours when other staffing problems emerged:

Well the manager, halfway through the summer, actually walked out and the person who I worked with he was on holiday as well, so I was left, I was doing like sixty-odd hours a week. ... And I thought, well I wasn't getting OK I was getting paid extra hours but I wasn't getting paid overtime or, you know, anything to say thanks for doing this because your manager's walked out on you, so I thought, well what's the point?

Shortly after she moved to a better job in a local library.

As a whole this group of students retained most independence from their parents. Although they all could have stayed with their parents they wanted, for various reasons, to support themselves and felt this was best achieved by working in Edinburgh over the Summer.

The Summer strategies adopted by the students who fell into the two remaining clusters ('privileged non-workers' and 'supplementing income/lifestyle') were reasonably similar. Few had money worries and, if they had twelve month leases, parents generally

continued to pay the rent over the Summer period, although this had to be negotiated with them. All did work over the Summer, and indeed their parents expected this perhaps because of the extensive support they gave them during term time. Elaine, who received a generous financial contribution of £462 per month during term, felt that working over the Summer was an obligation:

I don't think they'd give me the money if I didn't work in the summer because then they don't want to pay for it all. For everything.

On being asked if she thought this was fair she commented:

Definitely, yeah. I wouldn't just want to take money off them and just do nothing to help myself at all.

However, unlike the other groups, these students had much greater financial freedom about how to use the money they earned over the Summer. Mainly they paid off any overdraft they had accumulated during term and used the rest to 'do something' (Hilary, £420 PC)). Sharon (£450 PC) was fairly typical:

All my (summer) money goes towards travelling because that's what I like to do

Working over the Summer was a much less serious matter, at least in terms of thinking about how to survive the financial drain of the closing academic year or how to prepare for the one to come.

Conclusion

It is now readily accepted that term time paid employment is a regular feature of contemporary University life and that this extends beyond the realm of a traditional pattern of working only over the Summer, into a world where increasing numbers of students work consistently thoughout the year. At all times of the year students are to be found working in marginal, flexible service sector jobs dominated by unskilled and poorly paid manual labour. Yet as we have sought to demonstrate, contra an implicit assumption that all working students are underprivileged or exploited, it is important to refine our understandings of why students work during term time to give a more substantive and analytical account of their decision-making processes. Their rationales and motivations are not always the same, and although financial pressure remains the major factor motivating students to seek employment, this alone cannot account for the observed variability in working patterns. We have sought to explain this variability by expanding debates about students' employment decisions in two important ways. First, we have considered the relationship between students' motivations to look for and take up work, and the changing material constraints in which they find themselves, looking particularly at the financial support they receive from parents. Second, we have suggested that students are active agents and

differences in employment strategies are related to a range of individual preferences about borrowing, studying and quality of life, as well as to wider social values and attitudes to work. Together, we have shown how these perspectives help to explain why term time working is not an automatic practice for all less privileged students, as well as to account for the fact that working is not always a direct substitute for borrowing amongst this group, who are often said to be the most debt-averse of students.

Following on from this, we have also shown that a more detailed account of students' working strategies must be sensitive to differences in perceptions of risk. Previous discussions which linked risk-averse behaviour primarily to fears of or worries about building up debts are limited. Again, contra to expectations, our evidence suggests that working is sometimes perceived as a more risky activity than borrowing, whether in terms of potential impact on academic performance (and hence on income-generating capacity in the future), or in terms of missing out on the wider social aspects of University life. It is possible for students from low income backgrounds to manage without working, but this depends on them adopting a prudent lifestyle, having a positive attitude towards the student loan and, crucially, is a strategy open only to those who have backing in kind from their parents, most notably free accommodation over the Summer from where they can work and build up reserves for the year ahead. Equally, the students who did work during term-time were not all victims of the worst excesses of the flexible labour market. They had an astute sense of the risks involved in working and had used this understanding to actively structure the opportunities available to them. Often they became valued workers, bringing important social skills to the job and building up good relationships with co-workers or managers, to the extent that they could exercise some flexibility about when and how much to work, especially around pressure points like during the run up to essay deadlines and end of term examinations.

Although Edinburgh had plentiful jobs available for students, there was no evidence to suggest that this had been a factor in encouraging them to come to the city to study. In this particular local labour market students with less financial support from parents can manage by working and adopting a frugal lifestyle, but we would wish to exercise some caution about the extent to which these conditions are replicable elsewhere. So, while students in this study did have scope to exercise some choice and agency within the Edinburgh economy, this is not to suggest that similar opportunities will be available to all students in all years or in all University towns and cities. Under the current funding arrangements, those students with a limited safety net and least choice about working remain vulnerable and subject to exploitation, with profound consequences for their ability to combine work and study for the duration of a three or four year degree programme. The widening participation

agenda needs to be sensitive to the problems that students often have in finding and sustaining paid employment (see also UUK, 2002) as well as to the more commonly cited issues about poverty and hardship, course design and the quality of teaching (Hayton and Paczuska, 2002; Yorke, 1999).

Thus it is important to temper the positive findings of this study by noting that the sample was drawn from amongst those students who had successfully managed to budget their income and expenditure, and to balance work and study commitments, over a period of three years. Although the students did exercise choice and agency within the constraints of the funding arrangements, it is probable that any further reduction in student support would significantly increase the already high drop-out rate of 20% amongst the undergraduate population (HESA, 2000). Further reductions would undoubtedly restrict the choices available to many more students, increasing their exposure to hardship and exploitation. It is increasingly difficult for students to make ends meet without the security of a strong (financial) support from parents and without this the opportunity to successfully complete a degree is severely compromised. For those with limited recourse to parents, success depends on borrowing and on being in a labour market that affords sufficient jobs to students. Equally, success is dependent on students remaining healthy throughout their University career, and on having the capacity to deal well with any emotional trauma or other crisis that should come their way. With no safety net to fall back on, even the smallest change in circumstance can exclude these students from completing a degree. Such circumstances clearly fly in the face of the Government's stated commitment to a 50% participation target for all young people aged 18-30 regardless of geography or income.

Hazel Christie, Moira Munro and *Heidi Rettig, Heriot Watt University, School of the Built Environment, Edinburgh.*

Notes

1   All names have been changed and identifying characteristics have been omitted.

2   For each named student we identify their basic income package, made up of the monthly parental contribution (PC) and the yearly grant (G).

3   This was the minimum wage for 18-20 year olds at the time, although students are exempt from the Minimum Wage legislation.

4   He was paying £100 of this back to his parents to cover a 'loan' for a car.

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REPRESENTING DARREN:
Understanding Youth Homelessness

MARY MADDEN

This article is concerned with the nature and impact of social meaning, particularly the sign 'homelessness' as it affects young people. Fields of representation always and necessarily use the available forms of cultural presentation. 'The homeless' come to be known and categorised through representation. Therefore the production, interpretation and contestation of representations are of crucial importance to social integration and exclusion. Drawing on Foucault's work on discursive production, Hall (1996: 443) coined the term 'regimes of representation' to describe the repertoires of imagery through which difference or 'otherness' is represented in any historical moment. Hall argued that such regimes 'play a *constitutive* and not merely a reflexive, after the event, role' in social life. This article explores my feeling of unwilling complicity in the discursive practices of Thatcherism that created an upsurge in youth homelessness in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

The analysis is located within a methodological tradition of biographical grounded research that is analytically and not merely descriptively concerned with how we come to understand what we do (Stanley, 1994). All research is about representing the 'other'. It is about a particular construction by that researcher about those that s/he wishes to study (Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1996). Accounts of other lives influence how we see and understand ourselves just as understandings of our own lives impact on how we understand the lives of others. There is therefore no epistemology that is not ontologically based (Stanley, 1992).

From 1987 until 1993 I was Research and Evaluation worker for Shades City Centre Project Ltd., a key resource offering advice and support for young people leaving and changing home in Manchester, England. During this time homelessness amongst young people increased and became more visible. Journalists often contacted the project to find suitably skinny and wretched young people to illustrate their columns. My colleagues and I felt positioned as gatekeepers in the selection of suitable examples of impoverishment to tug on charitable heartstrings or act as walking embodiments of social issues. While recognising the importance of publicising the plight of those we worked with, this gate keeping role proved increasingly uncomfortable. No matter how enterprising a young person had been while leaving or changing home, their individual stories of hardship were soon boiled down and rendered into the glue that re-cemented 'the homeless' and 'the poor' to mystifying, trans-historical personal tragedy and failure. It seemed to me that contemporary

accounts of homelessness were becoming a grotesque form of entertainment and the mystery, or rather the mystification of homelessness in these pieces was particularly disturbing (Madden, 2001).

Subsequently, as a Lecturer in Youth and Community Work Studies at Manchester Metropolitan University in the mid 1990s, I offered a module on 'Young People and Homelessness'. This was designed to provide students with a foundation of knowledge and understanding about issues of homelessness as they were affecting young people and to develop skills in responding appropriately as Youth and Community Workers. I began the course by asking students to list the images that came to mind when they heard the term 'homelessness' and then 'youth homelessness'. I then asked them to examine their lists for 'characters', locations and particular images associated with young homelessness.

This exercise conjured stereotypical images of drunken tramps on anonymous streets and beggars with dogs on bits of string. Here are some of the listed words:

> *Meths, social outcasts, cardboard boxes, policing, Romanies, travellers, dogs, pre-conceived ideas, eyesore, violence, mental health, roofless, going through dustbins, unseen, sleeping on people's floors, unwanted, not belonging, no support, fearful, death-hypothermia, choosing to be homeless, streetwise, scabies, tramps/old men, unemployed, dirty, crusties, worthless, no/inadequate accommodation, beggars, neglected, soup runs, domestic violence, mentally disabled, uneducated, boarded up houses, hungry, dogs, anybody, distinct and non-distinct cultures, moral judgements and bible bashers, burden to society, shelters, empty houses, DHSS, knowing the system, neglect, rich beggars, no vote, not owning, drunks, housing officials, solitary, physical and mental abuse, undeserving, angry, debt, addiction, ex prisoners, prostitution, poll tax, lazy, cold, socially diverse, hostels, soup wards, media pressure, bed and breakfast, Big Issue, head counting, care leavers, runaways, family problems – drugs, crime, abuse, emotional, violence, adolescence.*

The exercise exposed the clichés and conceptual baggage that surround and moralise any discussion of contemporary homelessness. What students instinctively felt they 'knew' about homelessness was largely based on limited direct experience of encountering beggars in Manchester and on current media debates about the undesirability of street poverty. Throughout the course a number of students disclosed their own histories of housing difficulties but none associated themselves with the label 'homeless'. 'Authentic' images of homelessness were largely associated with concepts in the left of this binaried column:

Visible/Hidden

Public/ Private

Absolute/Relative

Undeserving/ Deserving

Scrounger/Worker

Single/Family

As an ex-provider of services for homeless people, I was concerned that I was reproducing, rather than challenging negative images of young homeless people in order to secure and maintain funding and other access to the welfare state. I wondered why at particular moments certain images come into play for explaining homelessness and how these images were implicated in perpetuating homelessness as an inexplicable and insoluble problem. In this article I examine some of the mystification and stigmatising processes in discourses about young homelessness which I suggest emerged primarily during the radical reorganisation of the welfare state under Thatcherism.

Darren

'I know it sounds stupid,' says Darren, a 14 year-old Mancunian who has lived for eighteen months on the capital's streets, 'but with me being involved in numerous films and documentaries, what's getting me, like, is if they're all so bothered, why don't they find me somewhere to live?'
(Tyler, 1988)

It was December 1988 and there were a plethora of reports employing a familiar construction of homelessness as exclusion from cosy Christmas. Meet Darren, written up by Andrew Tyler (3 December, 1988) in 'Little Beggars', (*Independent Magazine:* 30-32) as a cheeky Mancunian monkey. He told the journalist Tyler, 'From Manchester...London looked full of film stars walking around the West End...Emma Ridley, the wild child...just like, full of yuppies all rich and famous. But it ain't. In fact, London's full of tramps, homeless like me. Hee hee.' Darren was a joker. Maybe he was playing with the frameworks in which he was supposed to fit. Tyler wrote, 'Darren thinks it is comic that he should have achieved celebrity for having joined the new army of bums.' Along with a number of other investigative journalists, Tyler had chosen to interview Darren and so make him a celebrity. Tyler knew that reporting Darren's plight would 'bother' people like me.

Little Beggar

Tyler's article confused Darren's 'runaway' story with that of the 'new' young homeless. The recent exclusion in 1988 of most sixteen to eighteen year olds from

access to social security benefits had led some of them to become not-so *Little Beggars*. Although he played the lead role in Tyler's story, Darren's 'case' was very different from most of the other 'Little Beggars' emerging into visibility at the time. Darren was there because he represented the human-interest pinnacle of youth homelessness. It was his vulnerability that made him so interesting. Yet Darren was still a rare commodity in England at this time, a genuinely vagrant child, or at least as 'genuinely' vagrant as a minor could be under the controversial 1824 Vagrancy Act that continued to associate homelessness with criminality (see Steedman, 1995:113; Petch and Carter, 1994:6).

Tyler noticed that:

> *Darren is under-age even among these young cohorts. As he is under sixteen, the law states, that he should be in council care or back home with his family. But he has proved resistant to both these settings, and since he cannot legally be provided with independent housing or income, it is bureaucratically more convenient to have him drift on unseen.*

The text positioned the reader alongside the investigative eye that focused on what the rhetorical heartless bureaucrat would rather ignore. However, at fourteen, with eighteen months street-living experience, Darren must have sustained himself and gone unnoticed by 'bureaucrats' since he was twelve or thirteen, less of a 'drift' and more of a strong swim against the tide. In English law Darren was a minor, a runaway child. Those film and documentary makers not only 'don't find him somewhere to live,' they could not legally do so without the permission of his parent/guardian. Someone must 'be responsible' for him. As a child he could not hold a contract and therefore could not secure work or accommodation in his own right. If he was estranged from his family, social services have a duty to intervene and keep him *in loco parentis* or find someone else to do so. Those were his legal options. At his age, if the police found him they would send him to a social worker or take him home. If he was resistant 'to both these settings' and wished to avoid them, he had to be careful about being spotted because: 'If you are under sixteen and homeless all of these places [housing departments and so on] are obliged to tell social services about you' (Madden, 1990: 9). Begging made him visible and vulnerable to the authorities. Those 'numerous' media appearances were risky as was being photographed for Tyler's article by photographer Brian Moody - a photograph later reproduced on the cover of Susan Hutson's and Mark Liddiard's (1994) book on youth homelessness.

'A place to live' may have been all that Darren wanted, but because of his age and dependency someone was required to act *in loco parentis*, a role which, if it had

been abused, Darren may have associated more with authority and danger than help and safety. If the police had found Darren they would have had to contact an 'appropriate adult' (see Thomas, 1995). Because he was a minor, this person would have had to be present when Darren was questioned about his circumstances. Law enforcement required establishing whether Darren had committed any offences and who should be responsible for him so that he might be returned to 'care' [now termed 'looked after'] or 'home.' An 'appropriate adult' is usually the parent of the child or a social worker. As he went through the system, Darren was unlikely to have the opportunity to talk to an independent advocate (though a few youth and community workers and specialised agencies, like the Children's Society were taking some steps to fill this gap at the time). If the police had asked why he had run away, this was likely to have been in front of a person who may have represented the problem for Darren. Runaways were, and are, often returned to situations from which they fled without any serious investigation of the reasons for running. Clichés that they are running like moths towards the bright lights of the city or for adventure, work against a serious consideration of what children run from and hope to find. If Darren had continued to abscond he would have been classified as a 'persistent offender'.

Social Insecurity

As a child, Darren's rightful legal status was one of dependency on his family, or if that failed, on the state. Following Beveridge, the British social security system was designed around the model of an homogeneous family unit, fuelled by the work ethic. Such a unit, based on a breadwinner model, comprised a working man and his dependants. Changing welfare policy inevitably meant debating the merits of this unit and inescapable in the discourse surrounding change were appeals to notions of traditional family, national unity and British culture (Williams, 1989). During the 1980s, as part of its shift towards a residual or liberal model welfare state, and in the name of simplification, the New Right Conservative administration introduced complicated and contradictory changes to entitlement to social security benefits for young people. As part of making these acceptable, government discourse painted a significantly ambiguous picture of young people's status as adults or children (Harris, 1989). This ambiguity found its way into the discussion of Little Beggars.

Darren was indeed exceptionally young for a late 1980s Little Beggar. Tyler described sixteen as the 'traditional age of independence', but it is not clear to what tradition this refers: possibly the school leaving age, which was raised to fifteen in 1947 and has been sixteen in England since 1971 (Glennerster, 1995: 135). The legal age of majority with its connotations of 'key of the door', was reduced from twenty-one to eighteen in the 1960s. Under-sixteens are still clearly minors. Their keys, doors

and selves are the property and responsibility of others. Sixteen to eighteens are also minors, but the law is full of odd contradictions in the twilight zone between childhood and adulthood, especially when it comes to sexual behaviour, work and social security benefits (Children's Legal Centre, 1996). Perhaps Tyler's 'tradition' was the 'trend' identified by the 1988 Social Security Advisory Committee:

All benefit systems are built around assumptions about living patterns in society - assumptions about the borderline between childhood and independence or the responsibilities of parents for their children or the importance of work. In the case of young people there is perhaps a greater diversity of opinion about 'acceptable' living patterns... But in recent years the trend towards greater independence of thought and attitude among young people has been accomplished by an acceptance that from the age of sixteen they should be expected to exercise some control over their own resources (quoted in Young Homelessness Group, 1988: 19-20).

Cultural preoccupations about young people are neither constant nor necessarily coherent. They shift like most things in relation to social, political and economic changes, as do actual definitions of childhood and 'youth' (see Christine Griffin, 1993; Michel Mitterauer, 1992). Mrs. Thatcher's dream that unemployment should not be an option for the young was being enacted throughout the 1980s in a series of disincentives that placed additional financial burdens on already poor families. As Britain followed the American model of welfare reform/withdrawal it produced a parallel exponential rise in street homelessness (Blau, 1992). After the implementation of the 1986 Social Security Act in 1988, which introduced age based reductions in benefits for all under-twenty fives and included the removal of general entitlement from sixteen to eighteen year olds, homelessness and begging amongst sixteen to twenty five year olds dramatically increased. Sixteen to eighteen year olds were particularly badly affected (see *Youth and Policy*, 1998: No 59.)

Before the resurgence of youth homelessness in the late 1980s, there had been few *Little Beggars* visible on modern British streets. The term 'street children' had been associated with the 'other'. It suggested 'developing' countries like Brazil and India or an earlier British industrial 'past'. Carolyn Steedman (1995) suggests that in Britain the 'street child' was a new category of child, 'who emerged to be written about and legislated for from the 1830s onwards' and that this 'was an understanding largely confined to the metropolis' (p113). The 'street child', 'youth' and 'the homeless' are constructed categories with culturally and historically specific meanings. Such categories can seem fixed when taken for granted and even imbued with transhistorical 'truth': 'For ye have the poor always with you' (Matthew 26:11).

Tyler's Darren was under-sixteen and as such would usually be described as a 'runaway'. Such children were particularly vulnerable because they could not legally 'control their own resources', but what of the rest of the *Little Beggars*? Tyler asked Nick Hardwick from the London project Centrepoint to explain the rise in numbers of young people begging, those 'dozens of cupped-hand youths now haunting the Tube.' Hardwick's answers did not address the presence of Darren but that of most of these other young people that Tyler and we at Shades saw on the streets at that time:

Following the April [1988] social security cuts, it seems there is now no legal income for the majority of 16- and 17-year-olds who are not in work or on YTS schemes...the other factor being the increasing rarity of cheap accommodation.

As semi-skilled and unskilled work opportunities dried up in post-industrialised countries, young people underwent lengthier periods of education and so protracted periods of 'adolescence' (Brannen and Nilsen, 2002: 515; Furlong and Cartmel 1997; Irwin 1995; Rogers, 1997). Reduced or removed benefits implicitly forced young people to remain dependent on their families for accommodation and to supplement their income (Dean and Taylor-Gooby, 1992:97; Young Homelessness Group, 1988: 20). At the same time, the financial burden on already hard pressed families of supporting young people through a protracted dependency created considerable pressure on some young people to leave home. Once they left, reduced or removed benefits made unemployed young people particularly unattractive tenants. The 'right to buy' under the 1980 Housing Act was causing a reduction in available social housing. The 1988 Housing Act removed protected tenancies and introduced market rents. These were higher than controlled rents so Housing Benefit rates, which were already reduced for young people, were being capped to prevent the burden of extra rent costs falling on local authorities.

The introduction of the controversial Poll Tax in 1990 compounded the difficult situation facing young people. The flat rate Poll Tax hit the poorest hardest and disadvantaged large families but was supposedly 'fair' because it targeted each and every individual. Flat rate benefit payments like Child Benefit had been criticised by New Right politicians for not reaching those most in need, but it was somehow 'fair' that flat rate bills reached everybody. This formed a familiar part of a contradictory capitalist discourse that insists on the need for disincentives for the poor and incentives for the rich (see Deacon and Bradshaw, 1983).

The discourse of poverty in the 1980s continually emphasised the danger of state dependency and the desirability of self-sufficiency. The liberal mode of government of

poverty advocated the minimising of state intervention and maximisation of individual autonomy through a series of preventative measures. As Mitchell Dean (1991) pointed out, that often meant much greater intervention into the lives of the poor:

> *The quest for prevention, nevertheless, calls forth not only the quasi-private monitoring of the poor by philanthropy but, more importantly, the massive extension of those means of state administration which bear upon the lives of the poor…Liberal government does not simply withdraw from poor relief to give free reign to the natural laws of domestic and individual life…but specifies and promotes a specific, patriarchal conduct of life by a multiplicity of means (p210).*

Those unemployed young people who did claim benefits were subject to increasing disincentives and surveillance. What Dean ironically calls the 'natural laws' determining the free market and domestic and individual life were not 'natural' at all but the product of specific interventions.

Melodrama and Philanthropy

Tyler's Darren was presented though recognisable cultural images of the homeless child. He came mixed up with bits of the Artful Dodger and Oliver Twist. 'As an example of despair and ruin, Darren is well advanced for a 14 year old.' A solitary figure adrift in a sea of potential vice, Darren soon found himself reinforcing the images he was employed to challenge:

> *If he [Darren] was wrong about what London was paved with, he says we have the wrong melodramatic notions about the scene he inhabits. It is not a case of round-the-clock close shaves and dramas. There is little street corner camaraderie. In fact it is not even a 'scene' at all, but largely solitary figures drifting from pavement to arcade, from day centre to soup run.*

The seemingly solitary Darren is a 'type' with range. He was used to convey the full spectrum of melodramatic human emotion from humour to pathos: 'Hee, hee' to 'teenage beggars, like Darren, slouched in sleeping bags in the tunnels of London's West End Tube stations, hands cupped, heads bowed.'

Despite lingering traces of Dickens, Tyler constructed 'we' as blissfully unaware of the fine British tradition of begging children: '[a]nd we used to think that it could never happen here, but that if it did we would never get used to it.' However, there is a long tradition of impoverished children and efforts at child protection in this country. Social explorers and welfare workers have long been boasting about their philanthropic interventions to help the Darrens of England. This statement is from Thomas Ackroyd secretary of Manchester Refuges, *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, 16 February, 1914:

I may say that I could not now take you to a single place in Manchester and Salford where a child can be found sleeping out, and speaking with a wide experience of other centres, I can say emphatically that there is no city approaching the size of Manchester where there are fewer ragged and destitute children. It is now a rare sight to discover anything approaching the old type of street Arab. This I attribute very largely to the splendid philanthropic agencies which have been at work in our midst for many years (quoted in Cockburn, 1995: 30).

Tom Cockburn (1995: 30) qualified Ackroyd's claims thus: 'Ackroyd's belief in the success of philanthropic endeavour is perhaps overstated. A combination of developments in educational and welfare services, a falling birth and infant mortality rate together with determined efforts by the Manchester Corporation to prohibit street trading seems as important as any philanthropic effort'.

While cutting spending on public educational, health and welfare services, the Thatcherite Government was also attempting to resurrect the 'Victorian value' of individual philanthropy. Young people's entitlements to State assistance were being removed or reduced, and as a result workers at Shades City Centre Project Ltd. were forced to spend more time making applications to charities on behalf of individuals. Meanwhile, in the competition for government funding, voluntary organisations like ours with a mission to tackle poverty were finding it more financially beneficial to temper permissive discourses of social justice with those that carried echoed of the Victorian Mendicity Societies. Robert Humphreys (1999: 4) described these as societies that were 'formed in London and in provincial towns to repress the malignant mendicity [of the residuum] by investigating personal circumstances and infusing Smiles' principles of "Self-Help" by the with-holding of "promiscuous charity"'.

Street Arabs, 'Wild' Consumers and the Suffering Child
In 1980s Britain, the age of economic dependency on families was rising because of high unemployment in the lower class echelons. A strangely idealised childhood dependency on an increasingly isolationist family was encouraged in law. State dependency, on the other hand was thoroughly condemned and presented as the last resort of the failed consumer. A young person who found him or herself out in the Christmas cold had only the threadbare remains of a shrunken safety net to keep them warm. Nevertheless young people over eighteen had access to *some* resources outside the family, however diminished and stigmatised. Few were faced with the cool world of complete independence that was Darren's if he refused to return to the place he felt he had to leave, or to take up the offer of fully stigmatised state 'care' and 'protection' (see the work of the National Association of Young People In Care on the stigma attached to 'care'). Ironically, if Darren did go into 'care',

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his chances of being homeless when that duty to 'care' was finished were hugely increased (Van Der Ploeg and Scholte, 1997; Burrows, Pleace and Quilgars, 1997).

Darren's potential wildness was muted in Tyler's article and in the 'boom' economy by his pathetic exclusion from the wealthy, glamorous world of successful consumerist 'wild child' Emma Ridley. While both briefly inhabited the transient world of celebrity, her 'wildness' signified sexy affluent rebellion and his an uncomfortably authentic powerlessness and failure. Darren was nevertheless becoming a [re-]new[ed] commodity. He provided material for marketable shock horror homelessness stories.

Tyler's portrayal of Darren owed something to the depictions of Ackroyd's 'old type of street Arab'. Lindsay Smith (1998) traced the origins of this term:

> The by no means inconsequential coinage of the term 'street Arab' in Thomas Guthrie's 'First Plea for Ragged Schools,' first published in pamphlet form in Edinburgh in 1847, makes the correlation between the child and the bestial other, between city and desert: 'These Arabs of the city are wild as those of the desert, and must be broken into three habits, - those of discipline, learning and industry, not to speak of cleanliness...' (Smith, 1998: 112).

The 'street Arab' discourse applied a racialised regime of representation to the domestic poor. Said has written on the Western cultural tradition of Orientalism using a Foucauldian framework (Said, 1978). Like the Orient, 'The Arab' was constructed in opposition to the West as another surrogate or underground self. The fascination with the racialised other was tied up with the projection of parts of the West (the Occident), which the West sought to externalise. The Orient therefore became a site of cruelty, sensuality, decadence and laziness that was at once fascinating, frightening and exotic. The actions of the 'other' were presumed to be determined by their imposed racialisation; 'they do that because they are black' or 'it's their culture', rather than for any individually attributed set of reasons. 'They' were constructed as a homogeneous, anonymous mass in opposition to individualised Westerners. 'Their' actions were unpredictable because 'they' were supposedly not rational but determined by primitive and instinctive emotions.

Like many of the young people Shades City Centre Project brokered for journalists, Darren could be read as a 'wild' and familiar 'other' while also being disciplined, sanitised and boiled down into a residue trans-historical homeless character to become, 'a [sympathetic if not always trustworthy] knowable other interposed between self and absolute other' (Smith, 1998: 113).

The bum celebrity of homeless children like Darren helped to refine our romantic sensibility of the plight of the suffering child. As Carloyn Steedman (1995: 10) says:

'[S]ensibility' ...draws attention to the historical development of lexes of feeling, the social structuring of ways of thinking, and the bringing of feeling and response into the realm of cognition, in particular societies at particular points in time...Romantic writing in general, and in Britain the moment of thought expressed by the Wordworthian 'Romantic Child', located individuals in time and chronology by possession of their own personal past...The child within was always both immanent-ready to be drawn on in various ways - and, at the same time, always representative of a lost realm, lost in the individual past, and in the past of the culture.

The suffering child is an emotionally loaded cultural means of telling us something more about ourselves. There is a familiar Romantic tension in Tyler's depiction of Darren. He is sometimes lost from the 1980s present as a harsh Dickensian past breaks through:

Though he is a small boy who could pass for 12, there are already worry lines etched below his eyes. His voice has an appealing tone and when he is sober he is tender, clever and a masterful breakdancer...Darren walks about town on blistered feet and his one set of filthy clothes.

What kind of man would this boy make? Darren was rendered down into a ghastly, hollow cheeked, fragile but nevertheless slightly suspicious thing. He had the energy and lack of control of a 'wild child' and the guise of an innocent. His 'wildness' was not of the calibre of the truly wild child endlessly pursued to define the pre-cultural 'natural' order of things. Tyler told us that when Darren was 'unsure of himself or drunk – "I need a little drink just to carry on the day" – he could be verbally and physically savage.' In fact he had kicked a man's nose to pulp and been charged with malicious wounding, 'under a name and birthdate he had invented to conceal his youth.' Darren's innocence was tempered by an unpredictable beggarly status and gilded with low class Northern craftiness:

For Mancunian Darren, 'middle-class people are the best, the ones who've just got a cosy house with a few kids. But all those yuppies, you know what I mean, with briefcases, they look at you like you're a piece of dog dirt'... [h]e admits though, he does not have 'the guts' to beg successfully.

Through it all, Darren's vulnerability was his redeeming feature (see Holland, 1992). As night fell at 'the Embankment [which had] been made too dangerous by the wild drunks and visibly yobbo gangs,' Darren became a potential victim. No longer a 'wild drunk' or a 'visible yobbo' himself, 'the world gets its revenge on Darren. Nights are the worst, for that is when depression hits, especially as he crawls into a doorway by himself.' There he would be alone.

Mystification

The 'street Arab's' appeal for aid is an appeal to the progressive competence of Western civilisation (Pearson, 1983). Darren was nevertheless a product of a post/modernity that had evidently failed him. Despite some concrete anchors that firmly located him in the 1980s present, Darren somehow managed to drift back through time and space. Maybe the mysterious misery-mongering miasma, which continues to spontaneously generate famine among black children abroad came home to claim him. Beware as it slips in through the back door and causes our children to drift away. The return of the miasma to England in the 1980s provoked many earnestly confused debates as we searched through the fog to find blame. Maybe it was the fault of those parents who are just too careless about leaving their doors open? Maybe someone had done a bad thing and brought the miasma upon us?

> *We used to look at footage of the Bowery bums of New York, watch the city's sober classes lift a leg over their crumpled bodies* en route *to Broadway a few blocks away. And we used to think that it could never happen here, but that if it did we would never get used to it. In this past year, however, we have become as accustomed as New Yorkers to the hard stuff: teenage beggars, like Darren, slouched in sleeping bags in the tunnels of London's West End Tube stations, hands cupped, heads bowed* (Tyler, 1988).

Darren was usefully employed to represent the 'hard stuff' of youth homelessness. He and I unwittingly played our part in what Zygmunt Bauman (1998: 78) calls the 'carnival of charity.' This carnival provides:

> *...massive but as a rule short-lived explosions of pent-up moral feelings triggered by lurid sights of particularly hideous sufferings and particularly devastating misery. As all carnivals, however, are meant to obliquely reinforce, not to undermine, the rules of quotidianity, the spectacles of mass charity render day-to day equanimity and moral indifference more bearable; in the end, they fortify the beliefs which justify the ethical exile of the poor.*

Images of foreign absolute poverty seem to provide the most unproblematic unleashing of acceptable outrage. Deprived of 'our' development and prey to natural disasters 'their' plight produces wonderfully tragic pictures. Meanwhile, the Christmas appearances of the domestic homeless remind the home market that this is where charity begins. The domestic homeless provided grim reminders of the consequences of consumer failure whilst placing a reassuring distance between 'us' and 'them'. Charity continues to flourish as long as it does not impede the principle that the rational rules of free trade competitiveness and productivity are the only really useful intervention into poverty.

Unemployment and homelessness require some explanation but the classic 'moral panic' response where, 'a condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values or interests' (Cohen, 1972: 28) to the 'crisis' of youth homelessness in the late 1980s served to create and feed a desire for constant surveillance of those constructed as potential victims and/or potentially dangerous by virtue of their poverty. Coverage invited us to examine our own consciences, compare ourselves with 'them' and, from within these ever-expanding circles of self-reference, to pluck solutions. It provided little of the legislative information that might help explain how housing and homelessness problems were produced.

Not Counting

Despite his underground urban slouching, bowing, cupping, and general services to the poverty story machine, it was an open secret that Darren wasn't 'really' homeless at all. He had nowhere to live, no money and could be labelled 'vagrant' but that did not make him legally homeless. Only those *accepted* as homeless by local authority housing departments are counted in the 'official' homelessness statistics. Accepting people as homeless and in priority need imposes financial liability and an unattractive poverty profile on a local authority:

> The legislation lays down restrictive categories of person who are entitled to accommodation or assistance. The approach of the courts in interpreting this legislation has been to make those categories even narrower than literal readings of the statute would suggest. The issue becomes difficult for over-stretched local authorities who are working with limited resources. The attitude of the legal system to the homeless appears to be founded in a long tradition of considering the homeless to be an inherently troublesome and marginal class of people (Hudson, 1997: 4-5).

We at Shades City Centre Project, in keeping with campaign groups working on behalf of single homeless people like CHAR (the campaign for single homeless people) and Shelter, used the term 'homeless' liberally to describe a continuum of housing situations from 'roofless' rough sleeping to 'housed' but in intolerable living conditions (see Hutson and Liddiard, 1994: 10 and 28). From 1985, until it was replaced by part VII of the Housing Act 1996, (effective January 1997) and now the Homelessness Act 2002, the legislation which laid down the criteria that defined someone as officially homeless was Part III of the 1985 Housing Act [previously 1977 Housing (Homeless Persons) Act].

As a campaign tool Shelter provided some examples of those falling outside the 1977 Act's definition of 'priority need' and so deemed by implication 'undeserving': families with children over sixteen years; battered women without children or with

offspring over sixteen years; childless couples; those under retirement age who had a handicap [sic] or disability which legally was considered insufficient to render them vulnerable; young people aged sixteen to eighteen years (including those coming out of care), and anyone else under official retirement age (Humphreys, 1999: 154).

From 1988 along with the sharp rise in visible street homelessness, 'official' homelessness also accelerated partly due to an unprecedented increase in mortgage repossessions. As Alastair Hudson (1997: 3) notes, the law on homelessness is partly about the single homeless, '[h]owever, it is more generally concerned with the...households accepted as homeless by local authorities ...[t]he tens of thousands of families living in uninhabitable accommodation'. Those who did or could not present themselves to the local authority as homeless were not 'counted' as such. Ironically, although images of street homelessness had the power to signify the authenticity of 'genuine' homelessness-as-rooflessness, these images bore no relation to the official homelessness statistics. This is still the case.

Most able-bodied childless people do not qualify as in priority need under the existing legislation. The resulting Department of the Environment official figures only record the number of officially accepted homeless *households* and not individuals. Very few homeless young single people have been included in the official homelessness statistics, with the exception of pregnant women and, when it comes to welfare, young 'lone' motherhood continues to be associated with irresponsibility and destructive dependency (see Carabine's 2001 genealogy of unmarried motherhood). It is evident then that the sufferings of the non-pregnant young and the media currency of visible street homelessness, while generating some sympathy, carried little actual purchasing power when it came to accessing scarce housing resources.

The Department of the Environment's Rough Sleeper's Initiative in the early 1990s focused attention on the most visible manifestations of homelessness equating it with rough sleeping and therefore, despite the statutory definition, associating homelessness with single people and so smaller numbers. Public outrage at another familiar received image, the queue-jumping pregnant teenager, helped pave the way for Sir George Young's later legislation (part VII of the Housing Act 1996) which stopped the officially homeless from gaining priority access to permanent re-housing by local authorities. In a classic welfare rationing move, the Housing Act 1996 dealt with the material problem of finding permanent accommodation by imposing a two year time limit on the 'duty' to re-house homeless families. The Homelessness Act 2002 allows local authorities the scope to provide ongoing settled accommodation for homeless families.

Tyler presented Darren's case as if it was typical and representative of other, predominantly sixteen and seventeen year old *Little Beggars* when it clearly was not. His situation lay outside the scope of the legislation described above. Although, like most of sixteen and seventeen year olds, Darren did not count as homeless, if he had made himself known to the authorities he would have been offered help because, unlike most of the other *Little Beggars*, as an under sixteen-year old he was considered vulnerable by virtue of his age. Because he was a child, social services had a duty to ensure he had shelter, food and clothing. Local authorities had (and have) no such duties towards able-bodied people over eighteen unless they are pregnant or have children of their own. In order to seek some assistance, many homeless sixteen to eighteen year olds have found themselves having to negotiate a maze of housing offices, social services departments, education and employment services.

The Homelessness Act 2002 now requires local authorities to provide strategies to prevent and respond to homelessness and stresses the need for co-operation between departments. This implies a tacit acknowledgement of the extent to which homeless people have had to negotiate a complicated and frustrating bureaucratic system that acts as a covert method of welfare rationing. There is as yet no clear indication of whether extra capital and revenue will be provided for local authorities to fully implement the new provisions enabled under the new Act including the possible extension of priority need to sixteen and seventeen year olds and to care leavers aged eighteen to twenty one (Fotherington, 2001).

Strategies

The fact remains that most of the people affected by homelessness legislation were and are not visible on the streets. No matter that many of the young people I worked with at Shades were ensconced in grubby bed and breakfast hotels and purpose-built local authority hostels, street-homelessness was always the aspect of the project that provoked the most interest. The stark dramatics of street homelessness provided a distraction from the more mundane but crucial policy issues that perpetuated poverty and reduced the available amount of habitable affordable accommodation. Although local authorities had no legal duty to help the single homeless beyond giving out a photocopied list of bed and breakfast hotels, thankfully some, including Manchester interpreted the law in generous ways and came up with the kinds of 'strategies' advocated in The Homelessness Act 2002.

Manchester City Council adopted a 'Singles Person's Strategy' in the 1980s to meet the needs of single homeless people and in response to CHAR's Hostel Replacement Campaign, which called on local authorities to take action to close down bad hostels and replace them with more appropriate accommodation: 'Manchester Housing will attempt to help all *single* homeless people who have a

local connection, regardless of whether or not they are in priority need.' Victorian style institutions were closed and replaced with two Direct Access hostels open 24 hours a day. These became the access point for council rehousing and resettlement support. However, the limited number of rooms (34 in each) meant that most single homeless people were still being referred to expensive and often low quality bed and breakfast accommodation.

Hostel-rebuilding programmes are expensive and have been hampered by Central Government cuts and opposition from local residents. For example 10 temporary houses were planned for young people in Manchester in the 1980s and only 5 were built. Residents groups protested that the hostels would attract 'undesirables' and 'social misfits' to their areas (King, 1986). Problems continued after the hostels were built:

> *Homeless youngsters are being offered the chance to 'live it up' at the expense of the city's ratepayers, claims an angry Tory Councillor. Northenden's Anne Carroll is up in arms over furnishing costs at four new hostels for the homeless... 'There are people in my ward over pension age who have spent their lives scrimping together enough money to get a home together. Yet the City Council is prepared to squander money so young people who aren't interested in getting a job can live the life of Riley'* (Press, 1989).

While strategies to assist young people in housing crisis were undermined by discourses associating homeless people with scrounging and criminality, the 'Right to Buy' continued to reduce the amount of quality housing stock available for permanent re-housing. Central Government regulations meant that only a tiny proportion of money from council house sales could be spent on rebuilding. Rosemary Mellor (1995: 4) notes that in Manchester, '[c]uts in the rate support grant and allocation for housing investment from 1979-89 had deprived the City Council of £1500m (at 1989 prices)'. Homeless people faced long waits in temporary accommodation. When available, families with children were offered the better quality housing of what was left, leaving increasingly 'hard-to-let' stock for single homeless people. The decline in the availability of affordable social housing continues.

Law and Order

Although annual appeals to help the homeless continue to appear each Christmas, youth homelessness is no longer the shocking flavour of the month social issue that it was for periods during the 1980s and 1990s. In recent polls, the most prominent public concerns have been health, education, the foot and mouth disease epidemic and law and order. While housing specialists continue to be concerned about homelessness and social housing, these have not been significant election issues

for the mass media recently (Paris and Muir, 2002). There was little general news coverage of the Homelessness Act 2002, the most significant new legislation affecting homeless people since the Housing Act 1996. The domestic threat posed by the criminality of the 'wild' or more recently, 'feral' child in impoverished areas of social housing is a much more familiar sight on the British media now than any other 'youth' poverty related drama (The Guardian 4th May 2002: 6).

By the early 1990s, as young homeless people became a more familiar sight on the streets of Britain, there was less sympathetic coverage of their plight and more concern about lawlessness, 'aggressive' begging and the negative effects of their visible poverty on tourism. In my time as a worker with the homeless, I was increasingly distressed by the part I found myself playing in the growing trend of associating welfare recipients with criminal behaviour. As Bauman (1998: 93) observes:

> *The media cheerfully co-operate ...in presenting to the sensation-greedy public lurid pictures of the crime-, drug-, and sexual promiscuity-infested 'criminal elements' who find their shelter in the darkness of mean streets. And so the point is made that the question of poverty is, first and foremost, perhaps solely, the question of law and order, and one should respond to it in the way one responds to other kinds of lawbreaking.*

It could be said that the trend for surveillance and 'reality' TV visited the homeless before it went mainstream. This growing trend coincided with the development of an 'underclass' discourse, a term used for many years to describe marginalised minorities in western societies. Gunnar Myrdal first used 'underclass' in 1963 to describe the victims of the social exclusion that comes as a consequence of de-industrialisation (Bauman, 1998: 68). More recently it has been deployed, with a 'pejorative slant by a group of social theorists serving a different political agenda' (Humphreys, 1999: 163; MacDonald, 1998). In the late 1980s and into the 1990s Charles Murray (1990: 17) argued that the underclass is a product of growing unemployment and increased illegitimacy (particularly single parenthood) combined with a culture of criminality: 'The habitual criminal is the classic member of the underclass. He lives off mainstream society without participating in it'. Murray used metaphors of 'plague' and 'disease' to argue that the underclass will continue to grow because there is a generation of children being brought up in its values. Whereas, in the United States of America he associated the underclass with a construction of 'the black welfare mother', his British work focused on social class v. He claimed, 'the difference between the United States and Britain was that the United States reached the future first' (1990: 2).

The so-called underclass is a dramatic class not comprised of acceptably passive victims of circumstances but active, deviant and anti-social agents. With the

exception of selling *The Big Issue,* efforts at becoming enterprising in the 'black economy' tend to be read as confirmation of criminality not initiative. As Bauman (1998: 71) says, 'against the background of the uniformly ugly and repulsive landscape of the underclass, the "merely poor" shine as temporarily unlucky but essentially decent people who – unlike the underclassers – will make all the right choices and make their way back into the accepted boundaries of society'. Familiar to the point of stereotype, sympathetic images of absolute poverty devoid of cultural and historical context provide a contrasting backdrop for images of the criminalized poor who form part of the now familiar discourse of the 'underclass'.

Darren Returns

The Square was humming with life: bright lights, music, and people, people, people. I was surprised at how many of them I recognised. All the young homeless, so it seemed were there.

Little Darren, an obnoxious little creature who is only fourteen was there, drunk and annoying... (Beauchamp, 1989: 62).

Could the journalist Michelle Beauchamp (1989) have come across the very same Darren, star of Tyler's article? It is not possible to tell because in providing what she claimed was, 'a true account of the lives of some of the young homeless on the streets of London,' Beauchamp changed some names and places, 'to protect the innocent' (1989: 4). She did not make clear which characters were 'guilty' and which were 'innocent,' what they might be guilty or innocent of, whether the protection of innocence was her idea or her subjects' and who was named on this basis and why. 'Little Darren' only appears in one scene before Beauchamp heard that, '[his] mother had come down to the Square to find him and take him back home. He had protested loudly, but apparently in the end, he went' (1989: 70). It is hard to sympathise with the protests of a drunk, annoying, and 'obnoxious little creature' at being taken 'home,' whatever that might have meant for Darren.

Conclusions

It would be cynical to suggest that some journalists exploit young working class people by translating their lives into sensationalist stories to sell copy, and stupid not to realise that this, of course, is exactly what does happen. There is, needless to say, an audience for sensationalist stories. The discursive production of poverty is something in which we are all complicit, including those of us who seek to work against it. The mundanity of poverty is much less interesting than dramatic narratives of transgression and survival against the odds. Darren was eminently exploitable for his power to signify pathetic wildness and authentic, absolute poverty. However, for all his runaway street Arab appeal and bum celebrity and, 'with [him] being involved in numerous films and documentaries', it was difficult to focus attention on his core problem, 'what's getting me, like, is if they're all so bothered, why

don't they find me somewhere to live?' A stigmatising 'care' system, lack of access to material resources caused by cuts in benefits, reduced social housing and limited employment opportunities helped some young people into homelessness. Some even became *Little Beggars* for a time. During the boom in youth homelessness at the end of the twentieth century, deviating from a Dickensian sympathetic waif stereotype compromised the chances of a well turned out, healthy young homeless person securing help and sympathy. There is a fine but important line between Oliver Twist and the Artful Dodger. Off 'the street,' away from the clichés of begging, 'sleeping bags ... Tube stations, hands cupped, heads bowed', the young homeless became hard to distinguish from 'normal' young people and that apparently made it harder to sympathise with their plight.

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CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE
WHO HAVE SEXUALLY ABUSED:
Issues of Policy and Service Delivery

HELEN MASSON

This article arises out of the author's research over the last eight years into policy and practice developments in the UK in relation to children and young people who have sexually abused. In addition, the article draws on the author's recent consultative role to a multi-agency working party set up by a northern-based Area Child Protection Committee (ACPC) which had been charged with the task of developing a plan for a county-wide service for this user group.

The aims of the article are threefold. After a brief introduction to the factors that initially led to the emergence of professional concerns about this group, the article provides, firstly, a summary of the characteristics of children and young people who have sexually abused and current thinking about key issues in relation to them. Secondly, the reader is offered an historical outline and critical analysis of policy, legal and organisational developments in England and Wales in relation to children and young people who have sexually abused since the early 1990s. As will become apparent, the arrangements that provide the context to work with this group of service users have been and continue to be complex and poorly integrated. The article finally focuses on what issues and considerations can usefully be addressed when planning to develop a service that is likely to meet the various needs of children and young people who have sexually abused.

The Emergence of the Problem of Children
and Young People who have Sexually Abused

The problem of children and young people who have sexually abused was 'discovered' in the early 1990s in the UK, in response to a range of factors. Firstly, research and practice literature from the USA (see, for example, Ryan and Lane, 1991) were increasing professional awareness of the problem in the UK. In the USA, attention to young sexual abusers had increased, partly as a result of concerns about the ineffectiveness of treatment with adult sex offenders (paedophiles in particular) and a feeling that 'we have to get these guys sooner' (Ryan and Lane, 1991:18). Similarly, the increased focus in the UK on adult perpetrators of sexual abuse, from the mid 1980s onwards, probably created a climate of professional and public sensitivity within which other 'discoveries' about the phenomenon of child sexual abuse were more likely to occur (Corby, 2000).

Secondly, criminal statistics in England and Wales and incidence and prevalence studies (e.g. Finkelhor 1979; Fromuth et al 1991; Abel et al 1987) were indicating

that a significant proportion, between one third and a half, of all sexual abuse was being perpetrated by children and young people under the age of 18. Thirdly, managers were picking up the concerns of front line staff in field and residential work, in both statutory and voluntary settings, who were struggling to manage and develop adequate responses to young sexual abusers in their care (NCH, 1992). Finally, the efforts of a small number of well placed organisations and of certain key individuals to raise awareness of the problem and put it on the agendas of government and other welfare agencies began to bear fruit. These organisations included NOTA (the National Organisation for the Treatment of Abusers), which was originally established as a support and training organisation for professionals working with adult sex offenders, and various voluntary sector children's organisations, notably the National Children's Home (NCH). Tom White, then Director of NCH, set up a Committee of Enquiry into children and young people who sexually abuse whose report, published in 1992, is still seen as a benchmark against which subsequent developments can be measured.

Characteristics of Children and Young People
who have Sexually Abused and Current Thinking

As criminal statistics over the last decade (see, for example, Home Office, 2001) seem to suggest, children and young people who have sexually abused are predominantly males, in their middle to late teenage years. They will, therefore, be the main focus of this section of the article, although some data is presented from studies on female adolescents who have sexually abused. It is worth noting, also, for the interested reader, that there is a slowly increasing literature on young children (10 years and under) who display sexually harmful behaviour (Johnson, 1988, 1989 and 1993; Butler and Elliott, 1999; Rasmussen, 2002). It is important to acknowledge, too, that, at present, there is only a very limited literature which highlights the particular issues related to young sexual abusers from black and minority ethnic communities (Abassi and Jamal, 2002), to young sexual abusers who are homosexual (Hackett, 2000) or to working with young people with learning difficulties who have sexually abused (Stermac and Sheridan, 1993; O'Callaghan, 2001). The following summaries should, therefore, be read with these limitations in mind.

Male Adolescent Sexual Abusers

There are an increasing number of studies, both in North America and the UK, which help to build up a picture of the characteristics of male adolescents who have sexually abused. These include a study of 305 offenders aged 18 years or younger by Fehrenbach et al (1986), a study of 161 young sex offenders aged under 19 years by Wasserman and Kappel (1985), studies of 24 and 29 young child molesters aged under 16 years by Awad et al (1984) and Awad and Saunders

(1989) respectively, a British study conducted by Manocha and Mezey (1998) of 51 adolescents, aged between 13 and 18 years and a database of over 1,600 adolescent sex offenders in North America which has been compiled by the National Adolescent Perpetrator Network (Ryan et al, 1996).

Based on such studies, it is argued in texts overviewing the terrain (see, for example, Barbaree et al, 1993; Morrison and Print, 1995; Ryan and Lane, 1997; Grubin, 1998) that a generalised picture of male adolescent sexual abusers can be developed. Youthful male sexual abusers are typically portrayed as having a number of social skills deficits, often being described as socially isolated, lacking dating skills and sexual knowledge, and experiencing high levels of social anxiety. Not surprisingly, this reported lack of social competence is seen as often resulting in low self-esteem and emotional loneliness, although some commentators point out that low self-esteem may be a consequence of contemporary events, for example, being apprehended and punished. For others, however, such characteristics may be problems which are long-standing and chronic. Thus Marshall (1989) has suggested that problems of early emotional attachment contribute to a failure to establish intimate relationships in later life and subsequent low self-esteem and emotional loneliness.

Young male sexual abusers, it is asserted, may well be doing poorly at school both in terms of behaviour and educational attainment (see, for example, a study by Kahn and Chambers (1991) of 221 adolescent sex offenders) and, as in studies of adult male sexual offenders, relatively high proportions of them (between 25 per cent and 60 per cent, depending on the study cited) report having been victims of sexual abuse themselves (Bentovim and Williams, 1998; Hackett, 2002). A number of studies, therefore, also suggest that the families of such youngsters may have a number of difficulties in terms of their stability and intra-familial dynamics (Ryan and Lane, 1997).

Despite the fact that most research into young sexual abusers has focused on adolescent males there are many characteristics of this proportion of the population of young sexual abusers which warrant further study. Existing empirical studies are often flawed in that they do not adequately compare adolescent sexual abusers with either non-abusing adolescents or with, for example, violent and non-violent delinquents. In the case of those that do, the results are not clear cut, some studies suggesting that many of the characteristics just described are also common in the backgrounds of other violent and non-violent juvenile delinquents (see, for example, Bischof et al, 1995; Ryan, 1999) whereas other studies suggest some significant differences (see, for comparison, Ford and Linney, 1995; Katz, 1990). As Barbaree et al (1993) comment:

In all likelihood, the population of juvenile sex offenders is every bit as heterogeneous as the population of adult sex offenders.
(Barbaree et al, 1993: 16)

Female Adolescent Sexual Abusers
In their overview of female youth who have sexually abused, Lane with Lobanov-Rostovsky (1997) comment on the very disturbed backgrounds of the young female abusers with whom they have worked, noting high levels of both sexual and physical victimisation, problematic relationships with parents, family separation, problems at school and with peers in particular. However, they also comment:

Many of the developmental experiences are similar to those identified in the history of male youth, although they may be experienced differently by female youth based on gender, socialisation and role expectations
(Lane with Lobanov-Rostovsky, 1997: 348)

They and others (see, for example, Blues et al, 1999; Williams and Buehler, 2002) suggest that young female sexual abusers may well benefit from the same kinds of intervention approaches as young male sexual abusers, although they comment that issues of autonomy and the consequences of female socialisation experiences (for example, in relation to anger management) may well be useful additional foci.

Current Thinking about Children and Young People who have Sexually Abused
There are various areas in relation to children and young people who have sexually abused where there is still considerable debate. For example, discussion flourishes about what terminology to use to describe their behaviour appropriately (Erooga and Masson, 1999; Calder, 2002). The concern is to avoid, on the one hand, the possibility of seriously problematic behaviour being minimised through the use of euphemisms whilst, on the other, to avoid the inappropriate and prejudicial application of labels, typically used to describe adult sexual abusers, to minors. Such concerns are raised particularly in the case of younger children. There is also debate about issues of recidivism, the likelihood that young sexual abusers will continue in their abusive behaviour unless efforts are made, possibly under court order, to manage and change their behaviour (see, for example, Masson, 1997/1998).

Nevertheless, in relation to other aspects of this service user group an increasing consensus appears to be emerging. Thus, there is now much clearer agreement in more recent literature that children and young people who have sexually abused should not be regarded as mini adult sex offenders (Chaffin and Bonner, 1998; Ryan, 1999; Calder, 2002). It cannot be assumed, therefore, that research, models and methods designed for work with adults are immediately transferable to work with this group, although elements may be of relevance. Children and young people who

have sexually abused are immature and so work with them should be developmentally appropriate and designed to address not only their problematic behaviours, but also all of their social, emotional and other needs. A proportion will also, themselves, be victims of abuse and so this trauma will need addressing too. Work at the individual level, group-work programmes and family interventions may all be required in order to respond to the multiple factors which contribute to the development of sexually abusive behaviour by children and young people and to respond to the level of risk they present (Erooga and Masson, 1999).

In addition, it is now recognized that a multi-agency, co-ordinated approach to children and young people who have sexually abused is needed which, in the case of those over the age of criminal responsibility, integrates child welfare/protection and youth justice approaches (Erooga and Masson, 1999; Calder, 2002; Bridge Child Care Development Service, 2001; Lovell, 2002). Children and young people who have sexually abused will usually have both care and control needs, they are both a potential future risk to others and are also vulnerable themselves. Thus some commentators have referred to such young people as having 'dual status' (Howarth, 1999; Vizard, 1999), requiring both welfare responses and responses which address their problematic behaviour. As will be argued in the next section of this article, however, such integrated systems of response have proved elusive, in England and Wales at least, for various reasons.

Policy Developments in England and Wales since the 1990s
It has been argued elsewhere (Masson and Morrison, 1999), that young sexual abusers challenge adults' understanding of childhood sexual development, an emotive topic at the best of times, and their tendency to hang on to simplistic and dichotomous notions of children, whereby children are conceptualised as either 'innocent victims' or 'depraved individuals' but not both at the same time (Jenks, 1996). Such dichotomous thinking is exemplified in England and Wales by the divergence which has become increasingly apparent over recent years between child welfare and youth crime systems, a phenomenon which has been the subject of analysis by a number of commentators (see, for example, Hendrick, 1994 and 1997; Tutt, 1999). Certainly the 'dual status' of children and young people who have sexually abused appears to have presented dilemmas for policy makers and others, resulting in ongoing contradictions and tensions in policy and guidance, legal provisions and organisational arrangements, with which professionals and their agencies have struggled since the early 1990s.

Central government first issued guidance on how to manage responses to children and young people who have sexually abused in the second edition of *Working Together under the Children Act 1989* (DOH, 1991). In approximately 24 lines of

guidance, it was stated that child protection procedures should be followed in all such cases, that separate child protection conferences should be held on the victim and the abuser and that a comprehensive assessment should be completed on the latter. Apparent certainty but, in fact, this guidance was highly problematic for various reasons. Aside from its brevity, it was unclear as to whether the guidance referred to all forms of abuse by children and young people, or whether it referred solely to sexual abuse. In addition, key issues were not addressed - for example, could a young abuser be registered under one of the Department of Health (DOH) categories which had been designed originally for the registration of the *victims* of abuse? Perhaps most significantly, however, the guidance failed to take any cognisance of the fact that in the case of those over the age of criminal responsibility (in England and Wales this is set at 10 years) the criminal justice system had an interest in those alleged to have committed an offence.

In relation to this last point, what was particularly interesting was the discontinuity evident between the implicit interventionist messages within *Working Together* (DOH, 1991), as compared with the low key, down-tariff, diversionary approach being adopted at the time towards juvenile offending (Thorpe et al, 1980). Thus *Working Together* (DOH, 1991) implied that young (sexual) abusers were different from other children in trouble and argued that:

> *Experience suggests that in many cases, policies of minimal intervention are not as effective as focused forms of therapeutic intervention which may be under orders of the civil or criminal courts* (DOH, 1991: 37)

The author's research during the mid to late 1990s indicated that local ACPC areas were struggling with all of the above issues in their efforts to develop inter-agency guidance and models of response, as well as, for example, trying to identify new resources for the development of assessment and intervention services, appropriate placement provision, and the training and support of relevant staff (Masson, 1997/1998). What emerged during this period, as in other areas of social welfare policy and practice, was an increasing emphasis on risk assessment (Kemshall and Pritchard 1995, 1997). An emphasis was being placed on the development of assessment tools that would identify those at higher risk of re-abusing or re-offending, in order to target what scarce resources there were on them.

Since the late 1990s, however, the complexities of responding to children and young people who have sexually abused have considerably increased, in the context of major policy and legislative changes both within the child welfare/protection system and in the criminal/youth justice system. The following Figure 1 summarises the current state of complexity pertaining to this area of work.

Figure 1 - Recent guidance and legislation in relation to child welfare/child protection and youth justice/criminal system which impact on children and young people who have sexually abused

YOUTH JUSTICE/CRIMINAL SYSTEM

Youth Justice/Criminal System	Child Welfare/Child Protection
Sex Offender Act 1997	Audit Commission (1998) White Paper No More Excuses (HO, 1997)
Designed for adult sex offenders - young sexual abusers caught up in its provisions	Tougher, retributive, punishment oriented approach to offending, faster tracking from arrest to sentencing
Schedule 1 status	
Registration requirements	Crime and Disorder Act 1998
Police Risk Assessment	Youth Justice Board
MAPPPS	Youth Offending Teams - given lead responsibility for juvenile sexual offenders
Setting the Boundaries (HO, 2000) - Review of law governing sexual offences	ASSET offence specific, risk focussed assessment framework
Legislative changes – Sexual Offences Bill -2002	

CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE WHO HAVE SEXUALLY ABUSED

CHILD WELFARE/CHILD PROTECTION

Messages from Research (1995) and refocusing debate:

Children in Need/Family Support/flexible services/prevention

Working Together to Safeguard Children (DOH, 1999) para.6.31 to 6.37

Framework for the Assessment of Children in Need and their Families (DOH, 2000)

Language of risk absent and child abuse/child maltreatment restricted to 'significant harm'

Plethora of new requirement initiatives/organisational changes plus higher profile for joint education/health/SS initiatives:
E.g. Sure Start schemes
Connexions Services
CAFCASS
PCTs - CAMHS
Care Standards Act 2000
Children Leaving Care Act 2000
+ Integrated Children's Services plans
+ Children's National Service Framework
+ Impacts of Victoria Climbié inquiry?
Children's Trusts?
Children at Risk/Risky Children?

Child Welfare/ Child Protection developments

In relation to the child welfare/protection system, following the publication of *Messages from Research* (DOH, 1995) and the subsequent refocusing debate in the late 1990s, the third edition of *Working Together* (DOH, 1999) and its associated *Framework for the Assessment of Children in Need and their Families* (DOH, 2000) have introduced a re-balancing within child welfare work. Instead of devoting too many resources to 'heavy-end' investigations of allegations of abuse, most of which result in no further action and which leave families, who may be in need, traumatised and still without services, agencies are now required to focus their efforts on supporting children in need and their families through the provision of flexible and non-stigmatising services.

Within this context, paragraphs 6.31 – 6.37 in *Working Together* (DOH, 1999) on work with children and young people who abuse others (including those who sexually abuse/offend) sit somewhat oddly within the document as a whole, as the language of risk and the earlier interventionist approach are still apparent. Nevertheless the guidance is an improvement on that contained in *Working Together* (DOH, 1991) in that there is acknowledgement of the need for agencies across child welfare and criminal justice systems to collaborate in the development of appropriate systems of response. In addition, the issue of child protection registration is clarified, child protection conferencing and registration only being considered in the case of young abusers who are also victims of abuse. In summary, paragraphs 6.31 - 6.37 state that ACPCs and youth offending teams (YOTs) must together address the task of putting an operational framework in place so that cases of children and young people who have sexually abused can be assessed and managed effectively. It is suggested that early intervention may be needed to protect the public, by preventing the escalation or the continuation of the young person's abusive behaviour and it is emphasized that there should be an assessment of the child or young person in every case. The guidance outlines the offence-related, individual, family and environmental factors that should be included in an assessment and it is emphasized that there should be joint decision making at every stage. Thus, child welfare and criminal justice agencies must consult each other in advance of making any decisions about any criminal process proposed, about whether the young person should be the subject of a child protection conference, and about the plan of action required to address the young person's welfare and abusive behaviour.

The outcomes of the refocusing debate in child welfare and protection clearly represent major challenges for those agencies, such as social services departments, and organisations, such as ACPCs, which have typically been seen as the lead bodies in this area of work. In addition, however, as Figure 1 indicates, other significant

developments and organisational changes have also been taking place since 1999/2000 that complicate the required re-balancing process and which may have implications for services for children and young people who have sexually abused. Various government initiatives have, for example, been introduced since New Labour came to power in 1997, including Sure Start schemes for the early years age group, and the Connexions Services for 13 -19 year olds. CAFCASS has been created, combining court welfare and guardian *ad litem* services, primary care trusts in health areas have been set up, joint education/health and social services initiatives have been introduced, and new legislation has been passed such as the Children Leaving Care Act 2000 and the Care Standards Act 2000. Most recently, government, as part of its 2002 Spending Review, has heralded the future piloting of Children's Trusts (Agenda, childRIGHT, 2002) and on October 30th 2002 the Cabinet Office announced that, in early 2003, a *Children at Risk* Green Paper, identifying radical options for improving services for children and young people, will be published as a consultation document (CAB 091/02, 2002). In many local areas, one gets the impression of practitioners and managers feeling quite overwhelmed by the implications of these major organisational changes and by the mass of new policy documentation and legal requirements which descend upon them from central government departments. Nor will we now see a period of calm while all the above changes are absorbed, given that it is expected that Lord Laming's report, following the Victoria Climbié Inquiry may well herald yet more upheaval. In this rapidly changing scene, it is not surprising if the problem of children and young people who have sexually abused does not always rank high on professionals' and managers' agendas.

Changes in Youth Crime
Quite separately, too, there has been, as Figure 1 indicates, a sea change in responses to youth crime which are having their own impacts on the development of services for children and young people who have sexually abused. The Audit Commission's 1998 Report *Misspent Youth '98: The Challenge for Youth Justice* and the publication of the government White Paper *No More Excuses* (Home Office, 1997) led directly to the passing of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. This piece of legislation heralded a much tougher, retributive and punishment oriented approach to youth offending, with, for example, faster tracking from arrest to sentencing. Under the Act, and since 1999, multi-agency youth offending teams (YOTs) have been set up in local areas, teams which, amongst their various duties, have been given the lead responsibility for juvenile sex offenders. An offence-specific focus is inevitably central to the work of these teams (Home Office, 2000b), in marked contrast to the more holistic, needs-led approach now in place within child welfare

and protection services generally. Section 41 of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 has led also to the establishment of a national Youth Justice Board (YJB). This body has the remit to advise the Home Secretary on the operation of the youth justice system; establish national standards; maintain a rolling programme of inspections; approve local youth justice annual plans; initiate training; identify and disseminate good practice; and act as the commissioning and purchasing agent for the juvenile secure state. Thus ACPCs are having to make links and collaborate with new organisations and emphases within youth crime which are only just unfolding.

Sex Offender Legislation
As if work to establish services for children and young people who have sexually abused was not complicated enough, given the recent changes in child welfare/protection and youth crime which have just been described, professional concerns, media hype and public outrage about adult sex offenders in general, and paedophiles in particular, have also resulted in the passing of the Sex Offender Act 1997. The provisions of this Act impact on all sex offenders, including young people over 10 years of age who are convicted of a sexual offence. These include the requirement that convicted sex offenders, who are given Schedule 1 status, must register their whereabouts with the police and that local multi-agency public protection panels (MAPPPs), established under the Criminal Justice and Court Services Act 2000, must draw up plans to ensure close monitoring of such offenders in their area. Anecdotal evidence (Howarth; 1999; Vizard, 1999) suggests that the creators of this piece of legislation gave scant thought to younger convicted sex offenders when drawing up the Act and that, at the last minute, they made changes to reduce, for example, the required registration periods for such young offenders. Nevertheless, there are on-going concerns about the appropriateness of the provisions of the Sex Offender Act 1997 being applied to young sex offenders (Brown, 1998; Masson and Morrison, 1999; Calder, 2002), as well as broader concerns about the lack of attention paid to the protection or safeguarding of all young offenders in prisons and young offender institutions (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons for England and Wales, 2000; DOH, 2002).

Tensions and Complexity
Consequently, local areas are now having to develop and maintain integrated systems of response to children and young people who have sexually abused in a context which is extremely complex for a number of reasons. Firstly, since the late 1990s, the fundamental approaches of the child welfare/child protection systems and the criminal/youth justice systems have swapped. Thus the former is now more focused on 'diversion' away from heavy end investigations of abuse allegations and the promotion of low-key family support, and the latter is now more interventionist

and punishment-oriented, with an emphasis on crime reduction. Secondly ACPCs and the newly created YOTs (which are very different kinds of organisations anyway) have been given shared responsibilities but scant guidance about how to address them, so that consistent responses are established, which address the needs of children and young people, both under and over 10 years of age. Thirdly local agencies have to develop services in a situation where there are many unintended and negative consequences for young sex offenders who are caught up in the provisions of the Sex Offender Act 1997. Finally, their work has to be progressed in a context that is subject to complex and continuing change.

There has also been little evidence, until recently at least, of any communication between the Home Office, YJB and the DOH in the development of their respective policies, guidance and assessment materials. Such a lack of 'joined-up' thinking at the centre is hardly conducive to 'joined-up' thinking at the local level. It is hardly surprising, then, if services for children and young people who have sexually abused which were, by the late 1990s, few and far between anyway and usually in an early stage of development, have been affected by this ongoing upheaval, some commentators suggesting that their development has been seriously impeded (Calder, 2002).

Some Hopeful Developments
However, there do seem to be some national developments as regards future policy and guidance on the development of services in relation to children and young people who have sexually abused, at least in relation to those over the age of criminal responsibility, which may bode well for the future. Firstly, and very recently, an inter-departmental group (including the DOH, HO and DfES), jointly convened by the YJB and the HO, has been established which has the task of reporting to ministers in 2003 on policies and services for juvenile sexual offenders.

Secondly the YJB has been involved in various relevant activities, including joint-funding (with NOTA and the NSPCC) research into the mapping and exploration of existing services (Hackett, Masson and Phillips, in progress). The YJB has also funded six development projects specifically working with young people who have sexually abused, including the AIM project in Greater Manchester; and has recently published a Key Elements of an Effective Practice Strategy for this group of young people (YJB, 2002).

In addition, recent publications have served to highlight the problems with current systems of response to children and young people who have sexually abused, and have made recommendations as regards the future development of services. These include the following:

- *Childhood Lost* (Bridge Child Care Development Service 2001), a Part 8 Review of the case of Dominic McGilligan, an 18-year-old with a history of sexual offending who had just left residential care when he raped and murdered an 11-year old boy in 1998;

- *I think I might need some more help with this problem* (Lovell, 2002), an NSPCC report and recommendations on responding to children and young people who have sexually abused; and,

- A joint report by various government inspection services into the arrangements for safeguarding children (DOH, 2002). In particular this report comments that YOTs are paying insufficient attention to the welfare needs of young offenders and that ACPCs, YOTs and MAPPPs should work much more closely together to safeguard children and young people.

Finally, there is the possibility of legislative reform in relation to sexual offences which takes into account the needs of different age ranges of sex offenders, following the recent consultation exercise entitled *Setting the Boundaries: Reforming the Law on Sex Offences* (Home Office, 2000a) and the publication of the government's white paper *Protecting the Public* (Home Office, 2002).

When planning the creation of a service for children and young people who have sexually abused, a topic to which this article now turns, the results of these various national developments and the recommendations from the publications noted above are and will be of considerable relevance.

Developing a local service - important messages and issues to be addressed

Notwithstanding the need to watch out for future policy and legislative developments when planning a service for children and young people who have sexually abused, it is obviously important to use what literature and guidance already exists. Paragraphs 6.31 – 6.37 of *Working Together* (DOH, 1999) should therefore, provide a useful first base, which can be complemented by consideration of the documents listed in the previous section. Wherever possible, it is also useful to draw on existing experience, so that wheels do not keep being reinvented. The Greater Manchester-based AIM project and the ACT project in Surrey are examples of well established services, the former, with G-MAP, offering a range of training events, consultation and publications.

On the basis of the author's research and drawing on other literature which has been referred to in this article, it is suggested that the following specific issues need addressing in the process of developing a service for children and young people who have sexually abused. Different ACPC areas may well come to somewhat different conclusions on some of these issues, depending on local needs and existing organisational arrangements, but all are worthy of careful consideration.

Beginning Questions
Firstly there should be clarity about who the service is for – for all young abusers or for all young *sexual* abusers? The guidance in *Working Together* (DOH, 1999) refers generally to abuse by other children and young people but, in fact, the contents of paragraphs 6.31 – 6.37 are directly related to sexual abusive behaviour. Other guidance would probably be needed to address bullying, for example, or racial harassment by peers.

Assuming the planned focus is to be on children and young people who have sexually abused, and to facilitate discussion and collaboration, a shared terminology and definitions should be developed. This process will include making decisions about which populations, defined according to age, gender, ethnicity and ability will be targeted by the service. In addition, there needs to be clarification as to whether 'looked-after' children, as well as children in the community, are to be eligible for and subject to the service. Thought should also be given to how far the ACPC guidance should apply to young sexual offenders in prisons, young offender institutions and other secure accommodation. A recent ruling by the high court reported in the media (Dyer, 2002) would suggest that it should, the high court ruling that under-18s in jail have just as much right as other children to benefit from laws designed to protect young people from harm. The Home Secretary's argument that the Children Act 1989 did not apply to children in prison was rejected by the court as 'wrong in law'.

The proposed service's principles of work also need to be agreed, on the lines, for example, of those in *Working Together* (DOH, 1999). Similarly, the goals of the service, such as community safety, protection of other children, stopping the sexually abusive behaviour and/or facilitating the abuser's future development should be articulated explicitly.

Inter-agency collaboration
At the outset consideration should be given as to which agencies should be 'in the ring' in the process of developing and maintaining the service. The working party of the Northern ACPC area, to which the author acted as consultant, included senior representatives from the YOT, social services, the police, health, education and a large voluntary agency. These would seem to comprise an appropriate membership, although it has to be recognised that there will be other services that will need to be influenced – for example, the Crown Prosecution Service, and Crown and Youth Courts. Early on in discussions, a strategy is required so that there is support for the service at senior strategic and operational levels and so that the significant resources needed to run the service can be accessed and secured. During the working party's time-limited existence collaborative structures, to ensure continuing ownership, support and resources for the service and a forum for problem solving, also need to be established.

Inter-agency guidance

As regards local ACPC inter-agency policies and procedures in respect of children and young people who have sexually abused, these should cover the processes of referral, investigation, assessment, case planning, intervention and review. The roles and responsibility of relevant agencies must be made explicit and, in particular, in the case of children over 10 years of age, the process of co-ordination between child welfare and youth justice systems will need to be clarified. To avoid confusion it may, indeed, be appropriate to draw up separate sets of guidance for dealing with cases involving children and young people under and over the age of criminal responsibility. The circumstances in which child protection conferencing and child protection registration should occur will need confirming, presumably in line with *Working Together* (DOH, 1999).

Assessment and Intervention Models

Evidence from existing services indicates that a central referral point can facilitate communication and inter-agency working (Masson 1997/1998). Referrals could then feed into the kinds of multi-agency meetings referred to in the *Framework for the Assessment of Children in Need and their Families* (DOH, 2000), so there is appropriate case processing through child welfare/protection and youth justice systems. In order to provide sufficient time for an initial assessment to be completed, a local agreement with the police for a 28 day bail period for the initial assessment of young people admitting less serious sexual offences could also usefully be negotiated, to provide the necessary space for this to be undertaken.

In terms of the content of the assessment, there is a need to integrate the current assessment model for children in need (DOH, 2000) with the assessment model used by YOTs (the ASSET model, Home Office, 2000b). Thus a holistic assessment which is also offence-focused and which addresses issues of risk will be produced. There are such assessment tools in existence that can be drawn on, for example, those available from the AIM project. Consideration will obviously need to be given as to how the proposed service's initial and comprehensive assessment models will meet the needs of the diverse population of children and young people who have sexually abused. In addition, similar thought will have to be given in respect of the proposed intervention models, ideas for which can be obtained from existing literature (see, for example, Erooga and Masson, 1999; and Calder, 2002).

Placement Provision

A range of placement provision will be needed, possibly including specially trained foster carers, supported lodgings and residential accommodation. Consideration will have to be given as to whether such provision already exists or, if it does not, how it can be developed in the statutory, voluntary and/or private

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sectors. Given the relatively small numbers of young sexual abusers who will require such provision, it may be that a pooling of resources across ACPC areas would be appropriate.

Multi-Agency Public Protection Panels (MAPPPS)
For those likely to be involved in MAPPPS, other issues will need addressing so that young sexual abusers' needs are properly addressed. Age-appropriate assessment tools will, no doubt, need to be developed, to complement those in use with adult offenders. Consideration will need to be given to the training needs of members of MAPPPs, regarding children and young people who sexually abuse, clarifying, for example, the implications for MAPPPs of relevant professional duties within child care legislation, such as the Children Leaving Care Act 2000.

Staffing
As will be apparent from the above, it may well be that a full-time co-coordinator is required to head up such a service, to work at a strategic level to maintain collaborative structures, and to facilitate the development, monitoring and evaluation of the service. He/she would require administrative support, with ACPC/YOT mandates to push forward on the strategy/service. There may well be a need for other staffing for the service, to coordinate and undertake assessment and intervention work. Consideration would need to be given as to which disciplines should be represented and the basis of their employment. For example, would they be seconded? Nevertheless, it may well be thought that, even if a dedicated service is established, joint working in assessment and intervention work should be encouraged, in order to facilitate the development of knowledge, skill and confidence in staff in collaborating agencies.

Other Considerations
When delivering a service, attention will need to be paid to issues of training, supervision, consultation and staff care – how will these elements be provided and by whom? As part of service development, too, systems will need to be created for the ongoing mapping of need, monitoring of cases and evaluation of the services offered. Within these systems efforts should be made to ensure that the voices of service users and carers can contribute to service development. Finally, if the working party has any energy left, some thought could usefully be given to primary prevention work, for example, education about relationships and social skills in schools.

Conclusion

This article has sought to demonstrate the complex nature of work with children and young people who have sexually abused and to highlight the various policy, legislative and organizational changes which have impacted on this area of work since the early 1990s. The more practical guidance about setting up a relevant service,

outlined in the second half of the article, draws on what appears to be current best practice, although monitoring and evaluation of services is relatively uncommon at present and so these suggestions and recommendations must be considered in that context. The issue of resources looms large as regards setting up such a service, given the pressures statutory, voluntary and private agencies face in maintaining existing services, never mind developing new ones. Nevertheless children and young people who have sexually abused are a significant grouping within the total population of children and young people who come to the attention of relevant professionals and agencies and their care and control needs should be addressed more consistently and rigorously than they are currently.

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STRUGGLING TO BE HEARD:
Young deaf people in Northern Ireland

PAT HENRY AND ELIZ MCARDLE

Northern Ireland is consumed with the expression of culture and identity, yet, in pursuing this obsession with blinkered vision, other identities and cultures which lie outside the political and religious communities have sometimes been obscured. These identities and cultures have, at one time or another, been overlooked, undervalued or unseen. The irony for Deaf people[1] in Northern Ireland is that their language and identity are not even formally recognised where 'parity of esteem', 'acceptance of other cultures' and 'acknowledging difference' is the customary language of policy makers and political leaders.

From March-June 2001 a sample of young deaf people[2] participated in research which aimed to present their views in relation to their experiences of living in Northern Ireland. The study explored their attitudes to and opinions on existing social, educational and support services which seeks to meet the needs of the young Deaf community. The research was carried out by the Northern Ireland Deaf Youth Association (NIDYA) in collaboration with the University of Ulster's Community Youth Work Team and the Children's Law Centre. The study took its title *Big 'D', wee 'd'* from one of the key issues under discussion among Deaf people in general – Big 'D' representing those people who identify themselves with Deaf identity, language, culture and community and wee 'd' referring those who might distance themselves from such self-definition. This issue is given greater attention throughout this article.

The primary purpose of this paper is to explore young deaf peoples' experiences of education and the importance of communication support in relation to their educational achievement, and subsequent preparation for the outside world.

Methodology
Research Sample
A 'purposive sampling' technique was employed for the study (Denscombe, 1998). This is due in the main to the difficulty in defining and determining the target population through random sampling. Young deaf people range from those with a mild hearing loss to those who are profoundly deaf. Hence, the research, from which this paper is drawn, involved young deaf people who were known to NIDYA with 60% of survey respondents drawn directly from its membership and the remaining 40% known to, yet outside NIDYA membership. The researchers recruited a wide variety of young deaf people who were drawn from different age, religion, gender, geographical backgrounds and levels of deafness[3].

Respondents ranged in age from 13 years to 30 with fairly even representation from each age group as Table 1 illustrates.

Table 1 – Age Profile of Respondents

Age Group	%
13-16 years	21
17-20 years	23
21-24 years	28
25-30 years	28
Total	**100**

Procedures Followed – Quantitative methods

There were two stages in collecting the quantitative data – a pilot survey and the main survey. A questionnaire was pre-tested using a small sample of young deaf people from NIDYA. The main aim of the pilot was to assess clarity, question relevance and ease of response. Most of the comments from this group were favourable but a number of adjustments had to be made to the questionnaire for the main study. These adjustments included the reduction and refinement of specific questions which were arranged to maximise co-operation with young deaf people. One outcome of the pilot survey was the increased use of closed questions in the main survey. Study respondents indicated their selected response by ticking a box. This method was thought to be more familiar for many young deaf people who may not use English as their first language. In employing these methods the research team ensured a higher response rate (53%).

Procedures Followed – Qualitative methods

The same sample of young deaf people (as targeted in the survey) were invited to participate in focus group interviews. Approximately 50 young deaf people participated in nine semi-structured focus group interviews throughout Northern Ireland. The groups normally consisted of between six and eight young people, three groups were single gender and six were mixed. Three of the nine focus group interviews took place in schools. While the research team had clearly defined issues and questions to be addressed, flexibility was also important. Hence, participants, on occasions, were able to develop ideas and 'talk' more widely on issues. This semi-structured approach was critical to the collection of data.

Each interview lasted at least one hour and normally took place at the project or school which the young people attended. At the beginning of each interview the researchers clarified the purpose of the study and explained that to ensure anonymity the study would not attribute comments to any named individual. The majority of the questions in the interview schedule centred on primary and secondary

school experiences, communication issues and the importance of sign language within school, family, public places and in employment situations and finally to gauge accessibility and acceptability of service provision. As agreed with participants, the voice of the interpreter was taped and the recordings were subsequently transcribed. To respect the privacy of the study participants the quotes in the paper are attributed to a pseudonym.

The Research Team

The Research Team was an amalagamation of Deaf and Hearing researchers. This fitted comfortably with the application of contemporary cross-cultural ethical principles and practices in deafness research as outlined by Pollard (1992). He notes that, far from constraining research activity, ethical procedures have the effect of enhancing its quality and value. One of the key ethical procedures which Pollard identifies in deafness research is that it must foster the skills and self-sufficiency of host community scientists and that, to the greatest degree possible, it should be conducted by them, on an equal basis with the visiting researchers (Pollard, 1992:90).

The research team for this study adhered strictly to this principle throughout the research process. The Deaf researchers were all employed by NIDYA, one as a professionally qualified youth worker, one as a training officer and one as a development officer. All interviews were conducted by at least one of these researchers. Their Deaf identities assumed particular importance in developing an effective researcher-participant relationship, where informed consent was established and communication options were flexible, which contributed to the ease and flow of information (Stanley, Sieber and Melton, 1987).

The Hearing research co-ordinator (who could not sign) was also in attendance at all focus group interviews. Interpreter(s) assisted by verbalising the information which was communicated by sign and also responded by sign to the deaf focus group participants.

Defining Deaf and deaf:

In attempting to define Deaf and deaf, there are powerful implicit messages with political undertones. The medical model of deafness is one of deficiency with an emphasis on the repair or reconstruction of hearing in order to restore the individual to the intended or expected human condition (Denmark, 1994; Sacks, 1990). This perspective focuses on the absence of one of the five senses with phrases such as 'auditory impairment' or 'diseased ears' being used to describe the 'condition'.

Other researchers have attempted to define deafness using cultural models (Padden and Humphries, 1991) which identify Deaf people as members of a different linguistic community. This definition of deafness presents a deeper insight into 'the world' of

the Deaf rather than merely 'the condition' of the deaf. The basis of this explanation lies in cultural differences between the Deaf and the Hearing.

The notion of a Deaf culture is a particularly intricate concept. Wrigley (1996) identifies the apparently puzzling nature of a culture such as this that lacks a geographical focus. He also refers to the difficulty in passing a culture on through such disparate lineage, where 'the purity of Deaf knowledge' might be diluted through the prevalence of young deaf people born to hearing parents. These anomalies have been cited as arguments against the existence of a Deaf Culture. However, a greater understanding of the nature of *culture* sheds greater light on the nuances of Deaf culture.

Rutherford's (1992) exploration of culture identifies the divergent nature of many cultures, yet describes the common components thus:

> ... *all cultures share two primary objectives. One is the successful adaptation and survival of the group in its specific environment; the other is the maintenance of the group's identity and unity through time.*
> (Rutherford:1992)

The 'maintenance of the group's identity through time' has social and political significance. Padden (1991) describes the Deaf community as those who share the values, beliefs and goals of its members. Not all deaf people identify themselves as part of the Deaf community or feel an affinity with the Deaf community. The emphasis for group membership is on association with the values of the Deaf rather than on audiological issues. Group membership alone was not seen to be synonymous with Deaf culture – this required a more active political engagement with the goals and the world of the Deaf (Higgins: 1991, Wrigley: 1996). This activism re-inforces the group's identity and adds to its endurance over time.

Rutherford's reference to the environment for Deaf people infers both access to the resources around them, but more significantly, their relationship with an environment that is 'void of usable sound' (Rutherford:1992). A critical adaptation to this environment has been the creation of a language which moulds with this world. Deaf language is a defining aspect of Deaf culture. She describes this link:

> *Culture is transmitted and learned through language. Language is learned within the context of culture – thus, language and culture are inextricably bound.*
> (Rutherford; 1992)

Again, not all deaf people feel part of a Deaf culture and may place less emphasis on, or totally reject the use of sign language. These can be viewed by members of the Deaf community as objects of contempt, playful derision and amusement (Higgins; 1991).

A further complex feature of Deaf culture is of self-definition as being Deaf (Padden: 1991, Sheridan:2000). For young deaf people (particularly those of hearing parents), this is a complex developmental issue which fits into the murky waters of self-identity. The fluidity of self-identification, particularly for this age range, would suggest less rigid boundaries between Deaf and deaf. This has the potential to become a more isolating and exclusionary definition for many. A more realistic paradigm is of a continuum where Deaf and deaf are polarities with a range of definitions between.

The Place of Sign Language

> It is only in language that we enter freely into our human estate and culture, communicate freely with our fellows, acquire and share information. If we cannot do this we will be bizarrely disabled and cut off – whatever our desires, our endeavours or native capacities.
> (Sacks, 1990:8)

Language offers us a way not only of connecting with other human worlds, but also a means of identifying and defining ourselves. A key vehicle for the communication of ideas to another person lies in the assumption of a shared language. Steinberg (2000) refers to language as a container designed to be shared.

For a Deaf person language becomes something more than this. It becomes a cultural statement of Deaf identity. Thus language becomes something political, something to be supported or rejected rather than merely a tool for interaction. The contemporary language of the Deaf is generally regarded as sign language.

The British Deaf Association predicts that:

> ...there are approximately 70,000 Deaf people in Britain whose first or preferred language is British Sign Language (BSL) [4].

and

> there are as many Deaf BSL-users as there are speakers of Scottish Gaelic, and more people (Deaf and hearing) use BSL than speak Welsh.
> (BDA, 2002)

Although sign language is used as the first or preferred language for many people in Britain, the status of sign language is relatively uncertain. The European Parliament has attempted to promote the formal recognition of sign language through formally calling on member states to recognise their respective national sign language, with relatively little success. Despite the issue of two resolutions, only four EU countries at time of writing have acted upon this: Denmark, Finland, Portugal and Sweden. The world-wide total of countries who legally recognise their national sign language is 13 – a similarly gloomy picture to the European one (BDA, 2002).

Deaf language is further complicated in Northern Ireland by the co-existence of British Sign Language (BSL) and Irish Sign Language (ISL)[5], two completely different languages. Research participants recognised how this added complexity presents the Deaf community in Northern Ireland with both internal and external barriers to communication:

I use BSL but the problem is trying to translate into ISL you know. I have problems with that. I have difficulty (Lucy).

In Dublin I used ISL and when I went to Doncaster (FE college) suddenly they were using BSL. Having said that I picked it up quickly but it was a big change. (Jennifer).

Irrespective of these anomalies within Northern Ireland, participants are in no doubt that sign language should be recognised by both governments. They strongly advocated the official recognition of sign language as an essential step in asserting and protecting their rights as young deaf people:

It's like Ulster Scots being recognised as an official language even though it's not spoken by very many people while sign language is used by more people in Northern Ireland (Michael).

BSL should be recognised. Hearing people don't understand what it is to be deaf and don't understand Deaf culture and identity (Sue).

I feel it should be recognised because it's Deaf people's first language just like French is French peoples' first language (Philip).

The concerns that they express about whether their first and preferred language would be recognised and accepted seem entirely justified. The recognition of sign language in Northern Ireland (both BSL and ISL) would ensure fuller access for young deaf people to public services and information, education and social and economic life in general. The time has come to accept sign language as a minority language and subsequently acknowledge the Deaf community as a cultural minority.

Access to Education
The Children (NI) Order 1995 offers a comprehensive framework of domestic legislation regarding the needs of young people and the concomitant responsibilities of service providers. The significant impact of the Order has been dulled due to the value and status placed on it by some government departments. Geraghty (1999) points to the Department of Education for Northern Ireland (DE) as an exemplar, whose process of issuing *guidelines* as opposed to *directives* served to acutely undermine the Order at the initial promotional stages.

Under the Order, a child with disabilities is recognised as a child in need with associated legislative processes taking effect. Young deaf people fit within the category of children with Special Educational Needs (SEN). As such, mainstream schools have a duty to provide for children with SEN, which has offered significant improvements in the education services and approaches for not only young deaf people but all young disabled people (Flavelle, 2001). In theory, the use of statementing[6] does not limit the parents' choice to have a child educated in a mainstream school. However, in practice, decisions to do so fall within the implications for funding and the effective use of existing resources, leaving parents with the nigh impossible task of levering the necessary support to ensure the mainstream education of the disabled child.

The details of assessing children in relation to SEN are provided by Education (SEN) Regulations (NI) 1997 and the Education (SEN) (Amendment) Regulations (NI) 1998. A Code of Practice on the identification and assessment of SEN was introduced into schools in September 1998. The Code asserts that children with SEN require the greatest possible access to a broad and balanced education. However, this Code was designed with the English and Welsh education system in mind and is not fully compatible with the educational environment in Northern Ireland. As Getty and Gray (2001) point out:

> It operates in the context of a very different administrative and political system in which public services are managed by quangos ... and questions whether administration of education services by quangos has implications for the successful implementation and working of the Code in Northern Ireland.
> (Getty and Gray, 2001)

Access to education is further complicated by the types of education available to parents of young deaf people. The choice of oral, sign language, Total Communication (TC)[7], Sign Supported English (SSE)[8] or bilingual/bicultural approach[9] is more than just a tool for learning, but it impacts upon the prevalence of future opportunities within education and employment. Powers et al (1999) and Gregory et al (2001) consider the factors in deaf education that help deaf children and young deaf people achieve their potential and obstacles to that achievement. The issue of language and communication support was highly ranked in terms of importance. In this study, the related issue of where to place educational emphasis is also of great significance - does the priority lie in 'communicating to learn or learning to communicate'. These value-laden issues present fundamental dilemmas for parents in accessing education which will meet the needs of their child.

The BDA believes the bilingual/bicultural approach to learning to be the most effective for young deaf people. Under such a system, a young deaf person would learn sign

language alongside English, enabling him/her to build confidence and acquire basic linguistic skills at an early age.

Choice of School

Choosing a school for a young deaf person in Northern Ireland has presented parents with a set of dilemmas. A number of factors are to be considered:

- *The type of deafness or hearing loss of the child.*
- *The type of communication used by the child.*
- *The type of communication preferred by parents.*
- *The type of communication used by the school.*
- *The influence of professionals on parents regarding their choice of school.*
- *The geographical location of the school and the mode of study e.g., boarding or day study.*
- *The quantity, quality and level of qualifications on offer by schools.*
- *The religious affiliation of the school.*
- *The type of school (i.e. secondary, grammar etc).*

In Northern Ireland, some tailored educational services for deaf children and young people do exist, but many young people travel out of their own environment to access these services. While 60% of study participants attended locally based mainstream schools in Northern Ireland, 40% leave Northern Ireland to obtain their second level education with 23% travelling to England and 17% going to Dublin. From as young as six years of age, participants experienced the practical complexities of travelling to and from home every weekend:

> *It took four hours to get home on a Friday night and four hours to get back down on a Sunday and there were three different modes of transport used. Sometimes I had to go in a taxi from home into another town and then change to a bus to the next town where they picked up more deaf children on the way down to the train station and then I got the train from there down to Dublin. (Joanne)*

It is not clear from this study whether this exodus is due to choice either on behalf of the parents or the young people themselves. But what is clear is, were a similar scenario exhibited in the hearing population questions would be asked as to why children and their parents should undergo such unnecessary emotional turmoil.

For the 23% who attended schools in England, the most popular choice was the Mary Hare Grammar School which was adjudged by OFSTED as representing

'very good value for money' (OFSTED, 1999). The young deaf people who wished to attend Mary Hare were assessed on academic ability, the communication he or she used and the type of deafness. The cost of sending one young deaf person to Mary Hare school in England is currently £19,800 per annum excluding travel, uniform and examination fees. Within the Belfast Education and Library Board area an average of 6-8 young deaf people attend Mary Hare each year. Those who are selected to attend, normally leave with a number of GCSE's and 'A' levels and tend to go on to University.

In Belfast 14% attended Orangefield, which is a mainstream school with a Partial Hearing Unit (PHU)[10]. 28% attended Jordanstown Schools for the Deaf which caters for children and young people from the ages of four to eighteen, and has adopted a total communication approach. 17% of study participants attended two schools in Dublin namely St Joseph's Boys Secondary School for the Deaf and St Mary's Girls Secondary School for the Deaf. These schools represented a choice for parents who wanted their child brought up in a Catholic setting and could come home at weekends. Fees for St. Joseph's or St. Mary's schools in Dublin currently stand at £10,500 per person per year.

There appears to be an established pattern with certain primary schools almost acting as feeder schools for specific second level schools. For instance, four young people in Belfast who attended a local Primary School transferred to the same secondary school, another four who attended a Bangor Primary School also attended the same Grammar School in England, while three who had attended a Primary School in Dublin also transferred to the Secondary School there. These patterns may be the result of the religious affiliations of the deaf child's parents, a further intricacy to an already complex picture.

Oralism[11] Versus Sign

The use of language as a political weapon rather than a communication tool is familiar to deaf people throughout the ages. The sixteenth century saw the cataloguing and categorising of the indigenous sign language of the poor deaf people of Paris by Abbe de l'Eppe (cited in Sacks, 1990). This text significantly influenced thinking and policies of its time opening a gateway to sign language, until the onset of a new 'progressive' approach to deaf education in the 1860s and '70s, which rebuked signing in favour of 'oralism' as the primary tool and goal for learning and teaching. The figurehead of the oralist tradition was the prominent figure of Alexander Graham Bell, whose social standing added immense weight to the oralist argument. The overthrow of sign language from schools was completed at the International Congress of Educators of the Deaf held at Milan in 1880 where the use of sign in schools was officially proscribed. It was only at the 1934 Teachers of

the Deaf conference that the use of sign language was restored and, only then, for those whose educational development through oral means had been limited.

The use of 'oralism' continues to be promoted by many professionals associated with the deaf child. In choosing a school, participants felt that their parents were heavily influenced by teachers, social workers and other professionals, who held a bias towards an oralist education:

> *I think I was put in the wrong school, it was the wrong environment and it was not my parents' fault – it was social services' fault because they should have thought more carefully about where I was put (Colin).*

> *Yeah, you see my parents thought that the oral system would be better for me than sign language because the nuns had brainwashed my mum into thinking that (Julie).*

> *My parents just went along with what the social worker told them to do (Bridget).*

The common concern for parents seems to be that to allow one's child to acquire a sign language and an identity within the Deaf community meant removing the possibility of learning to speak and of achieving a place in the hearing world:

> *My parents were terrified when it was suggested to them about sign language. They were terrified that I would be taken away from them and immersed into the Deaf community and they would lose me (Rosie).*

> *My mother refused to let me learn sign language because if I learned sign language I would lose my speech, so that's what she believed (Sean).*

This historic suppression of sign language in education carries a legacy which continues to this day. In Phoenix's (1988) study of deaf adults in Northern Ireland, she identifies the minimal use of sign language which existed in the classroom, with only 23.4% claiming that their teachers communicated through sign. Also, 51% of those interviewed stated that they did not understand at all or only understood their teacher sometimes. Phoenix highlights more remarkable information about language –

> *Teachers of the deaf would not have been trained to use signs in the classroom for any of the 128 subjects interviewed. It has always been accepted that some teachers in Jordanstown, the old Ulster School and the Cabragh Schools used signs unofficially (self-taught) or allowed pupils to sign 'under the desk' to help each other in class.*
> (Phoenix, 1988:18)

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The research participants of 'Big D, wee d' indicated that they too experienced an oralist educational policy throughout their school years. Whilst an oralist approach aims to integrate young deaf people into hearing society it also denies them the opportunity to use sign language in school. In some of the participants' experiences it was forcibly denied[1][2]:

> If we used any sign language at all we were told off, we were told that it was bad for us to sign and we were naughty and they wanted to treat us exactly the same as all the other kids in the school who weren't deaf (Mike).

> We were not allowed to use sign language – we were hit on the hands if we used sign language. We had to use an oral system, we were punished physically and told off all the time (Rosie).

> The teacher wasn't allowed to use sign language and we weren't allowed to use sign language (Joanne).

As a result of an oralist policy existing in most schools signing was often learned in out-of-class situations:

> I learned at breaktimes, at lunchtimes, after school and after supper (Declan).

> Mary Hare is considered a very strong oral school but that is where I learned sign language (Ian).

For some participants, signing as a form of communication was unknown to them until they witnessed its use in the school setting for the first time:

> I moved to the school in Dublin. Everyone was signing. It was such a culture shock, it was another world (Ann).

> When I went to Jordanstown I panicked because everyone was using sign language and it was the first time I had been involved in that and I was 12 then (Declan).

Regardless of the emphasis placed on oralism within schools and the home, there are very clear signals from the young deaf people interviewed that, given the option, sign language was the preferred method of communication. 94% stated that they were competent in signing, even though only a small percentage were actually being supported or encouraged to sign in school and at home. They obviously picked up the signing in their social/free time illustrating an interest and motivation to learn this communication method.

During focus group interviews the young deaf people demonstrated this preference:

Sign language is just crucial. I have to have sign language to communicate (Joey).

It (sign language) shows feeling and stuff – it's the attraction whereas if you are talking and someone stops to laugh you don't really get it but with facial expressions you can see the emotions and feelings. It's visual and you can keep track more (Pat).

I think I should have been signing from early years (Ed).

After Mary Hare when I hit the real world I realised that I couldn't cope as an oral person, I needed sign language (Joan).

The UNESCO's Salamanca Statement on Special Needs Education provides a framework for education which advocates the use of sign language. It states that:

the importance of sign language...should be recognised and provision made to ensure that all deaf persons have access to education in their national sign language.
(UNESCO, 1994, para.21)

The British government is a signatory to this Statement and, as such, holds the associated responsibilities to provide for this in deaf education. The research participants go further than this in advocating the introduction of sign language as a subject in the mainstream curriculum:

You should have sign language as part of the curriculum, as part of school life – that option should be there (Laura).

We had access to French, Italian, German – we should have had sign language. It should be part of the curriculum (Willie).

You should be able to use sign language – it's an opportunity you should have in life – I think you would learn English better if you had sign language (Joan).

This highlights a valuable opportunity to develop genuine alliances between the Hearing culture and the Deaf culture. This would address the fundamental issue of young deaf people in a hearing world, while raising the consciousness of hearing people *vis-à-vis* communication with the deaf.

Bullying, Physical Abuse and Isolation in School

The participants' experiences of school varied widely. However, a number of significant issues emerged during focus group discussions which were outside the

communication support theme. These further compound the difficulties young deaf people face in securing a positive educational experience.

40% of participants were isolated from their families through boarding. For some of these boarders the situation was compounded even further by physical abuse being meted out by a small number of teachers or supervisors:

> *I went to boarding school and that was very stressful because the teachers were very, very cruel (Chris).*

> *The House Mother would have held us by the nose and forced food into our mouths. It was very cruel. A lot of abuse went on really (Ann).*

> *I didn't understand what she (the teacher) was saying and immediately she pushed me right into the wall, grabbed hold of me, took her bag and started bashing me across the leg with her bag and I didn't even know what I had done wrong. (Joanne)*

Bullying at school is identified as a presenting problem:

> *I was bullied a lot because I was deaf. They would have said 'give me money and stuff...' (Jo).*

> *'It was difficult. There was a lot of bullying. Teachers were supportive but sometimes it was ignored (Billy).*

Home-sickness and having to travel long distances are also identified by those young deaf people who boarded at school:

> *When I was at boarding school I really missed home and it was terrible and I can remember that I just seemed to cry all the time. Even at the age of 18 I was still finding it difficult. When I came home on holidays I would follow my mum all round the house. I became her shadow. I used to wait for her outside the toilet door because I missed her so much (Julie).*

> *I don't want to be away over in England where I'm missing my family and I'm out of touch. I don't want to have to do that. I want to stay here (John).*

Young deaf people have the same rights to protection and safety as young hearing people. The experiences recorded above tell a very different story. This raises questions about the implementation of child protection policies within educational institutions and the procedures open to young deaf people wishing to seek redress.

Curriculum Content and Qualifications

A further and equally complex issue for young deaf people is the level and outcome of the education they receive. A number of research participants who had attended

either the PHU or the Jordanstown School for the Deaf raised concerns about the quality and range of subjects on offer. This is reflected in their dissatisfaction with levels of qualifications on offer and access to a restricted curriculum:

> *I would like to do more. I would rather do more than 3 GCSEs. I want to learn more (Sara).*

> *Doing GCSEs here are very basic. I want to study what they study in hearing schools especially English, Maths, Science and History. I'm very disappointed (Maura).*

> *It was so boring going over the same things, there wasn't anything different for me, there wasn't anything interesting for me at school (Billy).*

These views are reminiscent of those highlighted by Phoenix over a decade before. In terms of the quantity of qualifications achieved, Phoenix's research of deaf adults in Northern Ireland showed that 34% of respondents claimed to have 'some' qualifications. In terms of the level of these qualifications and the range of subjects, further investigation revealed that 32 out of 128 had passes in C.S.E. exams. These achievements ranged from 1 to 7 subjects per person. Significantly, only 2 people out of 128 had passed G.C.E. exams , both of which were in Art.

The same respondents were asked whether the education system for deaf children is better or worse today (in 1988). Approximately 57% believed that it was worse. The reasons given centred mostly around communication problems or lack of general knowledge. But, overwhelmingly, the education system was seen to be failing young deaf people in standards and opportunities, communication support and in preparation for the outside world.

This contrasts with the education on offer in the highly acclaimed Mary Hare school in England:

> *The PHU was very limited in what you were able to do. We just did English, Maths, Speech Therapy and that's all. Then I went over to Mary Hare and I did 8 or 9 subjects – Science, English History, Geography, Music etc – the whole range. It was much more fun (Ian).*

> *I'll be leaving school in June. I'm going to Mary Hare in September. I'm going to do the 3 Sciences because I would like to become a Vet in the future. Mary Hare can offer me that so that's why I decided to go to Mary Hare (Declan).*

The Mary Hare experience emphasises the opportunities that emerge with a broader curriculum. The variations in curriculum choices from one school to the next needs to be addressed by policy-makers and the Department of Education.

Preparation for further education and future employment

Most of the research material relates to experiences of primary and secondary education. However, the implications of these educational experiences are felt long after the event. Participants discussed the practical impact that education had on their future opportunities and prospects.

A number of participants expressed some bitterness about how their opportunities had been limited. Some of the teachers in the secondary sector, it seems, did not have high expectations of young deaf people, which was felt to influence their capacity to reach third level education. Furthermore, participants felt that the information, advice and preparation for the outside world was neither adequate nor appropriate:

> About a couple of months ago I was talking (to a teacher) and I said I wanted to become a vet and the teacher said 'Would you not like to become a vet's nurse?' I felt very frustrated. It was like, some of the teachers say 'why don't you become a vet's nurse rather than a vet.' They must think I'm thick and just can't do it (Declan).

> When I left school I had no idea what I was going to do. The teachers gave me some advice. I asked the teachers for advice but it was very little (Holly).

> I think young deaf people come out of school and they really don't know what to do. I mean they don't know where to go. They don't have the knowledge but they have the ability and the potential (Sara).

> Once you leave school you are on your own. I was on my own and I had problems (Malachy).

A number of participants did proceed to third level education through FE Colleges or Universities. For those participants who experienced life at FE Colleges and Universities, communication support was integral to their personal growth and capacity to achieve at third level education:

> I got an interpreter at College and it was fine. I was a bit nervous about being with hearing people for the first few months. Then, after that, it was OK and I got used to mixing with other students (Billy).

> I did a GCSE in English and Maths at BIFHE (Belfast Institute of Further & Higher Education) and that was much better because I had interpreter access. I had sign language, the teachers weren't deaf but there was an interpreter and the other students were deaf and they all used sign language and that was good for my confidence to be with them (Paul).

> I did Maths and Computer Studies. I studied in BIFHE and did night classes and I passed them all. There were interpreters with the tutors (Sean).

A worrying aspect of participants' educational experiences was the lack of preparation for either further education and future employment. The need for a major review of education for young deaf people in Northern Ireland was clearly articulated by one study participant:

The education system here needs to be drastically overhauled and improved – this is the biggest issue, there's no question. I think there are so many schools where young deaf people are being so called mainstreamed and are completely isolated and they are leaving school on their own with no contact (Joanne).

Conclusions

The Northern Ireland Act 1998 which enshrines the promises of the Belfast Agreement does not acknowledge the Deaf community as a cultural minority and subsequently makes no provision for sign language as a minority language. The status of sign language in Northern Ireland is deeply concerning.

While the perceived proficiency in sign language of study participants did vary, it was very apparent that the majority of these young deaf people had a preference for sign language to meet their communication needs. They strongly advocated the official recognition of sign language as an essential step in asserting and protecting their rights. The recognition of sign language in Northern Ireland (both BSL and ISL) would ensure fuller access to public services and information, education and social and economic life in general.

The study has also demonstrated that education of young deaf people in Northern Ireland requires a radical overhaul in both policy and practice. It was only when the young deaf people were asked about their educational experiences that they realised their education should be or should have been of a higher quality and standard and on an equal basis as any young hearing person. The study participants described how some teachers had low expectations of their educational achievement. They also identified the need for appropriate information and advice prior to leaving school which would reduce isolation, increase career prospects and would allow a greater possibility of entering third level education.

As a communication method, the use of sign language was more natural for the majority of participants but, in many instances, it was denied. A bilingual/bicultural approach is favoured by the BDA who believe it offers learners the widest range of opportunities. The majority of participants in this study were denied access to an appropriate and relevant curriculum, delivered and assessed in either BSL or ISL.

The issue of segregation and/or integration into mainstream schools is a much-contested topic. There may be room for both. The BDA believes that there will always be a

need for specialist schools for young deaf people. These specialist schools would be centres of excellence where sign language is used, deaf professionals are employed and the curriculum is appropriate and assessed in sign language.

This paper has highlighted the many educational and communication support issues which young deaf people in Northern Ireland view as extremely important. Ultimately they expressed the need to be recognised on an equal basis and to be given the right to self-determination, intellectual development and educational achievement.

Acknowledgement

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Notes

1. Throughout this paper, the capital 'D' is used in 'Deaf' when related to Deaf community, Deaf culture, Deaf identity and Deaf language. It is also used if found in the title of a school, conference or course of study. Correspondingly, the capital 'H' is used in 'Hearing' when found alongside 'Deaf'.

2. The lowercase 'd' is used in describing deaf children and young deaf people, as Deaf identity may not necessarily have been chosen at this stage of life.

3. Levels of deafness – descriptors of deafness are comparative, placing the level of deafness on a continuum based on hearing ability of loss. The medical profession defines deafness in decibels (dB) measured against a range of frequencies. These range from hard-of-hearing to profoundly deaf.

4. Irish Sign Language is the indigenous language of the Deaf community in Ireland. It has been handed down for generations. It is a visual, spatial language, with its own syntax, grammatical structure and is a highly inflected language.

5. British Sign Language is the language of the British Deaf Community. Its vocabulary is different to other sign languages. Sign languages are not universal and most sign languages are mutually unintelligible.

6. Statementing – A child is 'statemented' if, through a process of assessment by the relevant Education and Library Board, they are found to have Special Educational Needs (SEN). Children and young people with disabilities are included within this category, so are young deaf people. Such children will receive a statement of special educational needs. Special teams within the Education Psychology Service have responsibility for Special Needs Education.

7. Total Communication is a philosophy calling for every possible means of communication to be used with deaf children – technological aids, spoken language and signs. In practice, Total Communication is often used to mean Signed English – spoken English blended with signs.

8. Sign Supported English is a combined form of signs, finger-spelling and lip-patterns – with or without voice. It is not a full language but a sort of pidgin. The two mediums support each other. If one is void of a sign vocabulary, then a lip pattern/finger-spelling may be used to fill that gap. Signs are generally articulated with English word order, using lip-reading to represent inflections in English.

9. Bilingual/Bicultural approach – Deaf people use sign language and written/read/spoken language. It acknowledges that Deaf people live in two cultures, one being the Hearing and the other being the Deaf culture. It advocates that the Hearing culture should also learn to function in two cultures.

10. Partial Hearing Unit is a Unit in a mainstream school designed specifically to teach partially hearing and deaf children. This philosophy is of partial integration with hearing children.

11. Oralism refers to the philosophy in the education of the deaf which maintains that language should be oral (i.e. from the mouth) and consequently that sign languages and deaf teachers of sign should be excluded from the classroom. In its extreme form, oralism even discourages contact between deaf adults (club-joining, marriage, etc.) and criticises the public use of sign language.

12. The ages of the research participants would indicate that these schooling practices occurred during the 70s, 80s and 90s. This is obviously of concern due to its recent occurrence.

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CONFERENCE REPORT:
Young People 2002
Keele University, July 22-24 2002

LIZA CATAN

Background and Aims of the Conference

The *Young People 2002* conference aimed to explore and foster links between youth research and youth work practice. A previous conference - *Youth Research 2000* - had focused more on the research-policy link and concluded that policy makers have begun to call on the research community to contribute to the beginnings of governmental structures to support youth policy and to inform youth policy initiatives.[1] However, the link between research and youth work practice is less established. The majority of researchers never come into contact with youth work or youth workers and imperatives about 'evidence-based policy *and* practice' puzzle many youth work practitioners, who tend to rely on experience acquired on the job, augmented by small scale monitoring and evaluation to underpin applications for funding.

The idea of the conference was fostered by the Research, Policy and Practice Forum on Young People, which is funded by the Department for Education and Skills and the Joseph Rowntree Foundation and organized by the National Youth Agency. The Forum was set up in 1998 and has run a series of meetings to debate crucial issues on young people. It has provided a venue where researchers, policy makers and practitioners began to become acquainted with each other's distinctive languages, preoccupations and ways of working.[2] *Young People 2002* was designed to continue this interaction with an increased emphasis on the research-practice link, encouraged by inviting presentations from youth work projects alongside research papers, and making special efforts to attract practitioners to the conference.

The list of sponsors reflects the conference's aims: The National Youth Agency, the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, the Economic and Social Research Council, the British Sociological Association (BSA) Youth Studies Group, and Keele University. Recent research from the JRF Youth and Families Programme and the ESRC's programme *Youth, Citizenship and Social Change* was show-cased at the conference, along with innovative work on topics, such as cultures and sub-cultures, from the BSA Youth Studies Group. There was also a general call for papers, which produced a sizeable response. The NYA invited presentations from key youth work projects.

The Delegates

The conference attracted 350 delegates, about 48% researchers, and 38% practitioners. A further 14% were attached to policy-making institutions, mainly Government Departments, usually in a research capacity. Presenters from youth work projects

were wholly, and research presenters were partly, sponsored. The 36 PhD students who participated also received sponsored places, ensuring a good balance of youthful and established research. Although the conference focused on UK youth issues, a number of overseas delegates attended from Europe and from as far afield as South Africa, Australia and Japan and the USA, several of whom enriched the discussion through papers on topics as diverse as citizenship, mental health care, gender identity, and motherhood.

The Conference Programme

The programme consisted of three plenaries and over 100 presentations in 26 sessions. The book of abstracts is available free of charge from lcatan@tsa.uk.com

Plenary sessions

The Conference was opened by Professor Janet Finch, CBE, the Vice-Chancellor of Keele University, a distinguished sociologist with an interest in the family and youth, who also chairs the local Social Regeneration Budget committee and the Connexions company for Staffordshire. After warmly welcoming the conference, she introduced it by questioning the distinction between theoretical and applied research, citing the example of 'social exclusion', which began as a purely theoretical concept and now underpins swathes of national and European policy. She also questioned the idea of a simple, linear relation of research to policy: 'Researchers produce tools for others to think with; they provide new data and concepts to give policy makers different perspectives on the issues they wrestle with.'

The keynote speech was given by Althea Efunshile, the Director of the Children and Young People Unit, responsible for cross-Government co-ordination of policies affecting young people. She outlined the work of the CYPU to date and its next initiatives, which aim to:

- *Use the CYPU as a voice for children and young people in Whitehall to ensure joined up policy making*
- *To ensure the delivery of better co-ordinated services to children and young people*
- *To develop the CYPU as a centre of excellence for prevention.*

Liza Catan, the Director of the ESRC research programme responded by welcoming the visible progress made on setting up machinery to coordinate and progress policy for young people. She outlined issues which the JRF and ESRC programmes of recently completed research indicated needed to be on the agenda in the medium-to-longer term: the extension of youth policy from its current cut-off-point at age 19 to support young adult transitions to adulthood, which now lasts throughout their 20s; acknowledgement in policy of the crucial role of young adults' families in successful

transitions to adulthood, the provision of support to families who cannot undertake this, and the linking of youth with family policy; and the need to consider how to improve opportunities in weak local labour markets for better quality training and work for young people.

In discussion, Althea Efunshile acknowledged the need to continue youth policy and support post-19, once the start-up period had been consolidated. She said researchers must be braver and more decisive in thinking through the implications for their research. Others questioned whether researchers were qualified to do this and wondered whether it should be the job of policy makers, not researchers, to extract messages from research. A 'middle way' was proposed, which was that researchers and policy makers need to work together to extract messages from research.

The second plenary was entitled 'The Future Youth Research Agenda', and was led by a panel consisting of the conference's sponsors, plus John Elliot, from the Analytical Services Division of the DfES and Anthony Lawton, the Director of Centrepoint. The main points made were:

- *The need for more integrated youth studies e.g. drug misuse in the context of growing up in deprived neighbourhoods; integrating youth sub-cultural studies - which are largely unfunded - with the 'serious' aspects of life like education and training; broadening understanding as to what a policy-relevant issue is. Boundaries are blurring e.g. with work on alternative and night-time economies and the making of careers outside conventional structures, and the investigation of social integration of marginalized youth through arts projects.*

- *JRF's future programme will take forward issues arising from its previous research: the families of young adults, the problem of increased polarization of youth transitions, the issue of part-time working by students in FE and HE, race and ethnicity in the context of recent disturbances in Bradford and Oldham, and inter-agency responses to young people identified as vulnerable at school.*

- *Both JRF and ESRC emphasised the need to look beyond the current emphasis on vulnerable young people. 'Ordinary' young people also need to be studied, not least because there are no absolute divisions between the vulnerable and the ordinary. The study of elites is also important to be wise to future trends; elites do today what the rest of us aspire to tomorrow.*

- *DfES plans to emphasise evaluation of current initiatives, e.g. EMAs, Connexions, Modern Apprenticeships. Major funding has been committed to the Youth Cohort Survey and a new Longitudinal Survey of Young People. DfES will also be investigating how better to involve young people in its research programme.*

- *Anthony Lawton emphasised the need for better communication of results - a point taken up in discussion, where delegates said it was essential to involve practitioners in dissemination plans. It is vital for all sectors to work together to ensure faster responses to issues once they have been identified. The long periods of time taken by research funders to get programmes up and running was also criticised.*

The final plenary was entitled 'Research and Practice'. It was chaired by Howard Williamson, CBE, and the panellists were Erica De'Ath, the Chief Executive of NCVCCO, Tom Wylie, Director of the NYA, and Bob Coles, research advisor to the JRF programme. The main points made were:

- *Concern over length of time it takes for research to be conducted and embedded in policy.*
- *The need for 'distillation' exercises to facilitate learning from research.*
- *The importance of partnerships with voluntary and statutory sector practitioners to be in place from the start of research projects.*
- *The need to make more use of existing knowledge.*
- *Researchers need to listen more to practitioners, who have more immediate and grounded knowledge of youth issues.*
- *Practitioners will only listen to researchers when they feel this will help them improve their practice, when it connects with their current work and feeds into better understanding or the development of new skills.*
- *Researchers need to develop the skills to communicate their findings to non-specialist audiences, both orally and in writing.*
- *Research funders need to go the extra step and fund development work which translates research findings into practice models and materials.*
- *It is vital for researchers to time the dissemination of results to occur when they are most likely to be listened to. There was a heated discussion about announcements which had hindered, rather than helped, decisions by key policy makers through insensitive timing.*

Paper sessions
Many, though unfortunately not all, the sessions contained one, sometimes two presentations from youth work projects, in addition to three or four research presentations. The sessions were constructed to provide plenty of time for both presentation and discussion, in a deliberate attempt to counter the 10-minute presentation that has become the favoured format in many academic conferences. The aim was to provide a space in which researchers, practitioners and policy makers could engage in

discussions on topics of shared interest, hopefully fostering greater mutual understanding of their different contributions and some convergence of viewpoints and aims. They covered the following topics:

- *Alcohol and drugs*
- *Citizenship*
- *Culture and sub-cultures*
- *Disability*
- *Disadvantage*
- *Education and Training*
- *Family*
- *Housing and Household Formation*
- *Mental Health*
- *Mentoring*
- *Peer Groups and Friendships*
- *Personal Advisers/Connexions*
- *Sexuality*
- *Values and Identities*
- *Work, Income and Alternative Economy*
- *Young Parents*
- *Young People as Victims and Perpetrators of Crime*

And after the Papers and Plenaries...
There were:

- *Poster presentations*
- *A special session on the JRF-funded evaluation of Communities that Care by Professor Alan France and Mary Hart of Sheffield University*
- *The launch of the Carnegie Young People's Initiative's report Evaluating the Magic? Evaluating and researching young people's participation in public decision making by Perpetual Kirby with Sara Bryson*
- *An after-dinnner entertainment by Laurie Taylor, broadcaster, journalist and sociologist*
- *Top of the Pops from Bill Hayley to the present - a disco, where delegates from the OAPs to the youngest students and youth workers could dance to the tunes of their youth.*

Aftermath, Follow Up.

Lack of resources prevented an extensive follow-up or evaluation. However, many delegates contributed their views spontaneously, and the majority were enthusiastic and positive. The main points of concern for future events were:

- *The scant resources of most youth work projects makes it difficult for them to spare the time to participate in events like the* Young People 2002 *conference. Sponsorship helped, but future events will need to increase levels of sponsorship to achieve a more substantial representation of practitioners.*

- *Many researchers need to improve presentational skills when communicating with a broad audience, such as was present at this conference. It was noted that practitioners, though unused to giving formal presentations, had usually mastered approaches to communicating with non-specialist audiences. Some research presentations were very dry and had not been adapted for a broad audience. Perhaps this could be tackled in PhD courses.*

- *The conference should be seen as the start of a process towards 3-way dialogue which, it was hoped, would continue in the future.*

Liza Catan *ESRC Youth Research Programme,Trust for the Study of Adolescence.*

Notes

1   E.g. the Social Exclusion Unit's Policy Action Team on young people, the Ministerial Committee on Children and Youth and the Children and Young People Unit, Sure Start, EMAs, the Connexions service, the reformulating of 14-19 educational policies.

2   Information about the Research, Policy and Practice Forum on Young People and its current programme is available from the National Youth Agency.

Classic Texts Revisited
Henry Morris
The Village College. Being a Memorandum on the Provision of Educational and Social Facilities for the Countryside, with Special Reference to Cambridgeshire.
Cambridge: Cambridgeshire County Council 1924: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1925 (reprinted Dybeck 1981; Ree 1973; Ree 1984; www.infed.org/e-texts/morris.htm)

TONY JEFFS

Leaving school at 14 Henry Morris became an office boy with his local paper *The Southport Visitor*. Within months he was promoted to junior reporter. However his ambitions lay beyond journalism - he wanted to be an Anglican minister. Years of exhausting study at evening school led eventually to a university place to read theology. However in the August of 1914, prior to his final year war broke out and Morris, like most of his fellow under-graduates, abandoned his studies and enlisted. Miraculously he survived the War. Few who volunteered in 1914 did. In 1918 he returned to complete his studies physically intact. However the experience of life in the trenches and officers' mess had profoundly altered him. The plumber's son emerged with the mannerisms and élan of an upper-middle class English gentleman. Henceforth he disowned his humble origins and fostered a quasi-aristocratic demeanour. Indeed so successful was the performance that when his brother, a plumber, arrived at Morris's funeral in 1961 most friends and colleagues were dumbfounded, flabbergasted to discover a family lurked in the background, let alone a lowly one.

The war destroyed Morris's religious faith so he deserted Oxford, his pre-war university, for Cambridge, jettisoning theology *en route* for philosophy. What had not been lost was a determination to embark on a profession offering an opportunity for 'service', the promotion of equality and a more creative life for all. Consequently after graduation he opted for educational administration, briefly in Kent then in Cambridgeshire where in 1922, following the sudden death of Austin Keen the Secretary (we would now say Director) for Education, Morris who was Keen's Deputy, acquired the post. It was not a highly sought after job for Cambridgeshire was then the second poorest LEA in England. Morris remained Secretary until his retirement in 1954.

Two years into the job Morris set aside his summer holiday to write a plan for the future development of education in the county. This proposal,

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he believed, once implemented in Cambridgeshire would serve as a template for the subsequent transformation of rural education throughout Britain. Completed in 1924 the *Memorandum* was initially presented to the elected members of the County Council.

A pithy document, barely 7,000 words long, the original never secured a mass readership. The *Memorandum* was fundamentally a prospectus intended to persuade councillors, local communities and, occasionally, philanthropists to join his crusade to revolutionise rural education. Subsequently Morris, at his own expense, published a few hundred copies of a slightly amended version in 1925. Via re-print and word-of-mouth it eventually reached a wider audience, becoming for some the quintessential statement of what the community school, even community education, should epitomise.

The big idea

It is difficult to judge from council minutes the degree of enthusiasm members had for his scheme. It can hardly have been overwhelming. For they voted to permit the author to proceed to implementation on condition the programme would not cost the ratepayers a penny over and above the miserly sum already allocated for education. Undismayed Morris set about unearthing the means whereby existing funds might be better employed to free-up cash for investment in his scheme. He also began to relentlessly pursue alternative sources of capital. During the next fourteen years Morris devoted most, if not all, his holidays along with countless weekends and evenings to persuading individuals and organisations at home and abroad, to donate money, time or equipment to enable the *Memorandum* to be implemented. It was an exhausting schedule. But, as we shall see, by the time he retired in 1954 much had been achieved.

The document itself is beautifully written and deftly crafted. The elegance of the prose, the compass of the vision, the cultural and intellectual reference points mingle to conceptualise an education system devoted to the 'pursuit of goodness, of truth, of beauty' (Morris, 1946: 109). Almost eighty years on it remains fresh and challenging. This is partly because it raises our gaze, and stirs the imagination, demanding that we strive to create an education system richer, more humane, more meritorious, than that we have allowed ourselves to be content with, but also because the progress in the intervening years has in many respects been so desultory. For our schools are still ruled (at all levels from Whitehall downwards) by those who worship, and require others likewise to venerate, 'the pundit and

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tyrant' (Morris 1926: 42). Mainstream education remains obsessed with hierarchy and order. Indeed the situation has in many respects deteriorated as the unrestrained obsession with managerialism gives this age-old addiction to deference a veneer of freshness. Nowadays the ruthless pursuit of league table points, the approval of the Inspectors and baubles such as 'Investor in People' or 'Healthy School' status leaves scant space for the lingering remnants of a commitment to the intellectual or cultural values Morris cherished. The tragedy is not that head teachers, college principals, youth work officers and Connexions managers now so often sound like your local Curry's manager with their wall-to-wall talk of 'business plans', 'outputs', 'training', 'value added' and so on but that so many have come to think like them. Little wonder that the educational aspirations of the costermonger and teacher in most settings mesh without a shudder or a jar. Likewise the 'classroom-ridden, textbook-ridden, information ridden' (Morris 1942 quoted in Jeffs 1998: 55) and, one should now add, test- ridden system Morris loathed has re-asserted itself after a brief retreat before the forces of progressivism. Unfortunately therefore this text remains germane and retains its bloom largely for all the wrong reasons. It can still stir the reader because so many of the evils that blighted education when the *Memorandum* was penned have yet to be vanquished.

The *Memorandum* commences by making the case for reform. First it stresses the degree to which rural education had been subordinated to the needs of urban areas, thereby ensuring young people in the former received an inappropriate education that failed to fit them 'for life (in the widest sense) as countrymen and countrywomen'. Second it highlights the poor quality of primary, secondary, technical and adult education in rural areas. Overall Morris saw rural schools in comparison to their urban counterparts as being 'ill-managed, ill-found, ill taught', a disparity that encouraged those within travelling distance to commute to nearby towns for their education and many of the most committed to leave the countryside to secure a decent education for their children. This haemorrhaging of talent, Morris rightly saw, was undermining the stability of rural life and the capacity of rural areas to re-generate themselves. Without reform the cultural, economic and social deterioration of the countryside, that had then been taking place for over a century, could not, Morris believed, be arrested let alone reversed. Simply 'recasting the rural elementary school system' could achieve little. Inevitably, poor transport and low population density, would merely replicate another

inferior model of what existed in the urban areas. Consequently, the *Memorandum* held that

> *If we wish to build a rural civilisation that will have chronic vigour the first essential is that the countryside should have a localised and indigenous system of education in its own right beginning with the child in the primary school. Itinerant adult education, rural libraries and village halls, will always be fighting a battle already half lost, if leaving the village system of elementary education as it is, we forget the children and the older boys and girls, and allow the ablest of them to be stolen by the secondary schools of the towns.*

The unique, matchless rural system Morris envisaged would only be achievable via the creation of a totally new institution - the village college. Tinkering with the existing schools and system would achieve scant return whatever the outlay.

The village college according to the *Memorandum* would 'furnish a community centre for the neighbourhood'. It was never to be a school 'with all the narrower conceptions' associated with such establishments. Morris roundly disliked schools. Indeed in later years he would at times accuse recalcitrant colleagues of allowing certain village colleges to deteriorate into 'bloody schools'. He also frequently recounted with enormous glee a conversation he once had with a young village college student, who when asked what he thought of the place replied, 'It's so much better than school'.

Morris's objective was to eradicate the 'isolated school' and let in the air of ordinary life. He thought the severance of young people from the remainder of the community to be demonstrably bad, encouraging a narrow curriculum, protective of inferior teaching and a breeding ground for immaturity amongst both students and staff, fostering an unhealthy, isolationist and myopic view of education and promoting a suffocating view that education is an activity reserved for childhood. Therefore Morris advocated that education must not

> *Be divorced from the normal environment of those who frequent it from day to day, or from that greater educational institution, the family. Has there ever been an educational institution that at one and the same time provided for the needs of the whole family and consolidated its life? Our modern educational institutions*

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provide only for units of the family, or separate the individual from the family by time and space so that they may educate it apart and under less natural conditions. The village college would lie athwart the daily lives of the community it served; and in it the conditions would be realised under which education would not be an escape from reality, but an enrichment and transformation of it.

One frequently hears variations upon the statement that the 'real world' exists outside the school, college or university. At every level this statement is a self-evident nonsense. After all the relationships forged in the school are as 'real' as those created in the factory or office; the unhappiness as painful, the highs as precious; and the ideas transmitted are just as likely to be right or wrong, useful or worthless. Yet this fiction is promulgated as much by educationalists as others. It is especially prevalent amongst those trying to portray schools as safe havens in an unsafe world; a place apart where dangerous ideas are filtered out; a tranquil backwater where good order, discipline and respect prevail - where the outside world only enters on a leash after negotiating the carefully policed front-door. This may be a comforting sales pitch to offer parents obsessed with the need to find a safe place to dump their children or who don't want education to over stimulate the imagination and intellect of their children. However such thinking has little to do with any education worthy of the name. For Morris, education was not something that was ever going to be safe and cosy. It was, in his words, a means by which 'the ideal order and the actual order can ultimately be made one'. It was about 'transformation and enrichment' setting the imagination free. As such it could not be bestowed in an environment that separated young people from the rich 'many-sided' life of the community.

Therefore he set out to found a wholly new educational entity capable of harmoniously integrating

all the various vital but isolated activities in village life - the School, the Village Hall and Reading Room, the Evening Classes, the Agricultural Education Courses, the Women's Institute, the British Legion, Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, the recreation ground, the branch of the County Rural Library, the Athletic and Recreation Clubs - and, bringing them together into relation, create a new institution for the English countryside. It would create out of discrete elements an organic whole; the vitality of the constituent elements

would be preserved, and not destroyed, but the unity they would form would be a new thing. For, as in the case of all organic unities, the whole is greater than the mere sum of the parts. It would be a true social synthesis - it would take existing and live elements and bring them into a new and unique relationship.

In the *Memorandum* Morris presented a list of the basic elements that would be fused to provide the core of a village college. This new 'academy' for countrymen and women was to include as a minimum:

- *a primary school for those aged 5 to 10 living in the village;*
- *a secondary school for between 250 and 400 students;*
- *an auditorium fully equipped to serve as a theatre, concert hall and cinema;*
- *a library and reading room for the whole community;*
- *specialist facilities for agricultural education;*
- *common and lecture rooms for adult education, meetings and clubs;*
- *showers, baths and changing rooms for the use of sports clubs and and school-age students;*
- *sport and recreation facilities for all ages;*
- *an infant welfare centre;*
- *land for a college garden;*
- *rooms and facilities for indoor recreation such as billiards;*
- *houses on the campus for the Warden, the caretaker and teaching staff.*

Some items such as showers and changing facilities although commonplace today were then unknown in all but the most lavishly equipped public and grammar schools. At that time to envisage offering such amenities to mere 'elementary' pupils and their families verged on the revolutionary. However Morris did not stop there. For him the village colleges must avoid at all costs the second-rate and the second-best. He once said that he would prefer to see a dead cat pinned to the wall than a print or reproduction. This attitude was reflected across the board. Major artists were persuaded to donate works of art, architects of international standing were recruited to design the buildings and the libraries and theatres located within them were of an extraordinary quality. Thus the first college opened at Sawston in 1930 was the first state school to have a separate

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hall, an appropriately furnished adult wing and a library for school and community use.

Village colleges it was anticipated would personify much more than a collection of well-housed amenities. They were intended to cater for 'every side of the life of the inhabitants' of the community wherein they were located. And to do this Morris knew they had to be staffed by educators of a superior calibre to those usually found in rural, or indeed urban, schools. They must be as comfortable teaching adults as children. They would need the facility to empathise with the life, hopes and aspirations of those living in the community they were to serve. They would need to be gifted with the humility to share in the daily round of life woven into the existence of the college. To live comfortably alongside their fellow citizens as equals, partners and servants. They would be required to act as Hazlitt's 'conductors to the imagination' fashioning a better future for the community. For Morris this meant in essence they should be 'country-bred' and 'university educated' men and women inculcated 'with a love of and understanding of rural life with powers of leadership'. Without the presence of such individuals there was scant chance the village colleges

> would change the whole face of the problem of rural education. As the community centre of the neighbourhood it would provide for the whole man, and abolish the duality of education and ordinary life. It would not only be a training ground for the art of living, but the place in which life is lived, the environment of a genuine corporate life. The dismal dispute of vocational and non-vocational education would not arise in it. It would be a visible demonstration in stone of the continuity and never ceasingness of education. There would be no 'leaving school'! - the child would enter at three and leave college only in extreme old age. It would have the great virtue of being local so that it would enhance the quality of actual life as it is lived from day to day ... For education is committed to the view that the ideal order and the actual order can ultimately be made one.

To signal the seismic break with what went before Morris called these new institutions 'colleges'; a title resonant with maturity and independence - that located them within a quantifiably different tradition to that occupied by the school. These colleges, like their counterparts in the old universities,

were to be serious in intent, adult in their ethos, democratic by nature and independent of spirit.

A new vision

Morris, according to a friend, always believed the building itself 'was a silent teacher, not just flower beds, but what it stood for' (private correspondence). Therefore from the start meticulous attention was paid to matters of design, layout and aesthetics. Almost a third of the *Memorandum* is devoted to a discussion of architecture. Morris had a great affinity with the Arts and Craft tradition. This held that a well designed environment - beautiful architecture, buildings, furniture, fittings and the like - would improve society, fostering the wellbeing of producers and consumers alike. Simply put - good buildings beget good people, and conversely ugly environments gift us an ugly society. However he was not a reactionary with regards to either architecture or the arts. Morris was closer to the radical wing of the Arts and Crafts movement, the wing usually linked to writers and artists such as John Ruskin, William Morris and C.R. Ashbee. Indeed it is possible to trace a direct link between the *Memorandum* and Ashbee's earlier manifesto for the reform of rural education, the rarely acknowledged *Hamptonshire Experiment* in Education (1914). For Morris it was essential that the colleges added a new grandeur to the environment, that they conveyed in one of his favourite phrases, a respect for 'the dignities of education'. Therefore as the following extract explains he visualised

A building that will express the spirit of the English countryside which it is intended to grace, something of its humaneness and modesty, something of the age-long permanent dignity of husbandry; a building that will give the countryside a centre of reference arousing the affection and loyalty of the country child and country people, and conferring significance on their way of life. If this can be done simply and effectively, and the varying needs which the village college will serve realised as an entity and epitomised in a building, a standard may be set and a great tradition may be begun; in such a synthesis architecture will find a fresh and widespread means of expression. If the village college is a true and workable conception, the institution will, with various modifications, speed over rural England; and in course of time a new series of worthy public buildings will stand side by side with the parish churches of the countryside.

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The colleges Morris built are a remarkable testament to the vision first captured in the *Memorandum*. They are amongst finest public buildings of their generation. Pesvener described Impington, opened in 1939, as 'one of the best buildings of its date, if not the best' (1954: 318). That it and the others were built to serve what was then one of the poorest local authorities in the country, bordered on the miraculous.

A place for youth work?

Although mention is made of the Scouts and Guides making their home in their local village college Morris does not include in his blueprint a 'youth wing'. He set his face against age specific provision. In every respect the colleges conveyed a belief that the segregation of young people from the rest of the community made both them and the rest poorer. Instead the colleges were expected to achieve a 'true social synthesis', one that fused into an organic whole all members of the community - irrespective of their age, class or educational background thereby, if not totally eradicating, at least counteracting the dis-welfares of the 'isolated school' and the atomised society. In so doing he jettisoned both youth work and adult education as discrete entities. The intention was that even before they left the compulsory school-age programme of the village college young people would instinctively engage with the diverse activities taking place around them, voluntarily joining the plethora of clubs, social and sporting programmes, groups and educational classes on offer. Certainly in the early years this stratagem appears to have succeeded. During the 1940s and 1950s as many as 70 per cent of young people were active members of the college post-school leaving age, a process undoubtedly encouraged by the involvement of staff in the running and maintenance of clubs, societies and groups (Dybeck, 1981: Jeffs, 1998).

After Morris's departure the pressure of external examinations, the raising of the school-leaving age and increased commuting created a growing age imbalance in the village colleges. The number of 'school students', in some cases, grew four-fold in little over two decades. In line with this the number of teachers, more and more of whom were 'subject specialists' increased. These changes alongside the emergence of a more aggressive and intrusive youth culture led to the appointment of autonomous youth and adult tutors. Men and women employed to run the 'community side of things' were specialists who took unto themselves the burden and responsibilities originally bequeathed members of staff

and the wider community. The inevitable result was that the village colleges gradually became more like standard dual-use schools, unique only for being located in exceptionally beautiful buildings. The rise of discrete youth provision and the appointment of youth tutors constituted a significant staging post on the route to the ultimate abandonment of a unique experiment in community education, one that ultimately entailed the rejection of the core principles that had buttressed the *Memorandum*.

Conclusion

Morris retired in 1954. Six village colleges had then been opened. A further four were completed before he died in 1961. The single teacher primary schools had disappeared as the *Memorandum* promised they would. He had also ensured that Cambridgeshire was the first LEA to employ only qualified teachers. By any measure Morris left behind an impressive legacy. The village colleges remain in name. But they are now what Morris would undoubtedly call 'a bloody school'. They have fallen into line. Yet to visit them remains a poignant experience. For they offer a stark reminder of what might have been. If only the *Memorandum* had provided the inspiration for the post-war school building programme. Instead this great opportunity was lost. Morris had held out the promise that

> *The provision of buildings for the system of public education will in the present century be one of the chiefest ways in which the art of architecture can influence the body politic. If the opportunity is not taken it will only be through dullness and lack of vision.*

To compare the buildings he nurtured with those found almost everywhere else spells out the comprehensive nature of the ultimate victory achieved by the Philistines and narrow-minded school-men and women over Morris and his followers The *Memorandum* offered a magnificent manual for those seeking a better education system, producing, as it did, institutions that as Herbert Read reported provided a model of what a 'practical, functional and beautiful ... educative environment' might resemble (1958: 136). It was not merely 'dullness and lack of vision' that defeated Morris and sidelined the *Memorandum* but a belief that mere schooling would suffice for the majority, that too much education was probably a dangerous thing. Victory went to those, as Morris warned us it might, who wished only to see that

The majority are half-educated, and many not even a quarter-educated, and where large fortunes and enormous power can be obtained by exploiting ignorance and appetite. (1945: 103)

Alas Morris wrote little after the *Memorandum*: a few book reviews, a chapter in an edited collection and a smattering of articles based on talks prepared for conferences and the BBC (virtually the complete output is re-printed in Ree, 1984). A meagre output for such a gifted writer. It was a great pity he stopped writing so early for his creativity continued to fizz and pop well into the 1950s. However the inspirational ideas were lost in the minutes of committees that drifted aimlessly and long discarded files. Morris tried but politicians, planners and the schools fraternity invariably wanted the cheaper option, the predictable alternative and something that kept schooling, education, the community and culture safely compartmentalised.

Post-1945 the government was determined to expand Further Education. The thought of insular and isolating institutions doling out training for the labouring classes in grim industrial units appalled him. As a result , Morris threw himself into planning and designing an alternative, an innovatory educational and cultural centre incorporating many of the best features of the Village College, the Danish Folk High School and the early settlements.

This was his last great scheme, to be built on a 48 acre site on the outskirts of Cambridge. Council approval was granted in 1949 and the architect Jack Howe, who had earlier worked with Maxwell Fry and Walter Gropius on Impington, was given the design brief. As with the village colleges Morris envisaged a scheme far in advance of anything then existing in Britain. Indeed Howe was funded to undertake a study visit to Sweden, Denmark, France and Switzerland to cull the best ideas to be found there. Morris pitched himself headlong into planning what might have become a template for the polytechnics and new municipal universities created in the 1960s and 1970s. Alongside subjects already established the Technical Colleges were to be departments offering music and foreign languages. There would be a School of Design providing courses in fine arts, ceramics, furniture design, sculpture, printing and industrial design and a School of Building and Architecture with three year courses in architecture, town and country planning, civil engineering and landscape design. Residential accommodation for out-of-town students; a state of the

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art auditorium for public performances of plays, operas, concerts and films; theatre and music workshops; two gymnasia; and a swimming pool were also itemised in the brief. The detailed plans prepared by Morris and Howe and delivered to the Ministry of Education were in many respects as revolutionary as the *Memorandum*. If the College had been built it might have changed the ethos and direction of Further Education and possibly large swathes of the university sector, creating a model for a community university, similar to that of the American Land Grant system, for which we have no precedent in Britain. These are institutions designed to support, via teaching and research, their host communities, and to share with them the facilities and expertise at their disposal. Spending restriction and a singular lack of ministerial enthusiasm ensured Morris's scheme was cast aside. This time he lacked the autonomy, vigour and time to proceed without governmental support. Who knows - perhaps if the dullards then managing the Ministry of Education had been willing to fund something different, to risk a few pounds on innovation, the grotesque disaster that is now Further Education might have been avoided.

Morris spent his final years in Cambridgeshire protecting, some might say patrolling, his beloved colleges. As one warden explained 'When the telephone rang to tell you Mr Morris was on his way to visit, everyone shook. He usually arrived with an entourage and woe betide you if anything was out of place' (private correspondence). Post retirement he moved to Hertfordshire where he devoted himself to setting up a new community centre and an arts education programme. It was not by all accounts, a happy period.

The *Memorandum* still retains the capacity to inspire and focus our attention upon the essentials. Also at a time when the education system has been handed over to overseers and panjandrums it is refreshing to spend some fleeting moments at the elbow of a unique 'director'. One who fervently believed that 'the proper architects of education are philosophers, artists, scientists, prophets and scholars, operating in freedom' (Morris, 1941: 71).

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Note
All quotes not directly attributed to an author or text are taken from the *Memorandum* (Morris 1924: 1926).

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REVIEWS IN THIS ISSUE

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Carole Scott

This collection has excellent provenance. The editors draw together a cognoscenti from Australia, UK and US to focus on issues of 'what about the boys', in relation to their own empirical research and informed perspectives on boys and schooling. Seeking to develop further understandings about masculinity within the context of current debates about the boys and the persisting moral panic about their disadvantaged status relative to girls.

The book is multi-faceted but, centrally, problematizes the simplistic conceptualization of boys-as-a-homogeneous-group that drives educational discourses, policies and pedagogical practices, challenging, especially, the idea of boys-as-victims-and-losers now competing with girls. Ontologically much of the content is driven by Connell; arguing that social, cultural and historical factors have influenced how masculinity is defined, and how it comes to be embodied by boys and men. So, the central thrust is that boys (and girls) learn masculinity. In this, authors recognize that schools are important arenas of power in the construction of gendered identity, as are popular discourses, including biological determinist and essentialist debates. But for boys school and schooling become a site of contestation, negotiation, oppression, isolation and marginalisation.

The writers argue that gender regimes are more shifting and contradictory than theorized earlier, building on studies by Kessler et al., Walker, Mac an Ghaill and Epstein, aiming to highlight the impact of certain forms of masculinity in boys' and girls' school lives. Writers warn that adopting the popularist tendency to assert a binary oppositional and 'competing victims' perspective on the factors impacting on the social and educational experiences of boys and girls reinforces the very versions of masculinity which the research shows have detrimental consequences for them all.

The introductory chapter presents contemporary discourses, grounded in the context of the boys' education debates outlined by Foster, Kimmell

and Skelton. As each chapter reveals the particularity of impact, we experience the complexity of effect of regulatory heterosexuality on the construction of boys' sexual self as defined by schools and school practices. Furthermore, we begin to understand that what seemed to be a structural debate is emerging post-structurally, and as partial (in both senses) views of different differences. It seems to me, while epistemologically positioned in the 21st Century, the researchers construct, through Cohen, Willis, Corrigan, Bourdieu, Walkerdine, Foucault, Davies and Butler, a text that Bernstein would have found intriguing.

Themes concern, firstly, ways in which language operates at all age-levels to construct gendered identities, with particular references to the masculine discourses of maths and science. Researchers urge educators to re-define these notions of language not only as masculine, but more widely across the curriculum. There is a highly interactionist account of the ways in which school science structures and is structured by norms of masculinity.

Homophobia is argued to be constitutive of normative heterosexual masculinities in schools - part of the daily misogyny of boys and male teachers alike. Schools are positioned as sites of daily struggle and unhappiness for boys, girls and their teachers, but the latter are viewed as potential change agents in helping boys to problematize hegemonic forms of masculinity.

Resistance theory evidenced in research on indigenous boys (echoing Willis, Corrigan and Mac an Ghaill) explodes myths about boys-as-homogeneous, and speculates about indigenous boys in other post-colonial countries. Reflecting on how the interplay between community and school experiences may result in boys' electing to participate in post-compulsory education, researchers ask are the trade-offs fruitful or a false promise?

Throughout, the focus is on issues of equity and social justice. In particular, there is a call for pedagogical change, and more active interrogation and problematization of how certain forms of power are being mobilised by students to challenge teachers' authority in the classroom. With implications for addressing the (currently popularised) problem of disciplining 'naughty' boys and improving the materiality of schooling for other boys and girls. There is also research into girls' language of evaluation concentrating on problematic conditions that can arise when girls equal boys as learners within the ideological assumption of masculinity as domination, and how girls may resist.

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This convincing collection has major implications for the professional development of teachers in schools and for student teachers in tertiary institutions. However, claims made about boys' education should not be confined to educators of boys. That would ignore the complex nature of social relationships contributing to boys' identity construction, and stifle the potential of the important work already done. Others need to know. Issues of masculinity and conclusions collected here are crucial to informing many policy debates - family, health, youth justice and law enforcement - informing understandings, and practice, within social relationships which impinge on boys' daily lives. Furthermore, the work convincingly presents a post-modern portrayal of complex relationships of power that would inform academic theoretical and methodological discourses.

Fundamentally, supporting the text's epistemological ambitions - of enfranchisement, equity and social justice for boys in the construction of gender identity, of diversity and citizenship in multicultural societies - its readership should be widened, for it is heavily pregnant with further research potential. By positioning it discursively into these 'other' agendas, its essence might re-emerge, not only challenging pedagogical practices and curriculum design, but by enabling boys and male teachers to question their own investment in promoting a particular version of masculinity which restricts them to a narrow set of behaviours and ways of relating to each other. In short, we might then begin to problematise the regulatory, and, therefore, oppressive and alienating nature of the normative teaching of masculinity as heterosexuality, rather than problematising the boys.

The only possibility of challenging powerful discourses is to sublimate them from inside by constructing better ones. I would suggest, at least, that this book helps us to do this.

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Hugh Matthews
Children and Community Regeneration: Creating Better Neighbourhoods
Save the Children 2001
ISBN 1 84187 046 3
£9.95 (pbk)
pp 208

Gill Millar

My first thought on opening this book was 'Not another how-to-do-it guide to involving young people in decision making'. The last few years has seen a seemingly endless supply of such guides published by voluntary organisations, Health Authorities, Connexions and others. In this book, the perspectives of partner organisations Save the Children and Groundwork are added to the throng of those claiming to recognise good practice in this highly problematic arena.

Where this book is helpful is in setting the context and explaining some of the background behind the sudden upsurge of interest in involving children and young people in decision making from a range of government agencies. It shows how Britain has been criticised internationally for failing to take significant steps towards implementing the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. This has led to government departments, centrally and locally, being pressed to take action to establish processes by which the voices of young people can be heard. Matthews focuses specifically on regeneration initiatives and the need to engage young people as members of their communities in the planning and delivery of neighbourhood based developments.

The topic lends itself to the new youth geography approach, with an emphasis on conflicting perspectives on place and use of space by young people and other sections of the community. Youth facilities are frequently regarded as high priority in neighbourhood regeneration initiatives, although the demand from adults is usually a response to a vision of young people causing trouble on the streets and in the public areas. The book draws on research that shows how young people operate within very limited geographical boundaries, setting their own clear limits on 'their territory'. It also demonstrates how an understanding of the uses that different groups make of existing space leads to differing proposals for regenerating areas, thus strengthening the case for involving young people in community regeneration.

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Matthews provides a useful critique of the range of methods used to involve children and young people in decision making, and some of the key barriers to that involvement. He points out that childhood is a social construction, which in many Western societies relegates children to 'an unnatural state of incompetence, such that their capacities, skills and powers remain, for the most part, unrealised' (p.13). Britain has been particularly slow to address this mind-set, as Matthews shows with examples of more serious and systematic approaches to supporting young people's participation in other countries. He points out that the drive for more active citizenship in Britain requires a rethink of how children and young people are engaged in democratic processes in their areas and beyond.

The focus on children and young people's involvement in regeneration initiatives enables Matthews to explore the range of responses to community regeneration in post-war Britain, and pick out key issues affecting young people. Children and young people are identified as both victims and perpetrators of deteriorating social conditions, suffering from poor housing, poverty and inadequate service provision in 'sink' neighbourhoods and estates, and contributing to their deterioration by involvement in street crime, vandalism and graffiti. As Matthews notes, 'young people are presented with a way of life that lacks stimulation, enjoyment and social opportunity' (p. 81).

Matthews shows that neighbourhood renewal strategies have responded to these problems in two potentially conflicting ways. One model supports young people's involvement in local decision making, leading to better and more effective provision for young people's social and leisure time. The other advocates more control of young people through curfews designed to take young people off the street where they are perceived as engaging in anti-social behaviour and present a threat to the safety of other members of the community. Matthews argues that the curfew is ineffective as a solution to the problems of young people, as it fails to take account of young people's own perceptions of 'the street' and other public places, often the only places open to young people to meet their friends and take part in social activity. He notes the contradictions in expecting young people to become involved as active members of their community while at the same time treating them as dangerous animals who need to be controlled.

The latter part of the book proposes a typology of community action to recognise the different ways in which young people are drawn into neighbourhood renewal, and draws on examples of practice from a range of initiatives in which Save the Children and Groundwork have been involved, to illustrate the typology. Youth Councils and Forums, Citizens' Juries, Youth Consultations, often involving young people as researchers, media initiatives, community development, training for young people as leaders, volunteering projects, information and advice services and environmental projects are all cited as examples off different forms of involvement, with different aims and outcomes.

Three main barriers to effective involvement of young people in regeneration are identified: the nature of the scheme; attitudes of adults; and the characteristics of young people. Matthews argues that in order for involvement to be effective changes need to be made not just to structures for decision making but to the culture and values of the organisations and individuals involved. He suggests that NGOs (such as Save the Children?) are well placed to act as 'honest brokers' to encourage and support the involvement of children and young people in neighbourhood based regeneration.

Ultimately, this book adds to the growing literature on young people's involvement in decision making a sound analysis of the impact of human rights legislation on this area of work. The geographical approach to exploring different ways of seeing and experiencing space and place is useful in considering neighbourhood based developments, providing a conceptual framework for planners and activists. I suspect, however, that we now have enough guides to good practice on young people's involvement, and need to move on to changing the culture and values of a society that treats children and young people as incapable of making decisions, in need of protection from themselves and, at the same time, a danger to society. Until we can see young people as creative and active agents of change in their communities, one more book on the Resource Centre shelves will make little difference.

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Gerry Johnstone
Restorative Justice - Ideas, Values, Debates
Willan Publishing 2002
ISBN 1-903240-42-5
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Keith Munro

Restorative Justice is the most radical development to emerge in the field of criminal justice studies in the last 50 years. In England and Wales, the New Labour government elected in May 1997 began a root and branch reform of the youth justice system based on the principles of Restorative Justice: restoration, reintegration and responsibility (Home Office 1997). These reforms were introduced via The Crime and Disorder Act (1998) and The Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act (1999) creating, for example, Reparation Orders and flexibility for victim - offender mediation to form parts of other community disposals such as Supervision Orders.

Johnstone has produced a text that clearly explains the ideas, values and debates surrounding Restorative Justice. He acknowledges there is a wide range of views as to what the term means. This approach supports the development of debate throughout the book. These definitions and practices range from victims and offenders taking part in face-to-face mediation meetings, to indirect community reparation where the activity undertaken by the offender is unrelated to the impact of the crime upon the victim.

The text contains eight excellent chapters. However, for the reviewer three stand out and it is upon these I will focus. In chapter one Johnstone contrasts the traditional criminal justice process of conviction followed by retribution or attempts to rehabilitate the offender with a restorative process. The exponents of Restorative Justice place the emphasis on addressing the effect of the crime upon the victim and its implications for the future. He also identifies and contrasts key differences in the roles of professionals involved in traditional criminal justice responses to crime against those of Restorative Justice practitioners who co-ordinate and manage a process of dialogue between victims and offenders in order for them to decide how the impact of the offence and its repercussions for the future should be handled, a process that requires the system, and the professionals within it, to transfer some decision-making power to victims and offenders, for example, magistrates and judges can make flexile orders that allow safe and sensitive dialogue to take place between victims and offenders via mediation.

In chapter three Johnstone explores claims by enthusiasts that this set of ideas, values and practices is an old and ancient form of justice pre-dating the development of the current English and Welsh systems. I found these discussions informative and interesting. In particular the seizure of the criminal justice process in 12th century England by feudal barons, ecclesiastical powers and the King as a method of raising revenues. The former point supporting the view that there was a shift away from a process of restitution directly to victims by offenders towards offences being viewed as against the crown or state.

Chapter four focuses on healing the victim. Johnstone raises and discusses debates about the needs of victims and how retributive and rehabilitative justice has failed them. A view summed up by his inclusion of the following quote: 'The tendency of English criminal law in the past has been "to take it out of the offender" rather than to do justice to the offended' (Fry 1951). However, Johnstone also explores how Restorative Justice could be captured by proponents of rehabilitation or retribution and used to rehabilitate or punish offenders rather than healing victims. He concludes this chapter by looking at Restorative Justice in relation to the needs of victims and offenders and makes an important point. Namely that while Restorative Justice could address the historic neglect of victim's interests, it may also result in the decline of current public and political interest in preventing and reducing the fear of crime.

My only criticism relates to the discussion of the future of Restorative Justice research. Johnstone could have more fully developed the discussion of how we might more effectively undertake the 'measurement' of Restorative Justice. He only gives this important and contentious subject a single page. Arguing for more radical research such as the critical inquiry of '... the nature, limits, problems and dangers...' associated with the exercise of power rather than government driven agendas associated with reducing offending, cost-benefit analysis and the fear of crime. However, as a practitioner, manager and researcher in the field of Restorative Justice I am aware of the tensions that exist in the measurement of the outcomes of this set of practices. There has been a real enthusiasm to develop Restorative Justice over the past three years in England and Wales particularly in the area of youth justice. These developments were heavily dependant upon funding from The National Youth Justice Board for England and Wales. In the rush to develop services tensions between how government bodies and enthusiasts of Restorative Justice want this approach to youth crime

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measured were hidden, as the two were dependant on each other to deliver change. The game is now afoot. Robert Street, a Home Office researcher, stated at the annual Restorative Justice Consortium conference in London in November 2001 that the primary measure for assessing success of pilot Restorative Justice trials with adult offenders would be the rates of re-offending. As opposed to measurement of whether the victim and the offender were satisfied with the outcome.

The above criticism aside this is an authoritative book, to be recommended to any professional or student interested in developing their understanding of Restorative Justice.

Keith Munro *manages a Restorative Justice and research project for the Children's Society on Teeside*

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Fiona Reeve, Marion Cartwright and Richard Edwards (eds)
Supporting Lifelong Learning (Vol 2): Organising Learning
Routledge 2001
ISBN 0 415 259282
ISBN 0 415 259290
£60.00 (hbk)
£17.99 (pbk)
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Don Blackburn

This book is a collection of articles based mainly on an analysis of lifelong learning in the workplace. Ashton's opening chapter focuses on the way learning is conceptualised in the context of work. He makes the reasonable point that learning should be viewed as a continuous process rather than as a single or series of discrete 'training opportunities'. This is necessary, not because of the intrinsic nature of learning, but due to the changing nature of work '(A)s we have seen, organisational changes are making the process of learning at work more central to the achievement of business objectives' (p.31). In other words, I read this to mean that education should primarily serve the interests of the workplace rather than the worker. The task is to 'make explicit the tacit knowledge that people learn

and create in their everyday working practices, in order that this knowledge can be an effective resource for the organisation as a whole' (p. 3 see also chapter by Marsick and Watkins).

This points to the nub of the problem. It is not simply that the process of education appears to be placed at the feet of business and industry, the discussion about education and work does not fully recognise that the needs of the workforce and those of the employers are at least out of kilter, and often opposed. A key question for me is how does learning at work relate to the power relations of the workplace and the division of labour?

What is interesting about some of the contributions to this book is that the criticisms of the rhetoric of workplace 'education' are noted, but rarely dealt with in any substance. The chapter by Marsick and Watkins well illustrates this. In a generally uninteresting attempt at analysing organisations in terms of 'metaphors' the critical engagement with the issue of power and education is noted, but the discussion goes nowhere.

The chapter by Devos does attempt to address the issue of power by arguing that a focus on gender offers a substantial starting point from which to construct a critical view of work and education. The author criticises other writers for dealing with work as an abstraction rather than dealing with specific work contexts then proceeds to describe gendered work in an abstract way. To underline the arguments about inequality, the author makes a number of generalisations and abstract points about particular social groups at work. A more coherent and consistent strategy would have been to give concrete examples of women involved in and controlling workplace learning. For example, the author might have examined occupations where women have been traditionally dominant in their own education - nursing or midwifery for example. This would have enabled the author to indicate strategies for developing an educational agenda that faced up to the issues of power. The examples of a women controlling their own education may not be very extensive, but could have been used to explore the difficulties that workers face in genuinely engaging with learning and work. Devos leaves the reader with the exhortation that the only thing to do is to 'change organisations'.

The limitations of workplace training and education are outlined in Keep and Rainbirds chapter. They point to the barriers to training and education in the workplace, in addition to the limitations of what has been established. They indicate that often where training exists, it focuses principally upon

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young workers and does not extend to older workers or management. They might also have added that evidence also underlines the fact that what training does exist for young workers is abysmally poor, as attested once again by the recent Adult Leaning Inspectorate annual report. What is continuously worthy of comment is the endless exhortation from ministers and others that schools, colleges and universities should 'listen to business' when it comes to the process of educating the population. There is simply no evidence from businesses or commerce or industry that they have anything of value to say, nor any evidence that there is any practice from work worth copying.

When 'learning' is placed at the disposal of management, then what do we mean? Learning can have concrete outcomes, many of which will be unintended - one of the key difficulties for employers in trying to manage the process. The whole point of management in many organisations is to reduce uncertainty and to achieve planned objectives. The process of learning is open ended and will not be conducive to this closed goal and target setting. Can organisations really tolerate their employees fully exploring the intended and unintended consequences of their organisations activities? Is there genuine opportunity in most organisations to support the learning that is taking place?

The standardisation and fragmentation of training and education, that some of the authors find problematic, are a direct consequence of the division of labour in the workplace. Both the State and private employers have developed standardisation of processes at work, ostensibly to improve efficiency. This development is as much a part of service systems such as the school and hospital as it is of manufacturing industry. All work organisations are fundamentally based upon the division of labour and many of the problems faced by individuals are to do with this fact. In consequence, the way in which individuals experience organisations is as fragmented activities that contrast fundamentally with the nature of individual experiences as continuous processes. This is as true in schools and educational institutions as in factories. In everyday life people can make coherent sense of the learning that relates to their own needs, they are not 'fragmented' in their relationships with family and friends. In other words, the need for standardisation in systems of mass production is antithetical to a genuine educational project focused on individual or social development.

The ironic problem, and contradiction for the workplace is that the fragmentation and separation created by the division of labour requires management

and supervision to provide co-ordination and planning and to enable organisations to deal with the boundary problems created by the division of labour in the first place. As the division of labour has become more complex, the growing need for co-ordination has also led to the growing demand for 'interdisciplinary training', teamwork, problem solving, flexibility, 'holism' and so forth.

Throughout the book there is reference to 'learning organisations'. This reification of organisations as entities that 'learn' is a substantive problem. People learn, not organisations. It is a category error that creates confusion and obfuscation through mistaking the analytical metaphor for reality. To be fair some of the authors do indicate a number of criticisms of the concept of the 'learning organisation' - only to sidestep them by treating the points as a criticism of the trainers who are 'seldom positioned to address these (more necessary) fundamental changes to organisations'.

Perhaps what should concern us rather more than learning at work is the importation of commercial and industrial management and business practices into education. A key problem for society is the commodification of learning, and the invasion by management 'thinking' into education and other elements of everyday life. King's chapter nicely illustrates the problems of an uncritical approach to this issue in the case of universities. The process of commodification and standardisation is presented as inevitable and the 'culture' of universities is regarded as a 'problem' that needs to be overcome. It does not appear to cross the author's mind that the process described could be destructive of the very educational processes that it purports to support. The argument seems to be partially based on a view that the 'market' should define learning. The logic of this is that people, who by definition do *not* have knowledge, should not only instruct those who do have knowledge, but also are in the position of defining what knowledge is important. Some of the results of this banality can be seen already. In the UK there has been a reduction in university courses in languages, philosophy, the sciences, engineering and so forth. Presumably King believes this to be good, since 'the market' is defining what is to be learned. One of the most irritating aspects of this kind of writing is the extent to which it presents a badly thought through discussion about state policy on higher education as 'enlightened pragmatism'.

Overall the book is a curate's egg, good in small parts, but suffering from the classic management tendency to see learning as a 'tool' to be put to some use or other, rather than as a human activity that reflects human

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development and emancipation. The worst parts of the book strongly represent this tendency. They reflect the idea that human beings are a means to an end, rather than an end in themselves.

Don Blackburn works at the University of Lincoln.

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