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coming to terms with youth crime

JOHN MUNCIE

In April 1984, the Home Secretary announced that the two experimental 'short, sharp, shock' regimes for young offenders were to be extended to a further twenty detention centres. In September 1983 a new youth training scheme was launched to provide an institutional hold over unemployed school leavers. In October of 1982 the Criminal Justice Act replaced borstals by youth custody centres to promote shorter sentences but for more recipients. The same Act gave the courts the power to include curfew requirements in supervision orders.

Between 1965 and 1980 the number of young people sent to borstal and detention centres increased five fold.[1] This escalation of institutional controls directed towards the young in the 1980s is the practical outcome of publicly expressed fears about a growing youth lawlessness. Law 'n' order enthusiasts for example have warned us of a new delinquent syndrome in which youth seems to delight in crudity, cruelty and violence.[2] Government ministers have forseen the destruction of society from within and argued for the use of stocks to punish offenders.[3] Chief constables have readily associated youth with a lack of discipline, violence and crime which are believed to threaten the very stability of society.[4] Between 1975 and 1979 national opinion polls discovered that the general category of juvenile crime was considered to be one of the most pressing social problems faced by Britain, second only to crimes of violence.[5] Increasingly it seems the young are defined only as a social problem rather than as representing any hopes and aspirations for the future. These fears of youth have characteristically clustered around the media images of the 'vicious young criminal' 'mugger' or 'hooligan' intent on 'meaningless' violence, who has made the streets unsafe for the majority of 'law abiding citizens'. How justified are such fears? Do youth really threaten to bring society to imminent collapse?

Dominant images of youth

British youth research since the 1950s has paid increasing attention to such questions. Mirroring public and media concern this research has concentrated its attention on youth's more visibly deviant practices, but has increasingly come to question the legitimacy of dominant modes of delinquency definition and government reaction.

Firstly studies of how youth behaviour is reported in the press found a general tendency for the sensational and unusual to be exaggerated to the detriment of the ordinary and everyday behaviour of young people.[6] Porteous and Colston's content analysis revealed that over a third of those press reports which mentioned youth were related to crime in one form or another. They concluded that the picture that emerges of the nation's youth is that young people are only interested in sport, crime or likely to be murdered or injured in accidents. Youth is either famous, dangerous or vulnerable. In following journalistic codes of 'news values' and 'news worthiness' the media seem to have an inbuilt tendency to focus in on criminal and deviant practices. Crime stands out against a background of a taken-for-granted conformity in the social world. Thus although crime is forever present it is always reported as unusual, disruptive and thus dramatic and sensational.[7] Youth crime occupies this position even more so because of the fear that 'kids will grow up to be criminal' and that their presumed 'natural' innocence and naivety are at stake. Public knowledge about youth misbehaviour then is contained within the parameters of a debate concerned with discovering what is 'wrong' with young people, rather than interrogating the multitude of ways in which youthful behaviour is already constrained and circumscribed. The selection of news stories, according to the imperatives of 'news values', also unwittingly leads the media to exaggerate youth's more violent and disorderly tendencies. However the seriousness of youth crimes is somewhat undermined by statistical data on young offenders. Crimes of violence only account for some 6% of juvenile offences. Statistically the crimes most likely to be committed by under 18's are theft, burglary and criminal damage. Sexual offences, robbery, fraud, forgery and violent crimes are more the domain of adults. Nevertheless it has become an almost commonplace argument that any increase in the official rate of youth crime is indicative that youth behaviour is becoming progressively more unruly, dangerous and uncontrollable. In this way stronger measures for the control of youth are legitimated.

Constructing the 'problem'

Such popular notions have been critically examined by recent social history research.[8] This has revealed how contemporary moral panics about youth are by no means unprecedented. British history is replete with recurring incidents of youth disorder and accompanying fears about their future. Indeed the first official panic about youth was launched some 170 years ago when **the Society for Investigating the alarming increase in juvenile delinquency in the Metropolis** published its report in 1816. Whether the crime rate was increasing at this time remains statistically unsubstantiated, but it is clear that it was a contemporary conviction that the number of 'street arabs' and 'artful dodgers' who sought a living on the streets of London's rookeries needed to be removed from that environment and retrained to conform to bourgeois notions of family dependency and factory discipline. The major institutional control of

the nineteenth century, the reformatories, survived until the 1930's when they were renamed 'approved schools' and remain with us today as 'community homes'. State acceptance of the reformatory principle was initially achieved through the Youthful Offenders Act of 1854. With it the concept of **juvenile** delinquency was established whereby it was argued that youth should be afforded different forms of punishment to their adult counterparts. The social construct juvenile delinquent was thus given legal status. Youth was viewed as neither child not adult, comprised of vulnerable individuals in need of both care and control. Concern was now directed not only towards delinquent youth but also able to encompass orphans, the illegitimate and the abandoned. Because crime was believed to be generated from the conditions of working class life these sections of youth were seen within a continuum of delinquency as pre-delinquent or near delinquent. It was no longer necessary to have a criminal act to justify intervention and control; all aspects of working class socialisation were now 'legitimately' open to the 'humanitarian' gaze of the reforming philanthropists. This view of working class youth as a forever potentially troublesome section of the population was more the result of a bourgeois redefinition of what it meant to be young, rather than a reflection of any fundamental shift in the behaviour of young people themselves. May has revealed that young people were only singled out from adults as a distinctive legal and criminal category following a number of reports of the insanitary and overcrowded conditions in prisons.[9] In order to reduce numbers in existing prisons new forms of incarceration for youth such as the 'hulks', the reformatories and Parkhurst prison, were constructed to provide additional means of custody. Any consideration of protecting youth was largely incidental. It was only through tackling the problem of a rising prison population that the apparently unique needs of the young were revealed.

This development remains vital for understanding continuing contradictions in the status of young people and in the definition of their criminality. As 'juveniles', young people could not only be punished but also seen as in need of continual surveillance and treatment. Indeed the mid-Victorian controversies of whether to control or care for youth still form a major debating terrain in juvenile justice policy today. The marking out of a separate juvenile section of the population not only demarcated a particular period in one's life, but also clearly defined it as problematic. The early theoretical formulations of the 'problem' tended to be largely deterministic. That is they denied rationality to youthful behaviour and explained criminality as an inevitable feature of the moral bankruptcy of working class socialisation.

Such definitions of 'problem youth' were to make an equally significant shift at the turn of the century with the emergence of notions of adolescence. Adolescence was originally a 'discovery' of the professional middle classes. From the mid-nineteenth century the children of the bourgeoisie found their independence undermined by extended periods of secondary education. With a fall in the rate of child mortality, the affluent middle classes began to limit the size of their families. Their investment in a long and expensive education for their children became carefully planned and protected. As Gillis argued what were historically evolved social norms of a particular class became enshrined in medical and psychological literature as the 'natural' attributes of youth.[10] The 'storm and stress' of 'adolescence' soon came to be equated with youthful deviancy. Although historically related to the desire to regulate the increased period of dependency of middle class youth the notion was transposed onto **all** youthful behaviour.

Young people were viewed as 'naturally' inclined to depravity and in consquence in need of firm supervision and control. Stanley Hall effectively secured this connection between youth and crime by arguing that 'adolescence is pre-eminently the criminal age', a period characterised by 'uncivilised savagery'.[11] Such "animalistic behaviour"needed to be contained and directed. In the wake of the Boer War and the nationalistic fervour prior to the First World War, the Boys Brigade and the Boy Scout movement provided a model authority for organising youth. However the concepts of adolescence and organised youth had little or no connection with the actual conditions of existence of working class youth. Children of the lower classes were needed in the factories as soon as compulsory schooling was completed and the experience of secondary education which gave birth to adolescence was rarely able to reach them. Gangs of working class youth such as the 'hooligans' in London, 'Peaky blinders' in Birmingham and the 'scuttlers' in Manchester stood outside of this bourgeois concensus. The notion of 'adolescence' was displaced onto them and served to exaggerate their deviancy. At this time many traditional forms of working class youth leisure, gambling, street trading, public bathing, street football and loitering were increasingly subject to surveillance and criminalisation. The independent young were stigmatised as delinquent.

Changing perception of youth and the power of moralistic 'child-savers' to place their definitions into the public arena once more brought fears of a working class youth 'crime wave' even though the behaviour of such youth had not really altered at all. Images of the 'innocent adolescent' and the 'dangerous delinquent' were constructed which provided a ready framework in which the legitimate traditions of working class youth could be seen as punishable delinquencies and middle class fears of youth unruliness could be substantiated. When working class young people reasserted their desire for independence and autonomy through the creation of spectacular subcultures in the 1950's, 60's and 70's the ground work had already been completed to secure their immediate portrayal as mindless, undisciplined 'hooligans'.

Re-defining the 'problem'

The wedding of sociology to criminology in the 1950's however considerably widened the frames of reference to understanding the twin concepts of youth and crime. Rather than viewing crime as pathological a cluster of studies reported that crime was ubiquitous.[12] Moreover certain patterns of crime were considered as quite natural and normal when viewed in the context of a society based on inequality and class difference.

Sociological research of delinquency in Britain has maintained that the 'crimes' of the young are overwhelmingly trivial and undeserving of so much censorious attention. In the 1960's a 'labelling' perspective emerged in which it could be argued that the problem of youth was only a problem created by law enforcement agencies in an over-reactive drive to establish their own sense of social order. Essentially the kids were seen as being alright. Within new deviancy theory, the 'crimes' of young people were seen to derive not from an innate criminality or moral impoverishment but from their attempts to overcome their own sense of powerlessness. This line of reasoning eventually proposed that deviance was politically, rather than criminally inspired. The kids were viewed as being proto-political actors. Such theoretical premises were most notably employed in various examinations of post-war youth subcultures.[13] In contrast to official pronouncements British subcultural theory was more inclined to view subcultural criminality as an element

of resistance to parent and dominant cultures. The 'hooligan' was viewed more as a 'hero', the nonconformist as a political rebel. The strength of such theory indeed lay in its reconstruction of the 'deviants' own understanding and definition of their actions and situations so that 'meaning' and 'authenticity' could be granted to their behaviour. This stood, and continues to stand, in marked contrast to the dominant social characterisation of such behaviour as 'mindless' and 'meaningless'.

New deviancy theory was however not without its own problems. Whilst rationalising criminality and deviancy new deviancy theorists provided a nonjudgemental analysis of youth's behaviour which seemed particularly inappropriate in assessing the more extreme forms of violence and its effect on victims. This problem was more acute when youth violence was celebrated as a primitive form of political warfare.

New deviancy theory appeared to be offering unconditional justifications for youthful behaviour even when that behaviour might have serious consequences for 'vulnerable' individuals and communities. For example British subcultural theory tended to omit from its analysis any consideration of the social consequences of sexism and racism which characterised many forms of subcultural action.[14] The analysis of youth violence as either illusory or purposeful may solve the problem of merely condemning youth as pathological but it does not exhaust the problems. Rather it clears the ground but only for new problems to be raised. Instead of maintaining that youth is not a problem, contemporary research has begun to argue that the problem with youth should be differently phrased. Thus schooling, experiences of the labour market and restrictions on leisure activities can now quite legitimately be seen as part of the 'problem'. The question of violence can be approached in much the same way too. As the most disturbing incidents of violence are perpetrated mainly by males, then the impact of sexually specific forms of socialisation needs also to be considered in trying to understand why youthful behaviour takes its present forms. The aims of trying to develop a fully social theory of delinquency has not been aided by the fact that with few exceptions, every research project has concentrated solely on boy's behaviour and barely acknowledged the existence of girls or the significance of male/female inter-relationships. For instance a reluctance to view girl delinquency as equally politically inspired underlines the point that to date the sociology of delinquency informs us only of male delinquency; and white, working class, male delinquency at that.

New deviancy theory has however remained alive to interrogating the inter-relationships of age and class, and their significance in ordering the lives of young people. For a majority of young people their interaction with adults exists within the parameters of a legally condoned control. Police, parents, teachers and social workers are all legally required to exercise control over youth. The forms in which this control becomes manifest have received extensive criticism from various socio-legal and social policy studies.[15] They conclude that many of the problems surrounding young people are created by inappropriate forms of reaction. Increased police surveillance is only likely to bring more trivial and hidden indiscretions to light. Increased professional services are not likely to 'reform' the delinquent. The juvenile justice system has proved to be clearly ineffective in correcting, deterring or preventing deliquency. Reconviction rates for boys in community homes stand at between 60 and 70%, at 73% for junior boys in detention centres and at 84% for borstal inmates. However despite these conclusions, when young people refuse to adhere to these forms this is generally taken as evidence that they require **more**, rather than less control.

Youth, the State and Law 'n' Order

There has indeed now emerged a major disjuncture between this growing body of theoretical, ethnographic and policy research and contemporary government responses to the 'problem'. The State it seems, refuses to allow youth responsibility for itself of autonomy in determining its own future. Young people are characteristically viewed as being less than fully developed individuals as dependent on the family and the State. When this status of dependency is questioned or rejected by young people then youth becomes dangerous, not only to itself, but to the very moral fabric and stability of society. Within the terms of such contemporary political law 'n' order ideology the State 'defends' itself by incarcerating more and more young people. As the 'problem' continues to grow, the reactions of the State become more severe, thus increasing the magnitude of the 'problem'.

The State remains more inclined to ignore social scientific research than it does 'problem youth'. Present social relations continue to place a high stake on the imposing of authority, discipline and passivity on the young. A reduction in intervention remains a forgotten strategy while the media, police, government and welfare agencies continue to afford youth such critical attention. Similarly intervention which might sponsor youth autonomy as a desirable response to their situation is rejected in favour of the continuing stress on supervision and discipline. Part of this problem lies in the concept of 'youth' itself.

Through two centuries of alarmist fears, muddled policies and urgent 'remedies' 'youth' has now become a well established category in ordering our images of others. The category serves a dominant ideological function of maintaining a period in our lives as either vulnerable or dangerous and thus in continual need of careful control and guidance. Whilst the concept of youth continues to serve this global function, it is however differentially enforced. 'Youth' is an inoperable category unless questioned by specific sets of class, racial and sexual relations. In fact when the government, media or indeed social science researchers speak of 'problem youth', they are more usually directing attention to one section of youth - male and working class. It is this section that is believed to be most 'at risk' and deserving of critical attention. For government the concern is not just one of maintaining social order but of ensuring a stable social reproduction of future generations of labour power. The control of working class youth crime and deviance has in the final analysis two major rationales of both 'keeping the streets safe' and also 'keeping the factories filled'. These twin concerns have once more placed working class youth at the centre of controversy in the 1980's.

Faced with an economic situation in which there seems to be no longer any place at work for youth the debate concerning the 'youth problem' has once more taken a significant shift. No longer are youth a source of envy for their apparent affluence as in the 1960's but feared as a potential source of resistance to a society that has turned its back on them. The official response is to attempt to make young people **more** dependent by introducing work training schemes which will keep them off the streets for a year after leaving school. Coupled with this is an expansion of custodial and punitive measures to deter youth from not conforming to their new found 'status'. To date sections of youth have responded by organising strikes against this 'enforced' training and by taking their demonstaration onto the streets albeit in the form of disorganised 'riots'. Similarly many young people respond to their exclusion from work and the

right to determine their own lives by engaging in such deviant behaviours as absenteeism, petty theft, drug abuse and challenges to authority. While such behaviour is common amongst adults, it is all the more visible and detectable amongst young people because the only available 'space' for their 'deviant' leisure pursuits is in the communal areas of the street, football ground or shopping centre. Here their behaviour is most likely to be subject to a process of criminalisation. It is to be expected then that working class youth will continue to make up a significant proportion of the annual crime statistics which are repeatedly used to justify an escalation in forms of coercive intervention. In turn we can be assured that the crime rate will not come down just because the State has decided to offer youth more lessons in the 'benefit' of a short, sharp, shock. This is a vicious circle which at present only shows signs of being tightened.

As British industrial capitalism contracts working class youth are amongst the first to find that they have no useful role to play. Their long term precarious economic position throws them onto the margins of society, a position which the State and the control agencies define as particularly troublesome.[16] Yet at present the only way the State seems willing to respond to youth's powerlessness and lack of status is by escalating the means for their further control and custody.

As in the past, it remains likely that the state will continue to define the 'problem' as a problem of youth rather than begin to acknowledge the series of problems its own interventions have created **for** young people.

This article is a revised version of the final chapter of **The Trouble with Kids Today: Youth and Crime in Post-War Britain** *published by Hutchinson in July 1984. Thanks are due to John Clarke for his helpful criticisms and suggestions on early drafts of this article.*

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youth & community training & community work

BARBARA KUPER

The Council for Education and Training in Youth and Community Work (CETYCW) was established by the DES in February 1983 in response to the recommendations of the Thompson Report which regarded as a priority the creation of a national body to be concerned with all aspects of initial and in-service training; its nature, appropriateness, quality and extent.

The new structure built upon and extended the In-Service Training and Education Panel (INSTEP) which had come into being in 1978. INSTEP was already involved in the promotion and endorsement of in-service courses of training and staff development programmes for workers in post. The Council is composed of three committees. The Council itself which meets twice a year plays a co-ordinating role in relation to all matters of training and development. The Initial Training and Education Panel has completed the first set of national guidelines for the endorsement of initial training courses and is now embarking on the first cycle of endorsements. The In-Service Training and Education Panel promotes and endorses, as before, programmes of in-service training.

Membership of the Council and its two panels is open to the representatives of various appropriate and involved statutory and voluntary bodies [1].The panel has a small full time staff of one Professional Adviser, three Assistant Professional Advisers, and Administrative Officer, and two and a half secretaries and is located adjacent to the National Youth Bureau in Leicester.

At the time of writing[2] CETYCW is in the process of debating its policy on community work training in which 'community' has re-emerged as an essential concept. I would like therefore to begin by examining some aspects of the underlying theory of community work and justify this by quoting from the ACW discussion paper on community work training which notes that: "to discuss approaches to training without a consideration of ideology....would make any analysis meaningless"[3].

Stuart Hall has defined ideology as "sets of ideas, concepts, images and propositions which we use to represent to ourselves - and thus make sense of how society works, and our relationship to it"[4]. This has involved the construction of dichotomous concepts about industrial and pre-industrial society. Examples include Weber's notion of transition from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft, community to association and the Parsonian identification of pairs of opposite 'pattern variables' eg. ascribed to achieved status, specific to universalistic criteria and norms, affective orientation to affective neutrality[5]. Similarly Elizabeth Bott described the transition from 'closed' to 'open' networks[6] - and these echoed in much neighbourhood theory. In summary, a new world was conceived - based on objective rationality, where residual social problems were regarded as the function of individual pathology and deviance.

This growth of functionalist political and social ideology was logically accompanied by personalised and individualised explanations of hardship, with client centred casework or therapy seen as the appropriate remedy. I would suggest that this interpretation of society was subsequently faulted at a number of levels.

'Functionalism' itself became less fashionable, as the biological analogy and its innate conservatism were empirically unsupported. Some theorists, such as Merton, attemped to modify the theory from within - introducing for example, the concept of 'dysfunction' as an integral concomitant of bureaucracy [7]. Other theorists rejected the paradigm in its entirety and started searching for alternative integrations of structure and agency to take its place. Marxism and the conflict theorists are most notable here.

At an empirical level, the visible and repeated crises and failures of capitalism and the contradictions in the 'private affluence and public squalor' so clearly described by writers such as Galbraith[8], undermined traditional liberal democratic or laissez faire political thinking, and demanded a renegotiation of the whole notion of balance and interest group expression. Here I would disagree with some thinkers, in that I do not see the community exphasis as deriving innately from this liberal democratic ideology, but rather from its failure to explain adequately contemporary industrial and capitalist society. 'Neo-pluralism' with its emphasis on competing expressions of interest, and its renewed concern with community as a legitimate voice, is an outcome of the discrepancy between theory and practice.

Two examples from applied theory will illustrate the trend towards the rediscovery of the 'community' which I have tried to outline here. Firstly one may note developing explanations of delinquency. Here a focus on the individual deviant as either 'mad' or 'bad' was gradually trasformed into an understanding of the alienation and anomie experienced by a working class youth socialised into an expectation of achieving middle class norms, but with the legitimate means or access to those ends structurally denied to him or her.

Secondly in 'neighbourhood' theory, explanations of social change have identified increasing splits between home and job, the privatisation of family life and the take over by large state institutions of locality/network functions of social control. However this trend was empirically countered by some of the 'community studies' eg. Young and Willmott [9] and Townsend [10] who found community very much alive. It's importance is re-echoed in Neuman's work on 'defensible space' [11], and in Jane Jacobs' description of the caring and control functions of the local neighbourhood and community [12].

Corresponding with the re-emergence of 'community' at a theoretical and macro level of explanation, one may note a comparable failure of individual explanations eg. in psychoanalytic theory, to account for the common experience of class, gender or ethnicity of its clients - and a rejection by professional workers of over individualised methods and approaches. In each of the 'people professions' in turn one can trace an increasing awareness of, and emphasis upon the necessity of functioning within a social context of class, age, gender, etc; in a house, in a street, in a neighbourhood - which may be represented under the shorthand term 'community' ie. not the client in a vacuum - but in a range of networks, of social roles, and of relationships - and a corresponding 'collectivisation' of his or her problems.

Youth work was no exception to this trend, and I will trace the development in this field of the concept of 'community'. However I would like to note here that the 'community work', and its appropriate training which we are exploring in this article is very far from being a unitary concept and to suggest that the debate on whether community work is an occupation in its own right, or whether it is rather a method or intervention appropriate to a range of the 'people professions', may be traced back to the two themes I have outlined above.

I am thus suggesting that the growth and development of community work as an occupation can be directly traced back to the re-emphasis on community at a theoretical or macro level, while the increasing importance of community work as a method or intervention in the 'people professions' may be related to the paucity of the individualised range of explanations and practice at the personal level. The two developments are not to be seen in competition, but may be regarded as stemming from slightly different, though related, socio-historical roots.

The macro emphasis on community work may be expressed in the Thomas definition as involving the reconstruction, renegotiation and realisation of the community [13]. While looking at the emphasis on community work as a method within the 'people professions', there will be a range of levels of integration of the concept, spanning the recognition of the client in context up to the collectivisation or problems and the mobilisation of group resources to meet the identified needs.

I am making a clear distinction between community work as an occupation and as a method or intervention - and I would suggest that many of the confusions about the ownership of and the place of training for community work may be clarified if we keep this distinction in mind.

Within the two professions most closely identified with the employment of community work as an intervention Thomas has traced the history of the relative rise and fall of their respective spheres of influence during the 60s and 70s [14]. I would debate with those who regard community work training as a juicy morsel, hotly sought after by the competing hosts of social work and youth and community work. I would rather see both as somewhat reluctant hosts, each anxiously watching how much space their perhaps unpredictable guest will occupy. The Council is, I would suggest, very far from seeking a monopoly of, or a broad mandate in the development or endorsement of community work training as a whole. With the distinction I am making it would be quite inappropriate for it to do so. It is nevertheless quite clearly 'responsible' for developing its own thinking on the community work intervention and method in youth and community work training and practice.

As I have said, there has been a growing realisation of the necessity of working with young people in the community or environmental context. The link was mentioned in a Board of Education circular as early as 1942 (Circular 1548) which asked that the content of training should include, "some study of the social and industrial environment" [15].

In the early sixties the two initially separate courses at Westhill in youth work, and for community centre wardens were combined. The formalisation of the link is usually ascribed to the publication of the Report 'Youth and Community Work in the 70s' [16] which came down very firmly on the side of an integrated approach to training and practice.

We would now expect to find a range of levels of incorporation of the concept of community into youth and community work training. Of the 12 two year courses of full-time initial training, 7 now entitle themselves 'community and youth work courses', stressing its importance by the priority they give it in their titles. The span will cover courses which offer a 'community orientation' for the youth worker, a category used by ACW [17], and by Thomas [18]. The latter regards this not only as a probably compulsory element in basic training for social work courses, but, by implication in the basic training for other professions as well. We move through 'the introduction to community work methods and principles' which would offer 'trainees' an understanding of the relevant interventions of their chosen occupation and enable them in practice to use the specialist skills of community workers, through to 'threshold training' for community work, which would prepare the student to practice, with an induction period as a community worker.

The ACW paper on community work training in the initial two year courses [19] further confirms the range we will expect to find, and distinguishes the courses in terms of orientation and client or target groups.

At present about 16% of those completing the two year courses do in practice take up community work on leaving college, and the Thomas survey found that about 17% of community workers overall were in possession of a youth and community work qualification [20].

The Initial Training and Education Panel has recently published the first Guidelines on Initial Training in youth and community work [21]. These Guidelines require that courses be mounted within a context showing "an awareness of the changing needs of our society", and further asks that "developmental work with communities" should be included. The Guidelines do not, however further proscribe the degree to which the community orientation or intervention is to be expressed or incorporated. On the in-service side, a range of courses which may involve to a greater or lesser degree the use of community work as a method will be, or have been, presented to INSTEP for endorsement.

I would argue that the Council is looking at youth and community work training as a whole, thus within our remit, we will wish to further explore community work as a method or intervention.

I would now like to examine some of the issues in community work training and suggest that the first issue is the confusion I have been discussing of ownership and identity. It is necessary to repeat my discrimination between community work as an occupation, whose workers may be including young people among their constituents, and community workers in youth and community work posts working with young people in a community context. The implications of this for the ownership of training will be drawn out at the end of the paper.

I would suggest that the second issue and confusion in training is the problem with the notions of professionalism and professionalisation. Professionalisation in the debate tends to be defined in negative stereotypes involving control, status and placement, while professionalism is defined as expertise. Considerable anxiety is expressed about questions such as the selection of candidates for training and the training itself, lest it or the institutional setting in which it takes place, should be seen to be reinforcing the negative stereotypes of professionalisation.

Here I would like to attempt to clarify the issue by distinguishing the structure from the functions of professionalisation. The structure may be defined without the addition of any normative ascriptions in a series of step or traits, as a structural process. These traits can be compiled as a list against which any emerging profession may be assessed. On the basis it may be argued not only that social work and youth and community work are indeed professions, but that community work itself is taking the same structural road.

One may distinguish this process from the functions that the product, the professions have traditionally served in our society, in reinforcing mystification, elitism and social control and suggest that rather than agonise over the structural reality, one may instead concentrate on resisting and rejecting these historically associated functions. Community work might thus be able to accept the strengths of its position as an emergent profession without any compromise to its principles and beliefs.

The anxiety about training and expertise could then be replaced by a more positive focus on the quality and nature of that expertise. Within community and youth work, a focus on expertise would involve a debate on the content of theory, appropriate skills and teaching methods. I would suggest that the community work intervention requires not only a substantial input of theory, but a real integration of theory and practice and a corresponding development of an educational philosophy about the best ways to share this input. I would endorse the links often mentioned between community work education and adult education in this respect.

Within my own previous experience in the Open University working with adult learners, the emphasis on teaching shifted very substantially towards an experiential model, where the relationship with the students was non-hierarchical, non-traditional and where mutual respect informed the learning process. There is room for real debate in youth and community work training about how these shifts can best be achieved and their implications for staff, students and the learning process itself. The Guidelines to Initial Training[22] go some way towards endorsing these developments, in their emphasis on the full participation of students in the setting and achieving of learning objectives and outcomes and their full membership of the relevant course control and development bodies within the institution. Again we will, no doubt, find variations in the degree to which this has been achieved in practice.

Expertise may be belatedly defined as the informed use of theory and experience in the appropriate application of skills. Despite the fears about its emphasis and link with the traditional functions of professionalisation, I would suggest that in the literature on community work training there is now a growing convergence and recognition of its necessity. This may be linked to the debate on the degree to which access to the profession should be 'open' and the nature of the available alternative routes to training.

The battle to establish that the traditional criteria of 'O' and 'A' levels were not necessarily that required attributes or pre-requisites to embark on an advanced course of training has surely already been won. Most colleges, even in traditional educational settings have now established alternative routes to entry.

I would suggest that rejecting the traditional role of higher education to maintain the status and class barriers by controlling access, does not require us to reject the notion of 'selection' altogether. Openness in this context demands a clearer identification of the qualities, attributes and experience which will be relevant to the successful completion of training. For the forseeable future some selection will be essential to share out rationed training places. In saying that one totally rejects the barriers of class, gender or race, one may perhaps look further towards the positive elements in selection. Turning Point[23] is perhaps an example; with over 1000 enquiries for 10 places, a thought out positive selection process is a pre-requisite for administering the apprenticeship scheme.

The structural constraints of the traditional educational institutions have always militated against certain specific groups in our society and against the provision of a variety of alternative routes to qualification, including apprenticeship, part-time and distance learning courses. The Initial Training and Education Panel has agreed to give priority in its considerations to these initiatives. The endorsement process is only just getting under way. Once in motion, we expect to be able to look at new developments as soon as they are ready for presentation.

INSTEP is also ready to receive proposals for a range of modes of in-service training. We are not at the moment directly concerned in the accreditation of experience as a route to initial qualification, but various proposals have surfaced in the past and no doubt will again in the future. The central issue in relation to qualification through experience is the danger of establishing a second class route whose participants - women and members of ethnic minorities? - are deprived of the educational experience and the enrichment of practice by its integration with theory. Such experience based training may become little more than the mechanical transmission of skills.

The over emphasis on experience at the expense of an integrated education stems from the fears of professionalisation and expertise discussed above. However even experience must be evaluated in relation to its ability to act as a criterion for training. On the other hand training based in educational institutions is absolutely required to provide experience as an integral

element; at least 40% of the course. Perhaps in time we can abandon the traditional dicotomy between experience and training.

I would suggest that the specific issues of class, gender and race raise problems and issues for all the 'people professions'. Robin Hughes in a paper on racial discrimination for the Voluntary Service Unit suggests with regard to institutional racism that "in a practical way organisations need to look at their structure, membership policy, electoral procedures, recruitment of staff and training and promotion, in order to assess whether they are inadvertently operating barriers to equal opportunity"[24]. A recent article criticised CETYCW for its apparent failure to tackle the class issue, but noted that racism and sexism were at last openly on the agenda[25]. Neither can in fact be seriously examined without the inclusion of a class analysis. CETYCW is quite explicitly hostile to any form of racism or sexism and our Guidelines to Initial Training make it quite clear that we expect to see these issues underlined in all courses of initial training.

Sadly, taking sexism first, there is a very long and pervasive male domination in the youth and community service and the membership of our Council and Panels reflects this. There have been only 3 women on the Council out of 22 members, since our constituent organisations have not on the whole selected women to represent them. By the same token there are no representatives of ethnic minority groups again none have been selected by our member organisations. We do however have a few co-opted placed some of which will now be offered to people from ethnic minority groups, and both panels have now elected women as chairpersons.

We implicitly endorse positive discrimination towards women and ethnic minorities in training by asking the colleges to inform us of steps they take towards positive discrimination. One must note however that such steps do have their opponents even amongst feminists.

Within the training agencies a more equal gender balance is slowly being achieved, and some colleges report that they are now recruiting substantially more entrants from the ethnic minority groups. The women staff in the training agencies are struggling for fuller representation and authority; and the women officers' group is looking at initiatives on in-service training for women, to be endorsed in time by INSTEP. The Council received a paper at its last meeting on women in the Youth and Community Service[26]. At a micro level office staff are encouraged and funded to pursue training on sexism and racial awareness.

I would like to look finally at the future role of the Council in relation to community work training. The Council will be debating its position in the late autumn, and I anticipate that it will endorse the relevance of the community work method and intervention and its role and responsibility to monitor the training and development of this intervention in community and youth work.

Personally, I do not forsee it accepting a wider mandate and responsibility for community work training for the occupation as a whole. If the division I have proposed is acceptable I would argue further that community work as a profession or occupation needs to establish, as ACW suggested in 1976 its own institutional home. The foundations for a national accrediting body for community work training are perhaps already present in the Federation of Regional Community Work Training Groups.

We are all suffering from a political climate which may be regarded an anti our theoretical parent in the social sciences, and anti the collectivising or problems integral to community work. I would argue that we are further weakened in our current state where the role of bodies such as ourselves with a mandate to endorse training in a host body is viewed with such suspicion. This produces a dichotomy and split between allied professions at the expense of real debate and solidarity on a range of issues. If community work were able to develop its own national body and standards it would also be in an excellent position to collaborate with, inform, and assist effectively and from strength the further development of community work as an intervention and method in the related professions and the issues arising in training.

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contradictory face of i.t. practice

ROBERT ADAMS

Why do the reports some practitioners in Intermediate Treatment present to outsiders differ markedly from what they say is the reality of their practice?

In this article I shall reflect on this question in the light of some findings of a research study carried out between 1976 and 1979, which compared officially stated intentions concerning the regional planning, local authority management and local practice of I.T. with actual developments at regional and local level in three local authorities.[1] Three local authorities within one region were studied, each given pseudonyms here: Downshire, a large mainly rural shire county with a population of about half a million people: Lighthaven, an urban Metropolitan District with a population of about three quarters of a million: and Westport, a Metropolitan District, mainly urban but with outlying mining villages in rural settings and containing about three hundred thousand people. The findings of the study of the regional planning and local authority management of I.T. are not considered below. Instead, the discussion focusses upon fifty three programmes discovered in a blanket survey of the three local authorities. Of these, 52 were for groups of young people and just one was an individual placement. 25 were sponsored by Social Services Departments, 8 by the Probation Service, 9 by voluntary agencies, 6 were jointly sponsored and 5 by other agencies or groups. 28 programmes catered for boys only, 21 were mixed and only two catered for girls alone.

The multi-method approach to data collection included questionnaires, documentary analysis, interviews, discussions, participant observation, observation and simply being immersed full time in the field of practice of I.T. and was intended to all cross-checking and corroboration of findings. Some idea of the extent of data collection can be gathered from the fact that during a fifteen month period every effort was made to take a complete 100% sample of I.T. programmes, using questionnaires and follow up interviews in every case, and in the event only one such interview was missed. Altogether, fifty six practitioners and fifty seven managers and specialists, from chief officers and directors downwards, were interviewed at least once during the study, most interviews being tape-recorded and later transcribed for analysis.

The emphasis on participant observation and other qualitative methods hopefully avoided mere methodological variety and a persistent tendency, even in so-called participant observation, to assume implicitly different orders of reality between researcher and researched.[2] It facilitated a fully-rounded social analysis embracing both aspects of situations viewed as objects and as experienced by participants as subjects. This combination of qualitiative and quantitative methods of data collection was felt to minimise criticisms of social research which could have been levelled at their unilateral use. As a practitioner in I.T. myself throughout the research, I was able to self-consciously turn back the action observed on myself, in order reflexively to probe subjects studied in the light of my own reactions.

I begin with some excerpts from tape transcripts of interviews with practitioners. A social worker involved in a programme which was concerned officially with enlarging young peoples' sphere of interests and activities as a means to socialising them, said:-

> *"I'm not on about modifying kids' attitudes because I can't see this as being a real response to the situation they're in...if kids want to be delinquents...or rather if they want to be crooks...eventually...I would prefer that they were going to be crooks who had a choice...who were aware of their making a fortune out of it."*

The divergence is not simply about aims but about the content of programmes too. A probation officer put it thus:-

> *"I think there's a tremendous gulf anyway between probation officers and magistrates...if we told them what we're really doing they'd be shocked... They see us as preventing crime...we're really about welfare and people's individual needs."*

These observations were sometimes but not invariably of the "don't quote me, but..." variety, which whatever else they may be, are not aberrations, or accidental departures, from the otherwise orderly, consistent and smooth-surfaced practice of social work. On the contrary, the evidence is that those actually doing I.T. have a different experience of its reality than those more distant from it - managers and so on. For the practitioners, of course, this is an unsurprising finding.

But there is more going on here than a divergence between two views of organisational reality. The practitioners quoted are expressing ideas about I.T. which seem to conflict not simply with what they see as others' expectations, but also with what we might see as its social treatment - cum - control ethos. Neither can the dichotomy between the public and private face of practice be described simply in terms of the contrast the functionalist might draw between formal and informal aspects of organisational behaviour. This explanation does not adequately locate their responses in terms of a theoretically based analysis of their situation. I shall return to this crucial question of the theoretical perspective from which practice is viewed after discussing the strategies and tactics of practition-

ers, outlining some general points at this stage.

The situation is contradictory. But the policy and practice of I.T. itself illustrates sets of contradictions in the state. These arise in the contradictory requirements of capitalism itself but surface in the most day to day aspects of the practice of social work. Many commentators have noted that contraditions are inherent in a capitalist society [3] and that the practice of social work also embodies contradictions. These are often visible as constraints within which workers try more or less desperately to manage. In this study, all too often practitioners described the limitations of time, people and lack of skills which constrained them from doing what they would like in I.T.

The location of practice as uncovered in this study was a context in which practitioners developed ideas about I.T. and experienced many problems and frustrations in trying to get programmes going and maintain them. Some of the bureaucratic features of agencies - hierarchisation, centralisation, stratification and distancing - left the practice in something of an organisational vacuum or 'black hole'. Practitioners, as subordinates in organisations with bureaucratic characteristics, like mutually isolated hierarchial strata, could develop ideas about I.T. which ran counter to dominant ideology. The 'black hole' of what they actually did in practice was cleared by some practitioners to enable creative elaboration and differentiation from dominant ideas about I.T.to proceed.

The astronomical associations conjured up by the image of a 'black hole' of anti-matter in I.T., running counter to dominant norms in the organisation, may not be precisely analogous but convey something crucial about contrary realities experienced by those involved in its management and practice. Yet the concept of contradictory reality in the organisational context of I.T. goes further. Jerry Jacobs talks of symbolic bureaucracy as a situation where the elements of bureaucracy as proposed by Weber may be apparently present but in fact may be countered by workers.[4] It is important to acknowledge that different people's experience of the organisation may not simply conflict but may mutually contradict and that one person's situation be be self-contradictory.

To turn to the ideas that managers, specialists and practitioners held about I.T., these were not simply conflicting or confused but their concepts of I.T. actually embodied contradictions. The notion of I.T. as somehow innovative and novel and yet at the same time simply a means of legitimising existing practices was reflected in both official literature and also the responses of those in this study. Official intentions were visible in the Regional Scheme[5] and exemplified a contradiction in the intentions of the Labour Government before the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act, between I.T. as a destigmatising means of integrating problem youth into 'normal' youth facilities and as the development of specialist social work facilities for their treatment.

At the same time, the 1968 White Paper 'Children in Trouble' expressed the contradiction between I.T. as a way of socialising the problem child who is essentially normal, (delinquency being socially caused) and the idea of treatment which was embodied in the 1969 Act.

A further contrast existed between I.T. as largely a way of treating the individual, and the widespread view of I.T. as synonymous with work with groups.

Again there was a contradiction between I.T. as a facility or programme in the community where a child lives as against the notion of introducing a child to new experiences possibly involving residence away from home and certainly implying moving out of the local environment.

Finally there was contradiction between I.T. as a benign, humane aspect of positive discrimination in favour of the problem young person and the intention of the Labour Government, reversed by the incoming Conservative Government in 1970 that I.T. would have enough clout to enable attendance centres and junior detention centres to be phased out.

By 1980, this contradiction had intensified in the increased emphasis the incoming Conservative Government of May 1979 placed on law and order and on I.T. as an intensive means of controlling and yet treating problem youth - a shift which was visible early in the 1970s and is still gaining momentum as evidenced in the 1982 Criminal Justice Act and the 1983 Police Bill.

Dominant Ideas about I.T.

Within the practice of I.T. surveyed in the three local authorities, a number of dominant ideas emerged, reflecting some linked assumptions or propositions summarised here:-

(A) The aim of I.T. is seen as promoting the development of, or modifying the behaviour of, the individual child, rather than change in the legal system or the State.

(B) The method of achieving such ends is reflected in programme techniques and content, is defined predominantly in terms of some group-based activity, generally involving an outdoor activity at some point, from which the individual, it is presumed, will benefit.

(C) The target of intervention is seen as individual young people in their mid-teens, albeit worked within groups.

(D) The embedded values of practice associated with the above embody an apolitical normative stance on the socialising of deviant youth. Evaluation of the effectiveness of practice, therefore, is seen as a necessary measure designed to check on the progress of individual children.

In contrast we can indentify a number of contrasting themes:-

Subordinate Ideas about I.T.

(A) The aim of I.T., far from being to modify individual's behaviour, is viewed in one or another alternative framework. Thus, one worker, in the voluntary facility in Westport, saw the aim as enabling children to effect improvements in the criminogenic aspects of their environment.

A social worker in Downshire did not either anticipate, or feel motivated to work towards, effecting fundamental attitude change among the boys, given what he saw as the prevalent adult corruption. Of adults' and boys' behaviour alike, he said *"you shut your eyes to some parts of it"*. Whilst he talked about his stated aims of giving the boys positive experiences and improving their self-image so as to stop them committing offences, he said that in practice,

> *"we're aiming to give them some elementary understanding of the situation they're in and the options open to them... so they can make a more definite choice than drifting into delinquency"*.

Instead of treatment, or social control in the guise of moral lessons, the focus of weekly discussions was seen as in providing situations where,

> *"... the boys themselves can be helped to make sense of the situations they're in"*.

(B) The method of achieving the aims is seen in a number of diverse ways, depending on the nature of the worker's deviance

from dominant thinking. This usually lies a long way from the notion of group activity and family-based social work. A clear instance of the rejection of the norms of prescription by workers is the community worker in Lighthaven who relied on an initiative from children themselves in the formation of the programme and self-consciously avoided what he saw as practices which would contaminate his activities with the ideology of social work.

(C) The target of intervention, rather than being seen as individuals or even groups of boys, is viewed in wider or alternative terms. The social worker in Downshire quoted above saw much of the activity of the seaside resort he worked in, in terms of adults grabbing what they could for themselves, and said of the boys on his caseload that:- *"they reflected the general standards of the town"*. In this view there was a coalescence between the social worker's understanding of the predicament of the child and endemic, but less public, crime in the town. To the extent that he was consciously rejecting conceptual barriers between one area of activity - in this case the adult world of business - and another - the world of controlling problem youth - his practice became what Habermas [6] calls less of a compartmentalised, segregated area for the expert or professional and more a non-specialist, ecumenical perception of the entire community. Further, this freed the worker to view problem behaviour less normatively, and less from inside conventional morality. As a probation officer put it, when justifying his activity-based rather than behavioural change approach to his group:- *"I don't really see any solution to crime... we may have to accept it as a normal part of society"*.

(D) The evaluation of the effectiveness of intervention in terms of outcome for individuals was rejected in discussion by some practitioners, describing their approaches to evaluation. A probation officer neatly summed up his resistance to what he saw as a wilful perpetuation of fiction by management:-

> *"we know from experience that some individuals will commit crimes again... what I'm saying is not really accepted by our management.. they feel if we persevere there'll be this fantastic breakthrough"*.

Further, another aspect of this theme was the belief that the process was as valid as the outcome, for workers and children, and that this implied that one could justify a programme in terms of its pleasure as an experience as much as in terms of its results.

These ideas do not amount to a simple unitary homogeneous counter ideology. What is described is a dispersed, diverse and discontinuous field of subordinate constructs which reflects the conflict of interest with dominant ideas. The rejection of dominant thinking was often informal rather than rationally and openly argued out. The consequence was that many substantive contradictions and unresolved problems remained implicit.

Strategies and tactics adopted by practitioners

The responses of practitioners in different agencies and areas suggested that whilst some resolved the contraditions of their situation by accepting broadly the parameters and boundaries of activity prescribed for them, or accepted by management, others tended to resist them. Elaborating this simple dichotomy, a number of discernably different kinds of stance were identified. In examining these, it proved fruitful to develop a typology of ways in which individuals respond to dominant ideas about I.T. Just as, in developing the image of the 'black hole' I have tried to suggest the paradoxical co-existence of contradictory realities in the organisation, in analysing the 'strategies and tactics' of practitioners (as options which may be permanently or fleetingly held) rather then mere 'adaptations' to dominant reality, I endeavour to avoid the discussion being reduced to the terms of functionalism. [7] Taking practitioners' responses to the dominant aims of I.T. and dominant or generally approved methods, as described above, four responses to each were considered: acceptence, indifference or ambivalance, rejection, substitution (that is, rejection and replacement by alternative goals or methods). Plotting these on a grid, sixteen different possible responses by practitioners were posited, varying from conformity, through apathy to radicalism, thirteen of which were actually identified from the data:

(A) **Conformity** (positive re dominant aims and methods)
Conformity is the most common and widespread pattern of activity. It expresses a consonance between practitioners' ideas and dominant thinking about both ends and means in I.T. practice. A conformist response is to seek solutions to what were perceived as the technical and organisational problems by means of managerial solutions, within the existing control of approved aims and methods of practice.

(B) **Opportunism** (positive re dominant aims and methods)
We can distinguish opportunists from innovators by their flexibility in considering approaches to achieving their ends in I.T. They are pragmatists, more oriented, perhaps, towards the adjustment of their activities to ensure survival in any circumstances which arise.

(C) **Innovation** (positive re aims; substitution re methods)
The innovator stands in an ambiguous relationship with the frameworks of dominant and subordinate ideas about I.T. The innovator is the practitioner who maintains an overall consonance with dominant thinking about the aims and objectives of I.T., but in the 'black hole' of practice does all kinds of things at which supervisors, managers, magistrates might look askance. The innovator, for instance, is likely to exercise conscious amnesia when it comes to writing up the programme, and will draw a veil discreetly over some incidents. They are "water under the bridge now", whilst what counts is that "a good time was had by all", or that the project was "a success" The end justifies the means. Other people look at the innovator with mixed feelings. Charisma is a word which may get used. People tolerate the innovator in the same spirit that the filmgoer views some successful rogue. After all, it tends to be seen as amazing what the innovator can do with "those kids". Amongst interviewees, the innovators were often those from unusual backgrounds, and this made outright rejection of them by more conventionally qualified practitioners less likely.

Essentially, though, tolerance of the innovator rests on the fact that people around soon realise that beneath the surface of deviance lies a fundamental acquiescence with dominant goals. So the innovator is functional, in adding glamour to the field of I.T. but without disturbing cultural stability and continuity on a broader front.

(D) **Apathy** (indifferent re aims and methods)
We may consider the apathetic practitioner as likely to move towards either opportunism if he or she develops a more accepting attitude to dominant goals, or towards retreatism or anarchy if they reject them. It is possible to view apathy as an unstable reponse which may be resolved by a worker either shifting as above or leaving the field altogether. Apathy may be an outward defence against further erosion of morale, a sign of alienation which may lead to retreat, or more visible resistance if the alienation persists.

(E) **Anarchism** (indifferent re aims; negative re methods)
Anarchic practitioners are indifferent to the dominant thinking about the aims of practice and at the same time tend to adopt a clearly negative view of the approved means of achievement of these aims, and of their organisation in particular. Anarchic practice is a feature of the attempts by some practitioners to cope with organisational constraints and contradictions by opposing themselves to approved guideline and procedure per se, rather than doing this as a means to the end of opposing or changing dominant ends.

(F) **Retreatism** (negative re aims; indifferent or negative re methods)
Whereas some retreatists are neutral concerning dominant methods of I.T., either because they are ambivalent or because they are confused, others are committed in their opposition to dominant methods.

Merton suggests that the rejection of both cultural goals and institutional means is likely to be the most infrequent form of individual adaptation to society.[8] In pure terms, it is arguable that no practitioners could survive in the field of I.T. whilst taking such a position. Yet two respondents seemed to examplify a retreatist position so it is worth saying something about it. Retreatism may be a transitional state. This is, retreatists are likely either to be about to resign or are moving to another stance: *"If I run another programme I'll probably do it differently."*

Retreatism seems to be covert. Retreatists are on the run from the dominant ideas about I.T. goals, yet are unable or unwilling to rebel against them openly.

(G) **Beatnikism**(negative re aims; substitution re methods)
A significant aspect of our findings concerning the shape of I.T., as talked about by managers as well as practitioners, is its image as providing innovative and imaginative scope for practice. A very small minority of beatnik practitioners were identified, and may have been tolerated for some of the same reasons innovators could be tolerated. However, the beatniks' novel approaches to practice could only be put up with, perhaps, because of their utility to managers. Perhaps there would be something of benefit to their team, division or area accruing from the, admittedly deviant, approaches subsumed under beatnikism.

The stance management in the locality may be to turn a blind eye. Various anecdotes about the hair-raising life of the programme may be retailed in the office. Managers may regard a young, energetic social worker as cutting his or her teeth on work of a non-conventional kind, may recognise the worker is something of an oddity in their team. In one or two teams surveyed, I.T. workers had just that kind of virtuoso, eccentric image. Some resented it, some exploited it to develop deviant practices. There were usually sufficient supporting figures around, provided nothing went seriously wrong - people like the director in Lighthaven who believed there should be some "madmen" in I.T. they could be tolerated simply because there were so few of them, they remained isolated and in their lack of prescription for replacing dominant goals did not present a threat to management. On the contrary, their escape from dominant reality could be seen as an idosyncractic form of autonomy which might amount almost to professionalism.

(H) **Reformism**(substitution re aims; indifferent re methods - activist or positive re methods non-activist)
Merton used the term rebellion to encompass our categorisation of reformism and radicalism. The reformist is the worker whose desire to see other aims substituted for dominant ones is not linked with total rejection of approved approaches. The reformist in I.T. is likely to be a gradualist in her or his own practice as well as in their political affiliation. But within reformism a more activist stance in the period leading up to and including the social workers' strike was encountered. They became increasingly willing to consider immediately approaches to practice which ran counter to dominant thinking.

Thus, a broad distinction can be made between the more militant reformists who carried their resistance to dominant ideas about I.T. as well as about social work practice generally, to the point of political protest and made appropriate adjustments to their stance in relation to generally accepted methods, and the less militant whose commitment to change in the long run was not allowed to interfere with their present adherence to approved methods.

(I) **Radicalism**(substitution re aims and methods)
Whereas reformers are willing to work within the framework of dominant means, or at least not to set about generating alternatives radicals reject both dominant means and ends, and set about to substitute new ones. What Merton says of rebellion applied in large measure to this strategy:-

> "This adaptation leads men outside the environing social structure to envisage and seek to bring into being a new, that is to say, a greatly modified social structure."[9]

The challenges to dominant thinking about I.T. have been identified in this study not as Merton put it from outside the "environing social structure" but from within ideas about I.T. themselves and the responses of practitioners to their working situations. The rebellious practitioners may feel frustrated, unhappy about dominant thinking about I.T. because the source of that thinking seems to lie in the wider social structure. The rebellious position thus involves moving from feelings of frustration, and hostility in relation the the status quo, towards designing of alternative structure which would supposedly not produce those frustrations.

A romantic image of protesters transformed into deviants from the normative stance of management, is that of Robin Hood, involved in some kind of redistribution of cultural or social resources from the privileged to the oppressed.[10] However, in a case study of Lighthaven it was found that for some strikers in 1978-9, in the Social Workers' Action Group a radical response to their situation was perceived less in terms of such impractical activism, and more in their systematic effort to pressurise their local authority into improving the level of social services in the area.

Dialectical Materialism and I.T.
After the social workers' strike ended in Lighthaven, some practitioners still experienced a warfare relationship, but one officially denied, with management. As one put it:

> *"we don't trust management now ... it's an 'us and them' situation... to me it's class war ... those are the terms I see it in."*

To return to the question posed at the start of this article, why does the undercurrent of practitioners' descriptions of their practice often contradict its surface reality? It would be possible to ignore the breadth of this phenomonon and select merely the strikers' radical overtly politicised view at face value, using it to justify a simplistic static view of the management or bourgeois interest dominating the practitioner interest (proletarianised as this is), in its identification with the client. Such a crude Marxist view would misrepresent the variety of practitioner responses indentified above. But within that variety a discernable, though

still diversified and fractured, pattern of schisms between managers and practitioners in the three local authorities emerged from study of the way I.T. was managed. One stance which helps to illuminate the subtleties of those struggles, and helps us to penetrate the contradictory realities of practice, is dialectical materialism. [11] This appreciates the need to avoid collapsing divergent or disparate elements of practitioners' beliefs in a simplified or static view. Rather, it recognises that the practice of I.T. is not a superstructure caused by the structural nature of its organisational context. On the contrary, through a dynamic analysis, contradictions within practice uncover it as a superstructural illustration of structural processes which themselves are contradictory. Thus, the collective resistance of strikers in Lighthaven arises out of the same structural conditions as dominant ideas themselves.

The Risks of Intermediate Treatment

Some of the risks of I.T. practice can be seen by delving into the 'black hole' of practice and looking more closely at the tactics of the ritualist and fetishist practitioners. To begin with a description of a typical ritualist. Whereas the reformer is in disagreement with dominant aims but still continues, seemingly irrationally, with a commitment to established dominant methods, the ritualist is detached from any particualr view about aims and puts effort meanwhile into improving techniques and skills.

The ritualist practitioner finds the wider, vaguer aspects of I.T., or the thought of conceptualising or theorising about it, rather frightening, and tends to reject the more extensive goals. Ritualism involves simplifying, reducing the scale of dominant thinking until it is manageable. But although the ritualist rejects a lot of the larger aims of I.T., he or she is in dread of being rejected by peers, or being thought ineffective at work. So, what is developed is a kind of mantra which for the ritualist becomes truer as time passes and programme succeeds programme, that all this complicated talk about I.T. is superfluous, it being really just about getting a lot of "kids" together and doing things with them.

The ritualist is likely to have a well-established programme which has been running successfully for as long as colleagues can remember. All problems like rules, procedures and of course young people's behaviour have long since been ironed out. Keeping the programme going has become its rationale in a perverse logic. Each year in the I.T. season, the ritualist goes round colleagues asking for names to be scooped up into the regular programmes of evening groups, summer camps, annual hikes. The programme is established, the young people are found afterwards.

Behind these activities the ritualist may be involved in struggles for survival of other kinds. Ritualism is a defensive response which is more likely to produce pay-offs for staff in terms of maintaining esprit de corps and keeping going an I.T. presence in their particular team, than necessarily benefiting young people.

As for the fetishist he or she has tended to abandon officially promoted goals of I.T. but still maintains adherence to dominant methods. The commitment of fetishists is to the positive virtues of a particular approach - group work or outdoor pursuits - although this is quite likely to be viewed as an end in itself rather than as a means to an approved end. Such practitioners tend to comment on the irrelevance to them of dominant ideas about changing children's behaviour and may suggest instead that the experience of an activity justifies itself.

The risks of these tactics lie in their inadequacy as responses to the constraints and contradictions faced by practitioners. This can be seen in the means by which such workers initiated and maintained their programmes, beginning with the statement of a probation officer:-

> *"everybody was saying 'oh... wouldn't it be nice to have an intermediate treatment scheme'... and then we found suitable people afterwards".*

Given the non-specificity of other terms of reference like selection criteria, this pointed to the virtual redundancy of the concept of suitability. But in fact what was happening was that the practitioner was acting as a follower, in concentrating on setting up and maintaining activities under the umbrella of I.T., with not too much concern about its target group. The priority was the establishment of the approaches, the programme. The question of relating selection to dominant aims was shelved as a matter of indifference. The fact that in the short run a practitioner might seem to be prepared to ignore ground rules, guidelines, criteria regarding aims and methods is not quite representative of the situation of the worker. The clue to understanding this is in the contingent nature of the decision to get the programme going.

The elision of selection criteria at the point where programme emergence necessitated getting something off the ground at reasonable cost meant the finding of young people at any cost:-

> *"you know ... if a group of kids doesn't seem to emerge and then somebody thinks 'oh ... I.T. will be suitable ... 'it seems to be the other way round ... that the people will have the initiative and then they find the kids".*

Now we consider one form of the later stage of this process, identified also as ritualism. It concerns a programme in Downshire, where as in the case referred to above, the initial specification of activities by workers was the clearest feature of its content and where they had less of a commitment to specifying aims and objectives. After the programme had been running some time many of the young people originally recruited left, and in order to maintain the programme workers allowed others to join who were self-referred. That is, they were not on supervision, may have been friends of those already attending or simply casual visitors to what amounted to a weekly meeting with a number of loosely structured youth club like activities. It was the arrival of an adviser in child care who began asking questions of a critical nature about the priority of activities over aims in the programme which produced what amounted to a pronounced clarification of the workers' objection to the notion of specifying specific objectives. Beyond the general aim of working to prevent children getting into trouble the practitioners rejected further definition. However, they concentrated their efforts upon maintaining recruitment to the programme and running activities.

This case of the programme in Downshire is a good illustration of the shifting nature of evaluation in response to pressure from outside which is perceived as a threat by practitioners. The workers in this jointly run programme admitted to the writer that their annoyance at what they saw as the attacks from the adviser led them to make the evaluation report. Interestingly, there was an element of the self-fulfilling prophecy about it, since the young people who dropped out were claimed to be those who demonstrated by dropping out that they would not benefit, whereas those who stayed on were held, on the basis of purely subjective judgements, to have improved in their behaviour in the group as they had got used to attending over a period. However, perhaps more important was the stepping up of recruitment, which led to parents of children who were not even known to have problems but were known to workers

through indirect contact, being sent letters suggesting that the scheme would be helpful to them. Thus, partly as a defensive reaction to pressure from outside, these practitioners actually moved towards an entrenched routinised programme, which was progressively resistant to generally accepted ideas about the aims of I.T., but which involved an even more active programme.

The process described may be conceptualised as similar to the spread of lichen, which focussses initially on a patch of stone and then spreads over outward as the original core becomes exhausted of food.

Among programmes which were initiated without detailed and precise advanced prescription, and amongst ongoing groups where practitioners had an interest in the continuance of the group as such, there tended to be an emphasis upon the seeking out of children to sustain the programme.

Thus, the crux of processes by which young people became involved in I.T. may be less than the rational decision of practitioners about selection than operational practices associated with imperatives of practitioner and programme survival. The search for young people was in this case associated with a suction effect whose strength this study did not attempt to evaluate, but can be speculated upon in the data gathered concerning the involvement of young people in programmes. Thus, in Downshire alone half of those involved in programmes in a 15 month period (76 out of 152) were not in statutory contact with agencies. The suction effects of processes by which programmes extended their area of activity to clients formerly not considered appropriate subjects for I.T. were not just defensive but were bound up also with the self-image of successful practitioners. That is, practitioners who needed to demonstrate to outsiders that what they were doing had lasting value as well as being useful for individual young people seemed prone to rationalise the means by which they sought new clients. The tendency for this to happen seemed to be a feature of programmes run by Social Services in all three areas and the voluntary facilities in Lighthaven and Westport. A consequence was a trend away from clarifying which young people were the legitimate targets of intervention. Blurring of the boundary between those eligible and those not eligible occurred.

This disturbing feature of social workers' responses to their situation should be seen in the wider context of the problems of organisational change. More specific to the field of I.T., however, the tendency of ritualistic and fetishist practitioners to shift their practice away from involvement with the juvenile courts may illustrate the longstanding ambivalence of many of them about such work. Attention was drawn to this problem in the early 1970s by a senior clerk of the Inner London Juvenile Courts,[12] and to its irrationality almost a decade later by Thorpe et. al:-

> "Social workers who indulge in the habit of 'preventive intermediate treatment' have most certainly not read the literature on the effectiveness of social work with juvenile delinquents and are also turning a blind eye to the factors which create adolescent recidivism in the juvenile criminal system as well as in their local communities."[13]

However, since the context in which I.T. is practised is essentially resource-constrained and subject to contraditions, preaching to practitioners about their irrationality or blindness to research findings is itself a form of wilful blindness to the problematics of practice. Perhaps prescriptions, important as these are in moving policy forward, need to be accompanied by a critical perspective on organisational realities for practitioners which enables the limitations of technical aspects of prescriptions themselves to be examined critically. Equally as important are the further questions raised about what is actually going on in I.T. programmes. Can practitioners all afford the risk of telling outsiders what they actually experience and practise?

Critical questions arise also about the nature and extent of I.T., at both authority-wide and individual programme levels. Specifically, in Westport where despite a Social Services new policy focussing on I.T. with identified delinquents some preventive work continued, and in the programme like that in Downshire, which continued to seek clients in order to maintain a group large enough to remain viable, some programmes sponsored by other agencies tended to be both survival-conscious and also to contain their own imperialistic logic. The fact that at individual programme level, practitioners seemed concerned to avoid evaluation or at best to use it tactically rather that have it employed independently and objectively, suggests that expansionism in I.T. tended to persist in the face of either a thrust by management towards a more selective and sparingly financed approach to focussing on the more visibly delinquent, or the availabe means of evaluating programmes.

We have seen how practitioners could be pressed towards such imperialism as a tactical attempt to resolve contradictions and cope with constraints of their situation. However, it can be seen also as an opting out of any polarised evaluation debate about whether I.T. is a success or a failure, and thus an avoidance of either adopting it wholesale as a proven success and ultimately doing practitioners out of business as their own success abolishes delinquency, or abandoning it as a proven failure.

This suggests that further attention needs to be paid to the factors involved in the adoption by some practitioners of ritualistic and fetishist tactics, to offset the possibility that I.T. may develop an imperialist logic as an aspect of an ever-widening network of social intervention to control or treat problem youth in the community.

What I have outlined above provided at the very least food for thought about the need to reshape the organisation of practice to make its 'black holes' less alienated from their sponsoring settings. It may be argued, of course, that the phenomena I am describing were a transient feature of the emergence of I.T. in the late 1970s. However, some doubt about this is raised by the fact that the three local authorities studied were at very different states of I.T. development, varying from inactive to energetically promoting a policy for delinquency management, and the various responses described above were displayed across the three of them. Yet there were some differences. For instance, there was a tendency for practitioners in Lighthaven - midway between inactivity and active promotion of I.T. - to display more overt and activist reformism and radicalism, whilst in Downshire- the inactive authority - practitioner deviation from dominant I.T. ideology was almost entirely covert. In Westport, where the new policy initiative was led by management in Social Services, covert dissent came from probation officers, and statutory and voluntary agency social workers. These findings raise many further questions. What factors produce a more overtly resistant culture among I.T. practitioners in one authority rather than another? Is the kind of activism displayed during the social workers' strike temporary or subsequently does it merely change its form and 'go underground'? Is the fact that the overt militancy was confined to the urban Lighthaven whilst the covert resistance was a feature of Down-

shire, the seemingly peaceful shire county a reflection of the way managers manage, or does it point to some element of self-selection for these areas by incoming practitioners?

Broader concerns emerge from this study, particularly over the variations between and within local authorities in the nature of what passes for I.T. and the variety of ideologies embedded in practitioners' responses to their circumstances. Variety may be the spice of life but if it is not rationally distributed according to some agreed criteria for social intervention to manage delinquency in the community then it may represent a manifest injustice to children and young people. This points to the need for detailed and rigorous monitoring of the management and practice of I.T. in every area, including careful consideration of the problematics of practice in the 'black hole'.

Managements may argue optimistically that in due course such so-called aberrations are attended to by increasing the professionalism and accountability of the workforce. But in the meantime, what are the practitioners who are struggling to survive actually doing in I.T. and whose best interests are they serving? And there is the possibility that some features of the 'black holes' will persist until the alienation of I.T. practice of which they seem symptomatic, is itself tackled.

Perhaps the most sobering postscript come from the dialectical viewpoint itself: the contradictions identified, expressed at the level of the practice of I.T., its local authority management or the activity of the State, are not features of a particular phase of capitalism and will not be resolved by the superficial solution of the adoption of the latest fashionable approach to policy or practice. Such prescriptions are likely to produce further contradictions as fast as they unravel existing ones.

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school absenteeism & the education crisis

ROGER GRIMSHAW & JOHN PRATT

The conventional image of the school truant diverges substantially from an idyllic picture of mischief and adventure. Instead, persistent absenteeism is widely perceived as a serious individual and social problem arising from a number of harmful factors associated with deprivation, disturbance and delinquency, and likely to generate future problems of individual and social adjustment. Moreover, several features of the current social context are contributing to an enhanced concern about the extent of truancy and the ability of the conventional measures to control it, strikingly illustrated by Sir Keith Joseph's recent well-publicised references to the education welfare service.[1] This article seeks to review some central assumptions about education, absenteeism and the methods of its control, and to suggest that these assumptions are in need of serious questioning; it is also suggested that a re-examination of the present social context will yield both an explanation of current concern and the seeds of a better prospect for future developments.

Absenteeism becomes a problem because of the institution of compulsory education which is demanded by law for all young people up to the age of 16. For the vast majority, this means compulsory schooling, as approved by local education authorities. Education authorities are responsible not only for the provision of education, but also have serious obligations in law to supervise compulsory education. One aspect of this duty is to enforce regular attendance at school, if necessary by legal proceedings. The legal measures to remedy irregular attendance are two-fold: parents of a child who is not attending at the school where it is registered can be taken to Magistrates' Court under s.40 of the Education Act 1944; the child may be taken to the Juvenile Court in care proceedings under s.1(2)(e) of the Children and Young Persons Act 1969, if the child is thought not to be receiving appropriate education and lacks the care or control necessary to ensure its education unless the court makes an order. In Magistrates' Court a parent may be fined or ultimately imprisoned for this offence while the Juvenile Court may make one of several orders in relation to the child, two of which are relevant in the vast majority of cases - a Supervision Order to the local authority or probation service, and a Care Order placing the child in the care of the local authority. This outline of the legal foundation of compulsory education and legal measures to maintain it contains two important features: firstly, the law relates to education fundamentally and only secondarily to schooling; furthermore, compulsory education backed by legal sanctions extends up to the age of 16, only two years short of the age of full majority. Since compulsory schooling is approved for nearly all youngsters up to that age, we shall need firstly to scrutinise the educational provision that is made for them in schools, and examine the causes and consequences of the non-attendance of youngsters at existing schools. Assumptions about the schooling provision and about the nature of absenteeism will thus be addressed, before turning to the issue of legal measures of control.

Schools are widely felt to be institutions where all young people should be able to develop their individual potential; it is this assumption that justifies compulsory schooling in order to combat educational deprivation. A number of questions have arisen about the ability of the school system to deliver the substance of that promise. Educational progress notwithstanding, the school system has been shown to have failed to eliminate unequal patterns of educational outcomes for the working classes, girls, and black people, in various particular respects. These inequalities seem not to be satisfactorily explained by any deficits in individual potential. While this profile contains a number of success stories, there is no gainsaying the structural nature of such social inequalities.[2] Education in the conventional sense is thus succeeding only for a proportion of pupils. What of the rest? What is being done to fulfil their potential? At present, official anxiety centres on the large numbers who leave school with no qualifications, or who possess low-grade qualifications that are educationally or occupationally inappropriate. Debate has begun about a new secondary curriculum, whether it should be based on community studies or technical education. Should it be a single curriculum reshaped so that all might benefit, or should it be a curriculum solely for academic 'failures'?[3] In the same speech that referred to the problem of truancy, the Secretary of State also proclaimed a controversial policy of reforming examinations in order to raise the standards of those for whom the present examinations are insufficiently relevant, and emphasised the concepts of practical and technical education in schools. These questions demonstrate an awareness of deep educational problems within the schooling system. Expenditure restraint has added an extra dimension to official concern about educational efficiency.[4] In addition, increasing attention is being paid to the issue of special provision in ordinary schools, where the consequences of labelling non-conforming children are being questioned.[5] The growth of special in-school units gives rise to the uncomfortable comparison with segregation units found in more overtly coercive settings. This educational context, on which earnest attention is focussed, is also (and not, we feel, coincidentally) the major site of contemporary absenteeism.

During the period when these problems came to light, a group of young people, who formerly has passed out of the schooling

system, have been compulsorily included within it. Within their ranks are a proportion of those often felt to experience the range of difficulties we have described. These general issues deserve our attention here because absenteeism is largely a secondary school problem, and one moreover that steadily increases from the second year onwards, peaking in the year group that would not have been included in the school population but for R.O.S.L.A. While **rates** of attendance historically show little variation, the addition of an extra year group has increased the **size** of the problem significantly. In Autumn term 1982, 2.19% of secondary pupils in Sheffield missed over half their schooling, a proportion rising to 5.38% in the fifth year. In Spring term 1983 the general rate increased to 3.59% while in the fifth year the proportion rose to 9.49%.

The reasons for non-attendance at school have engaged the enquiries of researchers at an individual rather than a social level. In the first place, it is difficult to estimate the proportion of general absence due to causes other than illness, the main legitimate excuse; no agreement therefore exists on the exact rate of illegitimate absence.[6] Moreover, global absence rates conceal variations in periods of absence for different pupils; rates of **absenteeism**, as in our Sheffield example, provide a more relevant measure. These difficulties in producing criteria for the study of absenteeism have not deterred researchers from attempting profiles of the truant which draw substantially on controversial models of individual deviant behaviour.

The results of research have suggested that the truant is educationally backward, psychologically disturbed and socially deviant. The value of these findings needs to be carefully examined. For example, while researchers agree that truants read less well than they should for their age, the school context in which this may occur is not often realised. Galloway[7] found that absentees were slightly more likely to read better than good attenders in their secondary class and were no less intelligent. The specific effect of the non-attendance itself on the level of attainment may be insignificant once other educational and social factors are taken into account, according to a longitudinal study of carefully matched good and poor attenders.[8] Furthermore, schools will not automatically take steps to assess and boost the individual educational progress of absentees unless they display gross incapacities or social difficulties. This problem of assessment is likely to be increased, rather than remedied, as truancy persists. Teachers of 49% of secondary school absentees said they were unable to complete a questionnaire (on psychiatric disturbance in pupils) because of the length of absence.[9] It therefore appears that the absentees are likely to be of modest attainment but capable of improved performance, were it possible for more specific attention to be paid to their educational progress. The structure of formal referral conveys absentees into pastoral care and education welfare systems which are suited to deal with individual welfare problems, rather than educational questions. Symptoms of possible maladjustment thus can be the object of screening.

Psychological disturbance among absentees has been claimed by various researchers using conventional tests; however, some of the tests used unfortunately fail to specify **favourable** alternative possibilities, and assume completely the objectivity of the teachers and parents asked to judge pupils.[10] As we have seen, teachers may well have difficulty in assessing truants. In this way, a pathology of the absentee is constructed divorced from the social reality of school and home.

The chief symptom of social deviance often thought to be associated with absenteeism is delinquency, especially in school time. Yet there is little evidence to support significant concern about school-time delinquency.[11] A survey of persistent absenteeism showed that the proportion of those with a recorded criminal offence stood as low as 17%, the figure being reduced by the number of girls and of absentees 'condoned' by parents.[12] These parents are in a particularly unfortunate and ironic position since they must weigh their responsibilities to the child (who they think may wander the streets rather than attend school) against the risk of prosecution for letting the child remain under the supervision at home.

Such doubtful assumptions about the pathological problems of the absentee are put in another perspective by examining some of the features outside the school which put compulsory attendance in question as a reasonable option for some young people. The argument for attendance is based on ensuring they get the education they need. One important component of this need is education for working life. Yet some enduring social circumstances, massively reinforced by a crisis in the economy, may have reduced the attraction of favourable school reports and qualifications to negligible proportions for a considerable number. Researchers agree than non-attenders grow up in homes confronting severe economic deprivation: they have generally failed to appreciate the consequent irrelevance of favourable school results for families oriented to unskilled labour, and have under-estimated the needs at home which non-attending children may supply, from companionship to the lonely to vital nursing services. The current plight of school leavers in respect of employment is too obvious to merit extensive exposition, except to point out that for a large proportion of young people in certain localities, the possibility of employment is all but vanishing. In 1981 unemployment (including temporary sickness) of 16 year olds in Sheffield averaged 29.4% and in three wards it was over 40% (census 1981). The often heard argument that extra qualifications enable the individual to have a better chance of a job ignores the socially competitive nature of the job search, in which extra effort by all simply leaves no one better off, least of all the less able. The most obvious rationale of school attendance for sections of youth would appear to be crumbling, while their educational potential increasingly falls into dormancy and waste.

The formal measures which exist to control attendance signally fail to address any educational issue raised in the foregoing discussion, except insofar as the education authorities choose to examine the educational alternatives available to them before proceeding to court. This underlying discretion admits the possibility of substantial variation in the school circumstances to which non-attenders brought to court are reacting. It also means that educational issues that do arise in the course of dealing with a non-attender are unlikely to call in question the existing range of provision. The likelihood is, therefore, that support for the existing provision apparently rejected by the non-attender will correlate with a judgment of a need to proceed to court. However, since education authorities actually supply the education in such cases the decision to go to court is inherently problematic.

In court itself, the alternatives available to the magistrates focus on circumstances that arguably have little or no bearing on the substantive question. It has been suggested to us that in Magistrates' Court for example, the size of fines - and their consequential impact - is markedly reduced by poverty among parents; in Sheffield in 1981-3 the most frequent fine amounted to £20. Care proceedings in Juvenile Court involving the child, rather than the parents, can lead to the making of either a Supervision Order or a Care Order. Juvenile Court proceed-

ings can thus result in social work interventions that are addressed to individual or family problems of relationship. These have little proven relevance to the cases, as our discussion of pathological interpretations has indicated. The apparent failure of social work intervention under the terms of Supervision Orders has caused an upsurge of interest in systematic court adjournments backed by threats of care.[13] Thus young people taken to Juvenile Court in Leeds are warned that they must attend school or they will be placed in the care of the local authority. At subsequent hearings the cases are adjourned repeatedly until their general attendance is finally deemed satisfactory; if the magistrates' warnings are of no effect, the children are made subject to Care Orders. Doubt about the legality of this unlegislated innovation is supplemented by concern over the high levels of committals to care that its operation demands, a trend in direct contradiction to the evidence about the dangers of care[14] and likely only to confirm any deviant self-perceptions a non-attender may have. Ironically, educational provision inside community homes (where children in care are placed) has been a cause for official concern.[15]

This article has, therefore, argued that the crisis of absenteeism and the cry for strong measures to control it are but symptoms of a general education crisis. That second crisis is fundamentally one of purpose and relevance as much as of resources. The intensity of the crisis has been determined fundamentally by the impact upon the educational system of a deep and continuing recession in the economy. Economic problems have polarised perceptions of the education system in a sharp and radical way: employer groups and their supporters have attacked the system for failing to produce the engineers, technicians and skilled labour said to be the answer to international competition; meanwhile, parents and pupils have responded by a variety of strategies.

For some families, the crisis has dictated stepping up the hunt for qualifications to stay in the race for available jobs; others have renounced educational opportunity to seek the nearest job; but many pupils - and this is an increasing section of school population - are staying in the school system because they are made to, because there is nowhere else to go. This latter group can see no profit in continued schooling when the qualifications which they are capable of achieving are being rendered ever more worthless by the increase in qualifications demanded for the limited number of available jobs. Furthermore, they can see no prospect of improvement until they are of an age when the school qualifications of their particular age group may be considered outworn. It is no wonder that substantial numbers attend school without taking it seriously; much schooling is then perceived as a chore, summed up in the catch phrase 'It's boring', a passing of time interspersed with moments of interest, sociability and light relief. For others, more remote still from the conventions of industrial work discipline by virtue of their contact with persistent poverty and unemployment at home, the school gates may not represent the daily call of duty which so many seem still to feel and obey. In some cases, their duties at home may have come to constitute a natural and more worthwhile focus than attendance at school.

While the responses of parents and pupils have diversified as each seeks to cope with the effects of the economic crisis, the attitude of employer interests has become more coherent, through the facilitating mediation of the MSC which, of late, has had an increasing impact on questions of educational policy.[16] Taking up concerns about practical education and training, the MSC has launched educational initiatives that promise to rejig the post-14 curriculum, and to reshape further education and training to its own mould of technical relevance. Whatever economic value these initiatives may be thought to have, it is clear that they do not form part of an immediate economic strategy to restore gainful youth employment since their expansion occurs at a time of unprecedented contraction in the demand for youthful labour of all kinds, which general economic policy has treated as largely inevitable. Technical education is thus to be applied only in the future, when the promised recovery arrives. In the meantime, while the prospects are uncertain, technical education - shaped to fit the assumed deficiencies of young workers - offers itself as a substitute for the jobs that have disappeared and a kind of credit note for a possible future.

Educationalists have been caught between the wheels of diverse consumer demands as the recession has bitten. Not only has there been pressure to maintain academic standards in schools, from parents now anxious to secure the best opportunities for their children, there has been a strong concern about signs of disaffection in schools, of which truancy is only one. These latter sources of pressure have drawn attention to the workings of pastoral care structures, special units for the disobedient and curriculum review to cater for the less able. Meanwhile, the proposals of the MSC may represent an extra dimension of anxiety, since their outcome may call into question the dominance of the humane liberal curriculum and the principle of educating all to their full potential. It is here, however, that the possibility of a dubious marriage of concerns manifests itself, between the educationalist and the new advocate of training: the idea of constructing a technical curriculum for the less able - the bottom 40% - carries for some the tempting possibility of meeting the difficulties of the schools **and** the requirements of the MSC.[17] The Technical and Vocational Educational Initiative, given the very wide range of abilities demanded in current jobs, might set the scene for the stratification and fragmentation of the curriculum into components tightly linked to different ability groups. The danger of creating a second-class technical education for scholastic failures suggests that we need to think more radically about alternative ways for all young people to achieve educational success.

In considering future prospects, it is necessary first to probe beneath the concept of 'schooling' to the more profound concept of 'education' which must be viewed as both a right and a duty. The central issue is how each of us can have equal access to the educational resources which are a necessary condition of full citizenship; the concrete arrangements for achieving such access then include the best way of determining the transition from economic dependence (and full-time education) into the world of work. If we separate the broader question of educational rights from that of compulsory schooling, it is clear, for example, that we must be able to justify the commitment and faith in education which we ask of poor parents and which is so hard for them to sustain. The progressive extension of educational rights was at the very heart of the battle to provide compulsory minimum education for all, against the economic constraints of family poverty. There is ample evidence that this battle has not been successful in destroying the enemy of poverty which continually undermines educational progress for all. For this antagonism to be resolved, there needs to be a universal policy of financial aid to offset the proportionate cost of undergoing education relative to income, in order to meet the educational needs of children in poverty - 'Educational Benefits for All'.

If educational rights are the main issue, then it is necessary to look at the degree to which schooling allows such rights to be

fulfilled. From what has been said earlier, it is plain that the question of a secondary curriculum equally suited to the talents and aspirations of all must be placed high on the political agenda. Humane in content, it needs to be flexibly structured to allow all youngsters to achieve and develop; it must not be simply the pawn of the employers or of the professional classes, like the 'training' option and the 'academic' option respectively.[18] Schools need to be seen as collective institutions which allow such rights to be fulfilled for all young people.

Is there a role for law and for compulsion in relation to schooling? If society thinks fit to prepare all its future citizens by a period of continuous education, then the law must express that wish by establishing a framework of possibilities, both in materially supporting that education, and in forbidding alternatives such as child labour. It requires age limits to be set, and these should reflect the ability of the society to provide suitable education for all. However, if the education fails to offer the promised gains, society must determine, whether it should restrict the age limits, or broaden provision to remedy the deficiency. The former is the easier - and more cowardly - option; most of us would reject it in favour of the latter. In the last instance, however, there remains the questions of personal compulsion: can it be right to compel attendance at school? Our answer is 'yes' - provided that we can show a definite and unnecessary social liability caused by the individual's non-attendance. The case here is somewhat similar to the drug addict or the person who disregards health and safety measures; while the principal harm is caused to the individual concerned, society as a whole must bear certain costs. Whether or not we can conclude that non-attendance causes such social problems depends on the social circumstances: it is hard to see why a literate young person whose final exams are irrelevant to future life in society should be compelled to attend a school with nothing else to offer; it is less hard to see the reason in a case where the ability of the child to function happily in society is at stake.

If these legitimate reasons for compulsion are accepted, it remains to consider the appropriateness of penalties for non-attendance: if we believe that loss of education is itself harmful then imposing penalties on young people seems unjust, more particularly when it means deprivation of liberty and of home life, as a Care Order usually does. Instead, we must look to measures of supervision which pay attention both to the legal duty of attendance and to the duty of education authorities to provide suitable education in ordinary schools. In these bleak times it is unwise to dwell on expansive hopes and grand schemes; more urgent is the need to set fresh priorities, by transferring our energies to help the real victims of economic crisis and educational pusillanimity. That means keeping the question of absenteeism out of the courts and putting it back in the counsels of policy-makers and educationalists.

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young people and violence in northern ireland

FRED POWELL

"This is the unjust society that has thrown up the hard men of the H-Blocks and sub-teenage children who are more proficient at throwing petrol bombs than they are at playing football."

The Sunday Tribune, 17th May, 1981.

"At the height of the rioting which began in the afternoon and continued until about 3.00 a.m., over 400 youths were involved and over 100 petrol bombs were thrown at the police and army."

Derry Journal, 24th April, 1981.

"Just beside his elbow a 10-year-old in a yellow woollen balaclava, with holes cut for his eyes, played 'Toss the Petrol Bomb', with his equal-sized friend, throwing a tied-up jumper back and forward within yards of the real riot, as night fell. In the shadow, taller boys with handkerchiefs high round their faces, came and went, rarely talking to each other except for the occasional shout of encouragement as the soldiers moved forward. In the background, near a new low line across the road of broken paving stones, a black flag flew on the corner of the free-standing gable wall that still tells the world 'You are now entering Free Derry'."

The Irish Times, 22nd April, 1981.

"'One, two, three, four, open up the H-Block door'. This is the nursery rhyme chanted by a three-year-old who lives near the Divis Flats in Catholic West Belfast. Running to the corner of the road, he spits at a crouching soldier. An eight-year-old girl, walking home from school in her uniform, picks up a stone to throw at a passing patrol. Toddlers make mini-barricades with dustbins and cardboard boxes ..... Each morning, the debris of rioting litters the streets: bricks, stones, broken bottles, burnt out cars and old furniture. Each morning security forces remove the barricades which have gone up overnight. And every evening, the kids come out to play their deadly new game - along with the occasional sniper who probably started his terrorist career brandishing a stave or hurling a stone."

The Sunday Times, 24th May, 1981.

These vignettes illustrate media presentation of Northern Ireland's children and young people, many of whom were not born before the outbreak of the current civil conflict on the 5th October 1965. Perhaps inevitably journalistic comment tends to dwell on the more sensational aspects of the conflict at the expense of its more complex social ramifications. In this paper, initially, the socio-economic context in which these children are reared will be examined. It will be argued that the high level of social deprivation which prevails in the Province creates the necessary and sufficient conditions for endemic violence. The impact of this violence on the children's behaviour patterns will then be assessed. It will be demonstrated that the media portrayal would appear to be a caricature which is not supported by more objective evaluation. Secondly, two important considerations will be addressed:

(a) the influence of the civil conflict on policy formulation in the field of child care;

(b) the employment of violence against children and youth by both the security forces and the paramilitary organisations as a consequence of the civil conflict.

In respect of the former consideration it will be contended that the recent Black Report[1] was disproportionately influenced by the civil conflict in its prescriptions for the future treatment of the young offender in the Province. With regard to the latter consideration the relationship between political violence and child abuse will be explored. The consequences of the identification of a political dimension for established definitions of child abuse will be analysed with particular reference to children's rights in international law. The political, social and cultural assumptions underpinning child protection legislation will be noted. The dilemmas confronting professionals who try to intervene in cases involving politically associated abuse will be discussed. It will be concluded that the traditional family focus of child care policy and practice in the field of child protection needs to be reviewed. Finally, the paper will conclude by noting the overall challenge to traditional child care assumptions in a society in conflict.

Socio-Economic Context

Townsend's study **Poverty in the United Kingdom** concluded that overall Northern Ireland was by a large margin the poorest region of the United Kingdom.[2] The reality of the Province's deprivation for many of its children and young people has been vividly depicted in this study:

"I had never before been anywhere in the United Kingdom where there were so many evident signs of poverty, and I remember two incidents in particular. In one street I saw two red-haired children selling coal by the pound from a handcart. Then a short distance away I noticed young girls looking for underwear in a second-hand clothes shop - this seemed to be a poignantly significant manifestation of hardship unique in the United Kingdom. This was the Protestant Shankill Road area of Belfast in 1969."[3]

Townsend's conclusions are supported by a number of local studies. The Northern Ireland House Condition Survey 1974[4] found that 19.6% of the housing stock was classified unfit for human habitation by statutory definition. In excess of 80% of these houses required more than £1,000 spent on repairs. The Northern Ireland Household Survey 1975[5] complemented the House Condition Survey estimating that over 150,000 households were living with resources below the needs level. Evason[6] undertook an independent study of the data produced by the Household Survey 1975 with the objective of estimating the level of social disadvantage experienced by children in Northern Ireland and comparing her findings with those of Wedge and Prosser's British Study **Born to Fail**.[7]

Wedge and Prosser had concentrated on three factors in identifying socially disadvantaged children:

(a) family composition, i.e. a large number (five or more) of children in the family or only one parent figure;

(b) low income;

(c) poor housing.

Overall Wedge and Prosser's data indicated that 36% of British children suffered from at least one of these forms of social disadvantage. Evason estimated that the comparable figure for Northern Ireland was nearly twice as high at 59%. In Britain 6% of children were deemed to be handicapped by all three forms of disadvantage. In Northern Ireland the comparable figure was dramatically more than double in British estimate - 14% of the Province's children experienced all three forms of disadvantage.

Figure 1: Children subject to social disadvantages: Britain (1969) and Northern Ireland (1975) compared

Handicap	*% British children 1969 (aged 7 and 11)*	*% N.I. children 1975 (all ages)*
In a low income family	14%	31%
In a large family	18%	21%
In a single parent family	6%	7%
Overcrowded housing (N.I. - insufficient bedrooms)	18%	42%

Source: E. Evason, Family Poverty in Northern Ireland, 1978.

Even when the most deprived region in mainland Britain, Scotland at 10%, was compared with Northern Ireland it emerged that the overall level of deprivation was only midway between Britain as a whole and Northern Ireland. Evason concluded that 300,000 children in Northern Ireland out of a total population of 1.5 million were socially deprived.

The Belfast Areas of Special Social Need 1976, examined the level of social need in the Belfast urban area, which can be considered a microcosm of the Province as a whole, on the basis of twenty social indicators which ranged from unemployment to poor school performance and included children in care. On the basis of their findings the research team identified eighteen wards in the city where these factors occur in combination indicating areas of multiple deprivation. The report highlighted the concentration of social need not only within the inncer-city area, but in several wards in greater Belfast notably in the predominantly Catholic West of the city where civil conflict has been particularly intense. The eighteen wards where deprivation was concentrated were classified as Areas of Special Social Need (ASSN). These ASSN contained 25% of the city's population, but accounted for 48% of adult unemployment, 62% of long term unemployment, 51% of children in care, 40% of the housing in the inner-city ASSN lacked basic amenities; a hot water supply, fixed bath or shower, and flush toilet (inside or out). The Belfast Household Survey 1978[9] confirmed this high level of poverty with 42% of all households receiving a weekly income below £40. The Director of the Belfast Welfare Rights Project recently concluded, "in large parts of Belfast poverty is a mass rather than a minority condition."[10] It is likely that with the rise in the unemployment rate beyond the 20% mark in Northern Ireland that these problems will intensify.

There are also a number of other considerations which exacerbate the effects of this pervasive deprivation and further reduce the quality of life in the Province. These problems concern the administration of the social security system. Firstly, there is the low take-up rate of benefits. The Belfast Welfare Rights Project commented in relation to this issue: "we found that half of the households we interviewed appeared entitled to, but not claiming, at least one benefit."[11] Secondly, the structure of social security payments is established on the basis of expenditure patterns in Britain. Consequently, rents which are cheap in Northern Ireland are treated as a variable item whereas gas and electricity which are appreciably more expensive are fixed items in social security payments. This means that households in Northern Ireland dependent on social security are comparatively worse off than their British counterparts. Thirdly, discretionary payments (notably exceptional needs grants) are less likely to be paid to Northern Ireland claimants than their British counterparts. Evason noted that "in 1974 the average amount received in Northern Ireland was 56 pence compared with 67 pence in Britain."[12] Fourthly, the situation has not been helped by the penal effects of the Government's emergency debt collection system introduced under the Payment for Debt (Emergency Provisions) (N.I.) Act 1971 to counter rent and rate strikes against internment without trial. In effect this statute empowers the compulsory deduction at source of a proportion of social security payments to meet both accrued and current debts to relevant statutory bodies. Despite the cessation of rent and rate strikes in 1974 this system was extended in 1976 to cover gas and electricity. In response to considerable pressure from social workers and others concerning the effects of expecting deprived families to live below the subsistance level some of the more penal aspects of the system were modified in 1980.

It is salutory to note, however, that whatever the limitations of the social security system, which are obviously substantial, a father of a large family may be better off unemployed than at work because of the relatively low level of wages in the Province.[13]

Clearly Northern Ireland is not only politically unstable but in socio-economic terms an area of very severe stress. One is inexorably led to share Taylor and Nelson's conclusion that the level of deprivation which exists in Northern Ireland "would be intolerable in any so-called peaceful society".[14] The publication of the Scarman Report into recent events in the inner-city areas of many British cities underlines this connection between social deprivation and civil conflict which particularly motivates children and young people to express their frustrations on the streets.[15]

The impact of the civil conflict on children's behaviour patterns

We have noted the severe level of socio-economic deprivation which a significant proportion of children in Northern Ireland are subject to, particularly the disenchanted Catholic minority population. This problem is further exacerbated by the Province's religiously segregated education system, so that chil-

dren from one 'hardline' area rarely meet the 'opposition' except in confrontation. Their one-sided knowledge of history which is provided by their parents and schools, and internalised through play and ritual (e.g. 12th July parades) reinforces an abiding continuity with the past. In attempting to evaluate the impact of the troubles on the behaviour of children four general criteria can be identified: (a) the psychological effects of the conflict; (b) criminogenic effects; (c) truancy levels and school discipline; and (d) loss of respect for authority figures.

(a) **Psychological Effects**

If children exhibiting anti-social behaviour are excluded from a definition of psychological disturbance, then the findings of the two most eminent psychiatric investigators of sequelae of the civil conflict in Northern Ireland, Lyons and Fraser are fundamentally in agreement.[16, 17] They have suggested that the number of children pathologically affected is relatively small, i.e. in terms of severe emotional problems, mental illness, etc., necessitating clinical treatment. Fraser, unlike Lyons, was primarily interested in children. He noted that acute anxiety reactions to civil disturbance were common and perceived them as a normal response. In the limited number of cases where pathological reactions occurred amongst children he concluded, firstly, that they tended not to have been directly involved in the disturbances, e.g. rioting. And, secondly, a pathological reaction tended to be associated with the following set of conditions:

(i) one or more parents suffered from incapacitating anxiety during the event, emphasising the danger to the child;
(ii) the children were aged between eight and puberty, which Fraser suggests is related to levels of comprehension;
(iii) the children tended to lack physical robustness;
(iv) the children tended to be predisposed to nervous symptoms.

These studies were limited in their scope. They did not deal with object loss through death or incarceration. Neither is there material available at present concerning the reaction of children whose fathers are the targets of the I.R.A.'s assassination campaign, i.e. the children of policement, prison officers and members of the local militia, the U.D.R. - all of which unlike the British Army live unprotected in the community.

Although the number of children suffering from pathological reactions to the civil conflict is small, the grievousness and longevity of their problems gives cause for serious concern. Fraser (in 1974) noted in this context:

> "In many cases these nervous disturbances have persisted long beyond the time when the child's own area has become quiet. I am still seeing children suffering from fainting fits, asthma, epilepsy and hallucinations, symptoms clearly precipitated by the stressful events of August 1969 and after. Many of these young patients are handicapped to the extent of being unable to go outside their homes to play or to school."[18]

(b) **Criminogenic Effects**

Intense speculation about the level of juvenile delinquency and apocalyptic predictions have been stimulated by the outbreak of the current phase of civil unrest in 1969. A report entitled **Violence in Ireland** produced by the Irish Churches accurately portrays this type of moral panic:

> "A concomitant of political violence has been a great increase in plain vandalism, theft and crime. Oppression and harrassment have taken on new meanings, being now the fate of whole communities at the mercy of para-military so-called protectors. The recruitment of young people into the para-military movements and the systematic indoctrination of teenagers in the practice and philosophy of violence are particularly frightening for the future. There has been a disastrous increase in excessive drinking particularly among teenagers and sometimes even children."[19]

Allied to this belief is the 'Godfather' theory of recruitment which asserts that children are being 'led' or 'forced' into delinquency by paramilitary organisations. The Diplock Committee which believed that children involved in rioting were often 'more adventurous than delinquent', succinctly encapsulates this view:

> "One of the most troubling features of the present situation is the use made of the young by terrorist organisations to aid them in carrying on their activities and to hamper the work of the security forces ..... The Provisional I.R.A. has frequently used boys aged 14 to 16 to carry out serious acts of terrorism."[20]

More considered assessments of the level of juvenile crime in Northern Ireland based on empirical evidence also have limitations. Official statistics are an inadequate indicator in assessing crime rates for a variety of reasons. Firstly, people may be reluctant to report crime which is likely to pose a major difficulty in Northern Ireland where the practice of 'informing', especially amongst the working-class Catholic population, is both socially disapproved of and subject to para-military reprisal. Secondly, differential responses to the various categories of crime by the police influence both detection and prosecution rates. In Northern Ireland where police are heavily deployed in counter-insurgency activities, particularly since the introduction of the concept of 'Ulsterisation' (i.e. the replacement of British troops by the local security forces in the mid-1970s) 'ordinary' categories of crime are likely to be allocated a lower position in policing priorities. Thirdly, there is a definitional problem since a section of the population in Northern Ireland doesn't accept the legitimacy of the state and consequently defines certain forms of behaviour as political rather than criminal. It is important to bear these constraints in mind when examining the juvenile crime rate in Northern Ireland.

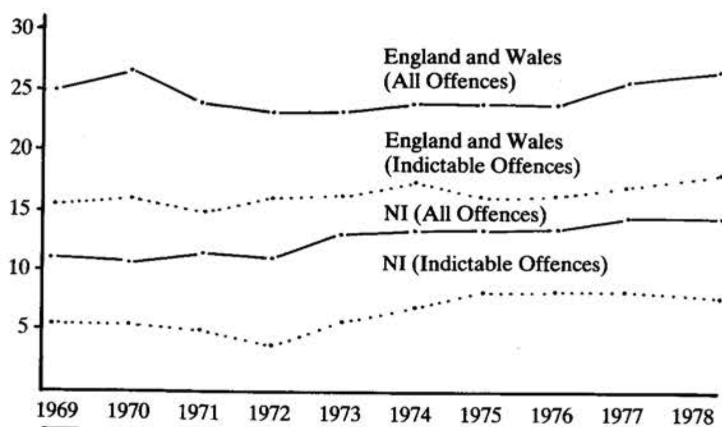
Between 1969 and 1978 the number of known indictable offences, while remaining only half the rate for England and Wales, rose from 20,000 to 46,000.[21] Official statistics (illustrated in figure 2) indicate that the number of juveniles found guilty per thousand of the juvenile population (10-16 years age group) for all offences remained at half the level for England and Wales between 1969 and 1978. Lest this data should give rise to complacency in the Province, Harbison and Harbison have identified a number of important qualifying factors:

> "The rate of involvement of young people in grave offences in Northern Ireland, expressed as a proportion of the total juvenile population, is approximately thirteen times the rate for England and Wales and, for children under the age of eighteen convicted of murder the rate is twenty-two times that for England and Wales."[22]

However it is important to place the Harbisons' figure in context along with more popularised 'prophecies of doom. Firstly, comparison with a society as non-violent as England and Wales may be unrepresentative and consequently over-dramatises the problem.

Leyton has pointed out that the murder rate in Northern Ireland, in spite of the categorisation of the situation as 'civil war', is markedly lower than the rate for Detroit.[23] Secondly, popular claims that Northern Ireland is being subjected to a reign of terror at the hands of teenage para-militaries directed by the so-called 'Godfathers of violence', is not supported by the evidence. Hadden et al, in an analysis of the characteristics of

Figure 2: Juveniles Found Guilty per thousand of Juvenile (10-16 age group) population.



Source: E. Jardine, Children Who Offend: A Strategy for Management. Proceedings of the British Psychological Society Conference, Aberdeen, 1980.

'political' or 'scheduled' defendants, (i.e. those who appeared before the 'Diplock Courts') in 1979, found that only 2% of Loyalist defendants and 8% of Republican defendants were between the ages of 14-17 years.[24] (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Age and Previous Criminal Record of Diplock Defendants

	Loyalists 1975 %	1979 %	*Republicans* 1975 %	1979 %
Age				
14-17	14	2	7	8
17-21	42	13	63	45
21-25	11	28	13	19
25-30	16	22	8	13
30-40	8	21	4	7
Over 40	4	4	1	4
Not known	5	9	4	4
Record				
None	39	14	55	43
Non-scheduled	49	52	31	33
Scheduled	5	13	7	11
Non-known	8	20	7	13

Source: T. Hadden et al, Northern Ireland: The Communal Roots of Violence. **New Society,** 6th November 1980.

It is also worth noting that young 'political' defendants tend to be more intelligent, have higher educational attainments and are more extrovert than ordinary young offenders. In addition they are unlikely to have shown previous signs of maladjustment.[25] This evidence would not appear to support the 'Godfather' theory. Boyle et al, suggested alternatively that:

> "It is likely that the process of recruitment in many cases is closer to what might be termed the 'club' view. In such cases young boys and girls who are committed to the aims of the movement and attracted by the glamorous nature of its activities seek out a known member of the organisation and ask to join."[26]

This analysis is supported by the findings of a Community Relations Commission Report which suggested that the older delinquents tended to be drawn towards 'political' offences while the younger delinquents, like their counterparts in British cities, indulged in ordinary working-class crime.[27]

On the basis of the foregoing evidence it is possible to offer the following generalisations. Firstly, while ordinary crime has continued at, at least, the pre-1969 level, which was low by U.K. standards, additional offences involving violence have dramatically increased since the outbreak of the conflict. Secondly, this evidence would not appear to support the 'Godfather' theory of recruitment since 'political' offenders tend not to be drawn from the younger age group of juvenile offenders but from their older counterparts who are attracted by the glamorous life-style which is in marked contrast to the interminable squalor of the ghetto.

(c) **Truancy and School Discipline**

The impact of the civil conflict in Northern Ireland on truancy levels appears to be localised reflecting the topographical distribution of violence and poverty. A government survey of school attendance in the Spring of 1977 arrived at the following conclusions:

(i) that persistent absentees - those absent for more than half the term for reasons other than physical illness - amounted to just over 1% of the total compulsory school age population. This ranged from 0.2% in the under 11 age group to 4.6% in the 15-16 age group;

(ii) that 7.8% (26,556) of the compulsory school age population of Northern Ireland were absent for more than 14 days during the Spring term of 1977 including those absent because they were ill;

(iii) that 4.2% (14,233) of the compulsory school age population were absent for reasons other than mainly physical illness. On these half were missing from school with their parents' knowledge and consent, and only 1,700 were persistently absent without their parents' knowledge and consent;

(iv) that the problem was most acute among the 15 and 16 year olds, and that the highest levels of absenteeism occurred in the two major urban areas of Belfast and Derry;

(v) that nine schools containing 3% of the school population accounted for over 13% of the persistent non-attenders.[28]

The results of the Northern Ireland survey were compared with two studies undertaken in Sheffield during the Autumn terms of 1973 and 1974. Comparisons initially suggest that overall the Northern Ireland figures are similar to those found in Sheffield for the 5-10 and 11-14 age groups but are higher for the 15-16 age group. However, Caven and Harbison[29] have argued that:

> "a more relevant comparison is perhaps that between Sheffield and the area covered by the Belfast Education and Library Board - both urban areas and similar in size of school population."[30]

This latter comparison indicates that truancy rates are considerably higher in Belfast for the 5 to 10 age group and the 11 to 14 age group in addition to pre-school leavers amongst whom truancy rates are nearly two and a half times as high (see Figure 4).

Figure 4

	Northern Ireland Study *Spring Term 1977*	*Belfast Study* *Spring Term 1977*	*Sheffield Study* *Autumn Term 1974*
Age Group			
5-10	0.22%	0.44%	0.26%
11-14	0.99%	2.16%	0.76%
15-16	4.63%	6.95%	2.80%
All Children	1.08%	2.08%	0.94%

Source: Harbison, J. and Harbison, J. (eds) **A Society Under Stress: Children and Young People in Northern Ireland.** Open Books, 1980, p48.

Caven and Harbison further demonstrated that the areas where truancy was highly concentrated in Belfast correlated closely with those areas identified in the Areas of Special Social Need discussed above. They concluded by noting the difficulties in **determining causality:**

> "It is important to note that these results refer to measures of association, not statements of causation. In fact causal explanations of persistent absenteeism have developed

along these inter-related strands - one which stresses the environmental and home milieu and another which sees the root of the problem in the school at both the particular (e.g. unsympathetic teacher) and general (e.g. school ethos, curriculum) level. For individual children any one or more of these theories may be applicable; the end result of absence from school may have various and inter-related causes."[31]

Caven and Harbison's conclusions are supported by an earlier study carried out in the Belfast area which indicated that truancy rates had risen from 40% to 109% between 1966 and 1974.[32]

In view of Caven and Harbison's findings considerable concern must arise concerning the relatively high levels of truancy in Belfast which appear to be replicated in Derry.

It is more difficult to analyse the effect of the civil conflict on school discipline. However, it is perhaps predictable that some of the violence in the streets must have a deleterious influence on school discipline. The scale of this problem is clearly very difficult to assess. The Ferguson Committee commented in this context:

> "Malign home conditions, combined with the disruption of civilised community life in Northern Ireland, especially in urban areas, have led in some districts to a marked deterioration in standards of behaviour among primary school children. Foul language can be a feature of a P1 class; playground fights can be extremely vicious (fists are seldom used); and stone-throwing and vandalism pass as normal behaviour. A 10-year-old has absconded from home and slept rough for 6 days in winter; a 6-year-old has removed the electricity bulbs from a school bus and ripped open the seats; while a group of 8-year-olds have driven a family in terror from their home.
>
> At a secondary school stage anti-social behaviour is even more serious. In some urban areas violence is not uncommon and there is evidence that some pupils are involved with militant organisations. The principal of a secondary school quoted one case of a gang of boys, all under 13, who have been responsible for 45 house breakings and referred to the part played by some pupils who have recently left school in various forms of crime."[33]

The Ferguson Committee's comments, since they are not based on systematically collected data should be treated with caution. As already noted in reference to delinquency there are dangers in generalising from media-based anecdotal evidence. Nonetheless these violent incidents which have impinged upon school life have a salutary impact.

Conclusively the civil conflict has had a damaging impact on the education system. However, on the basis of the available evidence it would seem rash to suggest that the problem has reached disastrous proportions. It is also important to bear in mind the difficulties in separating the variables of conflict and deprivation in determining causality.

(d) Attitudes Towards Authority

The final consideration in our examination of the impact of the civil conflict on the children's behaviour concerns the highly subjective issue of loss of respect for authority figures. Perhaps, predictably, there has been a considerable volume of emotive comment on this subject. Lyons has asserted on the basis of evidence which can not be regarded as particularly systematic that "there is in fact a lack of respect for law, order and authority of any kind."[34] The report of the Churches on 'Violence in Ireland' goes even further, maintaining that the civil conflict has resulted specifically in excessive drinking, as already noted, and more surprisingly a breakdown in standards of sexual morality amongst the young. This alleged eclipse of established codes of conduct is attributed to an absence of moral restraint on violent behaviour.

More empirical evidence does not support these assertions. Fields,[35] for example, on the basis of interviews with children found a highly conformist set of responses. Jenvey has argued in reference to the civil conflict that "one of the major effects of living with the troubles has been to direct youth away from rebellion against the adult world, characteristic of their age groups, towards conformity with their parents and local community."[36] Curran et al, concluded on the basis of psychological testing (Jessness Inventory Scale) that Northern Irish schoolboys were less alienated than their Scottish counterparts, whom as noted earlier, were nearest in terms of socio-economic deprivation within the U.K.[37]

It would appear, therefore, that there is not sufficient evidence to support the assertion that there is a breakdown in respect for authority figures amongst Northern Ireland's young people - in fact, the reverse may be the case. There would, however, seem to be a crisis of legitimacy which affects the perception of Catholic children, of the State in general and the security forces in particular, which they believe both partial and alien. This crisis of political legitimacy amongst Catholics is common to all age groups, and serves to unite young and old, probably strengthening established moral values rather than weakening them amongst the young.

It is perhaps fair to conclude on the basis of the foregoing evidence that the media presentation of the behavioural patterns of Northern Ireland's children would appear to be somewhat exaggerated. This conclusion is reinforced by Harbison's recent comparative study of behavioural disturbance amongst children in three areas in the United Kingdom including Belfast (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: Behavioural Disturbance in Children

	Isle of Wight	*Inner London*	*Belfast*
	%	%	%
Anti-social	9.0	14.2	12.9
Neurotic	3.9	7.7	3.3
Mixed	0.9	2.6	1.5
Total	13.8	24.5	17.7

Source: J. Harbison, **The Children of Northern Ireland,** New Society, 17th April 1980.

Harbison concluded:

> "The patten of behaviour problems differs between the Belfast children and these children from ten London boroughs. But the *total* levels of disturbance in the Belfast children were less than the London children (though more than the Isle of Wight). Such large-scale surveys have obvious limitations. Yet the evidence suggests that the children of Northern Ireland are somehow learning to cope. Their behavioural problems certainly seem no more severe than other urban children."[38]

The analysis presented which ranged from psychological effects to truancy and delinquency and included more general issues regarding attitudes towards authority suggest that children have achieved a degree of adjustment to the civil conflict, albeit not without some disturbance.

Child Care Reform and the Young Offender

Provision for the young offender in Northern Ireland has

analysis

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

data

'Data' comprises selected statistics on issues generally relevant to youth in society. The editor would be grateful for suggestions concerning future content.

Youth Service: Attachment

The publication of the post–Thompson survey 'Young People In The 80's' (1) raised again the question of the attachment of young people to Youth Service. As a voluntary attending, non–coercive system of provision the nature of attachment remains fundamental to any evaluation of Youth Service. However, at different times, and using different methods, various surveys on the leisure habits of young people in Britain have produced conflicting results. There are several apparantly intractable problems peculiar to Youth Service attachment and in addition to the usual research difficulties of sample–size, survey method, etc. To begin with it is important to note that "attachment to Youth Service" does not necessarily equate with "access to youthwork provision", particularly since the mid – 1970's when traditional service–models of provision became extended by a variety of semi–leisure–time activities such as I.T. and, more recently, M.S.C.–related projects which may (or may not) utilize youthwork skills in a non–service setting. Then there is the problem of 'related leisure provision'. The Bone and Ross survey of 1972 was probably the most comprehensive analysis of attachment yet attempted, but it incorporated attendances at sports organisations and some commercial provision which, it is thought, distorted its relevance as an enquiry. Bone and Ross correctly stated that it is impossible "to present precise figures of involvement in Youth Service at a national level". (2) Similarly, the Crowther Report surveys had found ten years earlier that "...there appeared to be no suitable brief definition of 'clubs' which would not confuse rather more than it clarified..." (3). During the 1970's this problem of definition grew worse as youth–leisure patterns widened to encompass a whole new range of opportunities. Other agencies began regular research, including C.S.O. who now offer participation by young people in annual 'Social Trends'. Unfortunately these categories too are less than reliable as a guide to Youth Service attachment: the 1983 survey concluded, "Membership of youth clubs also continues to grow. In 1981 more than twice the number of youngsters than in 1961 were participating in the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme..." (4). Presented here are the figures from the Thompson research ("The National Youth Survey: 1983"), with related statistics from previous surveys in order to provide a context for recent historical comparison.

1. The Crowther Report ('15 to 18') 1960

Albermarle (1960) had found that the 'most optimistic' rate of attachment to Youth Service was 'one in three' (33%) in the age–range 15–20, Crowther used a wider definition of categories of provision and broke down its attachment figures into the type of school which the participant attended.

Total Attachment

Grammar & Tech. Schools	Secondary Modern Schools
Boys 79%	56%
Girls 60%	35%

The type of school produced as great a difference in involvement in clubs as did sex. Girls from Gram/Tech. schools showed as high an attachment as boys from Sec. Mod; of boys from Gram/Tech. 25% belonged to two clubs or more as against only 7% from Sec. Mod. Girls from Gram/Tech. belonged to multiple clubs at a rate of 11%, compared to 2% for Sec. Mod.

Type of Club/ Activity	BOYS		GIRLS	
	Gram/ Tech	Sec. Mod.	Gram/ Tech	Sec. Mod.
Gen. Youth Club	49	37	36	21
Outdoor Activity	37	18	19	4
Indoor Sports	16	9	7	3
Uniformed	11	6	7	4
Arts/Music/etc.	22	3	17	3
Hobbies/politics	10	2	10	4
Dancing	11	6	10	11
No Club	21	44	40	65
Number of Leavers 100%	561	878	520	801

The Crowther surveys showed clearly that middle class young people attend youth clubs and similar provision at a much higher rate than their working class counterparts. The single largest proportion of Sec. Mod. boys and girls attended no club at all. Within a generalised definition of leisure activities, the youth club secured the highest attachment for both sexes in both classes. Girls participation was significantly lower than that for boys (with the exception of dancing), and often less than half.

2. Milson–Fairbairn Report: (Youth & Comm. Work In The 70's. 1969 (5)

The survey for Milson–Fairbairn was undertaken in 1966 and 1968. It returned to the specific 'Youth Service' model of provision similar to that of Albemarle, but limited resources reduced its sample to organisations and memberships rather than individual young people. As a consequence it was concluded that some figures were suspect, though the trends revealed were largely accurate.
Milson–Fairbairn found that the Albemarle estimate of 33% in the 14-20 age group was 'optimistic' by 1968. Higher proportions of boys than girls were attached, and (not quoted here) in the 14–20 range the ratio of voluntary to statutory sector membership was almost 3 to 1. The main involvement was between 13 and 16 ages, it then fell away rapidly. Girls were less involved, and their interest was less consistent.

Youth Club Membership (%)

Age 15-18	Age 19-22	Sex
27	14	Male
21	12	Female

Attendance at Clubs

Age	% of Male	% of Female
-14	18	15
14-15	24	43
16-17	33	30
18-19	19	8
20+	6	4
%	100	100

3. Bone and Ross Report: 1972
'The Youth Service and Similar Provision For Young People

The findings of Albemarle and Milson–Fairbairn were not confirmed by Bone and Ross for leisure attachments generally, but were for specific youth club attachment. They noted a steep decline for both sexes between 16 and 18; a higher male than female attendance, and that 'the more educated' were the most likely to go to voluntary organisations (not quoted here).

% of 14-20 year olds attached to clubs, etc.

	Left school at over 15		Left school at 15 or under	
Age	Male	Female	Male	Female
14	67	64	84	74
15	58	52	84	76
16	55	37	85	72
17	64	37	84	68
18	66	38	76	63
19	59	38	78	67
20	58	33	70	60
T	61	42	82	70

Early leavers were less likely to be attached. This was important because it raised the question whether school leaving age (eg: class, fundamentally) is the real key to understanding participation, or sex, as had been previously thought. It should be noted that these figures are for 'clubs', ie: leisure activities in general, and not 'youth clubs'.

Notes:
(1) **D.E.S. Young People in the 80's:** HMSO 1983. (2) Bone, M; Ross. E; **The Youth Service and Similar Provision For Young People;** O.P.C.S; (D.E.S.) HMSO 1972. (3) C.A.C.E. **15 to 18;** Vol 11; Ministry of Education; HMSO 1960 (4) C.S.O: **Social Trends No. 13;** H.M.S.O. 1983. (5) Y.S.D.C. **Youth and Community Work in the 70's** (Milson–Fairbairn) H.M.S.O: 1969

Data for this issue: Frank Booton

4. D.E.S. Young People In The 80's 1983

The National Youth survey had research targets that were more varied, and in many ways more relevant, that the earlier reports. Sampling included ethnicity, and 'leisure' incorporated some interesting features such as 'street life'. Unfortunately this brief exposure cannot do justice to the research.

Leisure Activities (general)

Outside Home %	Total	−17	+17	M	F
Go out with Friends	46(34)	46(36)	47(33)	49(32)	44(37)
Go out with Opposite Sex	27(20)	20(23)	35(18)	26(22)	28(19)
Go out with Brothers/Sisters	11(28)	9(29)	12(26)	9(25)	12(31)
Go to a Disco	22(34)	22(31)	22(38)	20(34)	24(35)
Go to a Pub	21(22)	7(15)	37(29)	23(21)	19(23)
Go to a Cinema	5(56)	4(56)	5(55)	7(55)	2(56)
Go to Gigs/Concerts	5(22)	4(17)	6(28)	7(24)	4(20)
Attend Sports Matches	7(15)	8(17)	5(12)	11(19)	2(10)

Unbracketed figures refer to regular attachments, brackets to occasional participation.

Leisure Activities 'provision'

Outside Home %	Total	−17	+17	M	F
Go to Sports Centre	23(19)	26(18)	20(20)	33(21)	14(16)
Go to Youth Club	15(17)	20(22)	9(12)	16(20)	13(14)
Go to School Club	8(8)	12(11)	2(4)	6(8)	10(8)
Go to Scouts/Brigades	6(2)	8(2)	4(1)	7(2)	5(1)
Go to Cadets/TA	3(1)	3(2)	2(*)	4(2)	1(*)
Do Voluntary Work	4(6)	4(6)	5(7)	3(7)	3(5)

Only 3 in 10 (29%) of the 14 to 19 age group were attached to a youth club. About 62% had attended one at some time. Usage of youth clubs was found to be age, sex and class determined (not quoted here). Of the 14–16 age group, nearly 2 in 5 (38%) were currently involved, compared with less than 1 in 5 (19%) of the 16+. Around one–third (32%) of boys attended, and just over one quarter girls (26%). The unemployed were more likely to still use youth clubs than those in work (29% to 19%), which implies their adherence to behaviour patterns more consistent with younger teenagers.

In summary then, the key variables to the understanding of attachment are now age-group, sex, class and (with no reliable statistical guide as yet) ethnicity. Younger ages (14-16) are still heavily attached to Youth Service if one accepts the Alhemarle base-line of ⅓ overall. For 16+ attachment has fallen dramatically, and there can be little hope for an improvement in this figure (19%) for the immediate future. Separate figures for school-based youth provision would prove interesting, as might the attachment to the 'new' type of youth service such as the urban-funded projects, sometimes known as 'the alternative field'. Future researchers might wish to address themselves to other questions as a means of gaining credibility for policy-guidance. These could usefully include the social breakdown for the statutory-voluntary proportions of attachment; the sex and ethnic quotas of school-based and statutory provision comparitively, and the social groupings of uniformed and Duke of Edinburgh's Award. Ultimately, the conclusion to be drawn from the figures here is a somewhat depressing one: like most other Welfare State services the categories of the population which have benefitted most from Youth Service overall have been the middle-classes. It could reasonably be claimed that the 'lower' working class element in any age group (ie: the most socially deprived, lowest educational attaining, and culturally alienated) are less attached to the Service now than at the time of Albemarle a quarter of a century ago. If this is so, then what kind of social education curriculum mmight conceivably attract them?

law

This is a regular column which will provide updates on the general legal framework of youth affairs. Inclusions are only intended as a brief and general guide. Practitioners are advised to seek comprehensive advice on particular issues if they are at all unsure.

Homelessness and Young People. The 1977 Act.
The Housing Homeless Persons Act 1977 was a first step giving homeless people a right to permanent housing for the first time. The Act increased the number of households the Local Authority were obliged to house, and the numbers of homeless people they have been accommodating have risen ever since. The largest group affected by the Act is families with dependant children. However, the Act does not help most single people, including those below the age of 16 - 18 and couples without children.
Many Young People will leave home as soon as they can when they are 16, (provided their parent's consent) and when they can claim Supplementary Benefit in their own right, which is not until the 1st Monday in the term after they leave school. They often drift towards the cities in search of jobs or a change of lifestyle. In 1982, the Housing Advice Switchboard, a London Agency specialising in Homelessness, calculated that 18% of all their enquiries came from young people, 44% of whom had nowhere to sleep that night.
The statistics relating to homelessness often tend to mislead, for example by only dealing with those people who Councils accept as homeless or ignoring the "hidden" homeless, such as those unaware of their rights, "living in" with relatives or friends, in temporary accommodation, or those who have not applied under the Act because they think it is futile. When a young person approaches the Council as Homeless, s/he will have to qualify for the title "homeless person" by overcoming four hurdles: these criteria apply to any person seeking housing as a homeless person.

1. **Homeless or threatened with Homelessness**
The applicant has to be homeless or threatened with homelessness within 28 days. The person must show that s/he has nowhere to live, or nowhere permanent to live, or that s/he cannot live in her/his home for fear of violence. Having temporary accommodation such as in a B and B, Night Shelter or Hostel, or with friends or relatives does not preclude a person from being homeless (see Din v. London Borough of Wandsworth 1981)

2. **Priority Need**
The applicant must be in priority need, and the criteria are:
a) Dependant children in the family
b) Homelessness caused by emergency eg. fire or flood
c) The Household or Applicant are vulnerable by reason of old age, health, disability, violence, "or other special reason" - the last phrase being a catch-all provision. Most single people and childless couples and Young People are not seen as being in priority need. However, Young People may be seen as vulnerable if they are at risk of being sexually or financially exploited. The standard response to a "vulnerable" young person is for the Council to attempt to persuade them to return to the family home, which is what they initially sought to escape. A few Local Authorities: Newcastle upon tyne, Glasgow and Lewisham, accept that all under 18's are in priority need. It seems unlikely that many others will follow their lead. One absurd consequence of the vulnerability clause that we have encountered is that young girls are told their chances of being housed under the Act could be considerably higher if they were to become pregnant.

3. **Intentionality**
If an applicant has done something or failed to do something whereby s/he becomes homeless - s/he will forfeit her/his right to housing. Furthermore, in the case of R. v. Salford City Council ex parte Devanport in 1983, it was held that if a person does something intentionally and as an indirect result of which s/he loses her/his home s/he will be deemed Intentionally Homeless.
The Intentionally Homeless Clause is frequently used by Councils, to justify rejection of an applicant. Some councils adopt blanket policies on intentionality e.g. declaring that all households within a certain category are intentionally homeless, such as families evicted for rent arrears. Following the decision in Williams v. Cynan Valley Council in 1979, such blanket policies can and should be challenged as each case should be looked at individually.
When the Homeless Persons Act became law, a Code of Guidance was simultaneously published to assist Authorities in interpreting the Act. Authorities are directed to "have regard to" the Code, but are not bound by it. Consequently, many Authorities will ignore those parts of the Code helpful to the homeless applicants, whilst following the parts which are helpful to themselves. However, in 1983, the Code was amended slightly and the changes had particular relevance to the question of intentionality, for although the first edition stressed that Councils should only look at the immediate causes of homelessness, the second edition created a much used loophole for the Councils, in that they could now look beyond the immediate causes to discover if there was any intentionality in the past. Thus an applicant must show that when leaving accommodation s/he has always been reasonable, and in the face of Council's desires to return Young People to the Family Home, and avoid their responsibility, this presents great problems.

4. **Local Connection**
The applicant must have a local connection in that s/he or a member of her/his family has lived in the area for a certain period (generally 6 months out of the last year) or be employed there.
If the applicant overcomes all these hurdles, s/he will be deemed homeless and the Council will be under a duty to find accommodation. However, the problems do not stop there, as many Councils adopt a "one offer only" policy and the only standard the Council has to apply is that the property is fit to live in at the start of the tenancy and suitable for the applicant's needs. Not surprisingly, very few Young People are accepted as Homeless, and those that are accepted often end up in accommodation rejected by other housing applicants, e.g. highrise flats which are often expensive to run, difficult to maintain and which cause isolation and poverty. If a person fails at the priority need hurdle the Local Authority is only under a duty to advise and give assistance to help the person find somewhere independantly. If an applicant fails to qualify because of the intentionality clause, the Council's only duty is to provide accommodation long enough (generally 28 days) for the person to find accommodation independantly.
The 1977 Act increased the numbers of Homeless people that the Local Authorities were under a duty to house. Many Authorities resented this duty being forced on them, when they were already suffering problems housing people arising from a shortage of housing, poor housing stock and long waiting lists. Some Councils felt that their obligations under the Housing Homeless Persons allowed homeless families to jump the queue and lessened their control of their housing stock, which they also resented. Often Councils are unhelpful and seek to avoid their legal responsibilities and prevaricate, therefore practitioners should not be fearful of challenging their decisions, especially where Young People are concerned.

Contracts, Rents, etc.
In addition to the difficulties that Young People under 18 have, in being accepted as priority for housing they are also often unable to secure housing in the normal way under the Local Authority's Allocation procedures, because of Local Authority insistance the Young People provide guarantors who will pay rent if they fail to do so.
In our opinion, the law in this area needs clarification and updating, for a lot of the case law dates from the nineteenth and twentieth century, and the legislation proper was not designed for this day and age. In practise, a large proportion of Young People between the ages of 16 and 18 applying for housing, will be on Supplementary Benefit or a Youth Training Scheme and in both cases would be entitled to certificated Housing Benefit – effectively, direct rent payment. (In Newcastle Upon Tyne, where the Local Authority rehouses Young People under the Homeless Persons Act, none, over the last eighteen months have been in employment). We are concerned about this situation, because in reality, it means that Young People who may be in extreme housing need, are denied a solution to their housing problems simply because of their age.
The law in relation to Young People and their contracts is largely judge–made and has evolved in order to protect Young People as much from themselves, because of their inexperience, youth etc., as from others. The general position is that Young People, viz, those under 18, cannot have contracts which they have entered into, enforced against them, although the Young Person himself can enforce the contracts against the adult. However, there are two exceptions to this general rule:–
1) Young People will be liable for their contracts for 'necessaries'. Necessaries are seen as contracts for goods and services, which are for his benefit (or that of his family if he is married) as defined by section 3 of the Sale of Goods Act 1979 "goods suitable to the condition in life of a minor and to his actual requirements at the time of sale and delivery". Although this section does not specifically refer to services provided for Young People, Common Law has evolved which makes similar provision.

During the 18th and 19th century, there were a number of cases establishing what was and what was not a necessity, and in the case of Crisp –v– Churchill 1794,
1) Bos and P, it was held that lodgings constituted a necessity and therefore that the Young person was liable to pay for the lodgings.
2) Young People will also be liable for four particular types of contract, one of which is a contract where the Young person takes or grants a lease of land. In this type of contract the Young person will also be liable unless he repudiates the contract before or within a reasonable time of his attaining the age of 18.
Therefore, in law there is no reason why a Young Person should not take up a tenancy in say, Local Authority accommodation or be granted a licence in bed and breakfast accommodation. As far as a tenancy is concerned, the difficulty may arise, where the Local Authority fears that the Young person may repudiate the contract. If he were to repudiate the tenancy, he would not be liable for future rent payments and if he were to leave the tenancy without giving the proper notice (four weeks under section 5 of the Protection from Eviction Act 1977) the Local Authority would only stand to lose that four weeks rent. What certainly is not clear, is whether any arrears which had accrued before the termination of the tenancy would be recoverrable.
As mentioned above, the case law and legislation surrounding contracts, housing and Young People is anachronistic and needs to reflect the current trends of Young People seeking accommodation in the housing market. To this end, Local Authorities must be pressed to accept Young People onto their waiting lists and rehouse in the normal way, without the requirement of a rent guarantee. This is particularly so when there is no evidence to suggest Young People are any worse rent payers than adults. In any event the grim reality is that most Young People seeking housing will be dependent upon Supplementary Benefit and therefore on direct rent payment.
If a Young Person is refused access to the waiting lists and rehousing he should immediately be encouraged to investigate and use any local appeal system in rehousing and lettings policy that exists. If the Young Person feels that he has been treated badly or unfairly then he may approach the Commissioner for Local Administration (Ombudsman) or seek to challenge the Local Authority policy in the High court by way of Judicial Review, whereby the Young Person would seek one of the prerogative orders such as mandamus – an order of the Court commanding a party to the proceedings to do something or not as the case may be – or a declaration or injuction.

Content is provided by Gateshead Law Centre, First Floor, 13 Walker Terrace, Gateshead NE8 1EB.

benefits

'Benefits' is a frequent feature on current levels of benefit and prospective changes in rate or procedure. It is compiled by Rod Crawford, East End Citizens rights Centre, Moore Terrace, Sunderland, Tyne and Wear, to whom suggestions or enquiries should be made.

There is a hollow ring to April's announcement of "the most significant re-examination of Social Security since Beveridge". (Norman Fowler) Consider first that the publication of the various Consultative Documents in May gave members of the public less than 6 weeks to make submissions prior to the deadline at the end of July. This backs the argument that many of the changes have already been decided. The review bodies cover Retirement, Housing Benefit, Supplementary Benefit and benefits for Children and Young People. A Review of benefits for the Disabled is already underway.
A central stated aim is simplefication of the benefit system, subject to a nil cost growth restraint. It must be remembered that there was a similar preamble to the similar 'simplification' of Housing Benefit last year. A change which has increased both confusion and costs.
£760 million in 1981, was the official figure for the non take-up of benefit. Govt. expenditure on publicity and maximising take-up has slowed down considerably in real terms. The Policy Studies Institute report, "The Reform of Supplementary Benefit", published this year highlights claimants' confusion and the poor level of training of D.H.S.S. staff. The Report shows that 3 out of 5 claimants were lacking basic clothing. Half were in debt, often over fuel bills, ½ ran out of money most weeks, facing problems caused by the "routine expenses of normal living, not by unusual events".
In Strathclyde the research attempted to maximize the benefit of randomely selected families. More than ¾'s of those contacted were awarded more money. There is a continuing need for similar positive action. A more efficient benefit system must mean more efficient delivery to those in need. In the limited space afforded here we can only focus on only a couple of the more important issues implied in the Review of Benefits for Children and Young People. Government intentions seem to revolve around "means-testing" child benefit and increasing the minimum age for claiming Supplementary Benefit. These moves must both be resisted. The means-testing of child benefit would seriously reduce many families' incomes and reduce the take-up of one of the few benefits which is currently near 100%.
The Reviews concentration on family stability and the simplification of the benefit system can be shown to be undermined by the recent cuts imposed on benefits for young people and their families. The £3.10 cut in Supplementary Benefit for young people earlier this year and last, have clearly caused increasing family tensions and have added to the illogical mess of benefits for young people. This is exacerbated by the lack of co-ordination between D.H.S.S. M.S.C. and L.E.A.'s
In particular the position of those staying on at school beyond 16 is deplorable and damaging to their long term opportunities. The answer here lies with a non means-tested mandatory system of income support though a higher level of means-tested benefit from LEA's would be a positive beginning.
The signs are however that the Govt. intends to withdraw Supplementary Benefit from 16 year olds and perhaps 17 year olds. this would be a retrograde step causing further destabilisation of family life. The Govt's response to the disparity between those staying on at school between 16 and 19 and those who leave school, seems to be to eradicate the differential not by providing income support for the former but by curtailing benefit for the latter. The Govt. has already tightened up the rules concerning part-time study, reducing the definition of part-time to 12 hours.
These measures together would effectively mean the creation of 'state conscription' into the YTS or other education. Differentiating between the rights of those who live at home and those who have moved out, will probably lead to more moving out.
Unfortunately for young claimants a recent Tribunal of Commissioners decision R(SB)8/84, will make the possibility of setting up a home for themselves much more of a problem. This decision makes it much more difficult for claimants to get grants from the D.H.S.S. for furniture and household goods when moving into a new tenancy. Those **not** affected by this decision include claimants with depenants, pensioners, pregnant women, the chronically sick and mentally/phsyically disabled.
Young people will be particularly heavily affected. In the past a single person could claim for furniture and household goods after being on benefit for 6 months if there was little prospect of a job. Those in this situation will now along with others have to show that there is no suitable alternative furnished accomodation available in the area. The kernel of this decision is that the claimant, not the D.H.S.S. will have to prove there is no such accomodation available.
This decision means for young people that being in insecure or temporary accomodation is not good enough on its own for moving into a secure unfurnished flat. This situation means that many young claimants are trapped into highly expensive bed and breakfast or hostel accomodation with much less chance of being able to escape this kind of lifestyle.
The practical result of the decision is that local D.H.S.S. offices are demanding up to 15(8 in Sunderland) refusals from landlords to show that claimants have made all possible efforts. Obviously, landlords soon sicken of providing these. It must be remembered that there are ways round this situation. If e.g. the claimant fits any of the many categories which give an etitlement to Removal Expenses (e.g. last home unsuitable because of overcrowding) they can then qualify immediately for a furniture grant without having to pass the suitable alternative furnished accomodation test.
This column in the next issue will be taken up with an outline of the November benefit up-ratings.

Will readers please note that the next issue of Youth and Policy will include in the 'Benefits' column all the relevant new rates of benefit as applicable from November 1984.

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summer 1983

Code
All sources are Official Report (Hansard).
Headings are as published
The following code describes the references used.

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

All items are available through our Copy Service

The customary format of monitor is altered this issue in order to include the Hansard report of the Secretary of State's Parliamentary statement on Youth Service made on 11th July 1984. Please note that the chronology of monitor is normally about eleven months behind parliamentary events. When the column reports affairs for the session during which the statement was made only an abbreviated reference will appear; the version here is the full, verbatim report.

V63 N190 (11/7/84)
Youth Service Report
3.32 pm **The Secretary of State for Eduation and Science (Sir Keith Joseph):** With permission Mr. Speaker, I should like to make a statement about the report of the review group on the youth service. When this report - appropriately entitled "Experience and Participation" - was published, I described it as a timely and far-reaching study of the ways in which the youth service was helping young people, and I said that it offered some important recommendations for the developments of the service. Decisions on certain of those recommendations have already been announced to the House. I turn now to decisions on the outstanding recommendations directed to central Government, to which I have given careful consideration in the light of the many comments received during consultation. I accept the review group's recommendation that it would be helpful to the field for there to be a publicly known unit in the Department dealing with youth service matters, and I propose to identify such a unit. In line with the review group's recommendations, grant aid is being made available to voluntary organisations for experimental projects in managerial innovation in the youth service and for the training of part-time and volunteer staff in particular. The National Council for Voluntary Youth Services will be consulted about the allocation of these resources. As far as the review group's recommendation on grant aid for regional and county voluntary organisations is concerned, the Department already grant aids national voluntary youth organisations and I consider that it is primarily for these national organisations to support their regional and county bodies, as a number do now. On financial grounds, it has not been possible at the present time to accept the review group's recommendation for mandatory grants for students on youth work courses. I shall, however, continue to keep the important area of youth work training uner careful review. The Government have considered with great care the review group's recommendations on legislation, but do not consider that it would be appropriate to introduce new legislation relating to the youth service unless legislation dealing with the whole statutory framework of post-school education were being proposed. This is not the case. As I told the House on 10 April, I take the view that existing legislation for post-school education remains broadly adequate for its purpose. I further consider that existing legislation provides a similarly adequate base for youth service provision. I do, however, recognise the need for additional guidance to the youth service, particularly as regards the important areas of co-operation between the voluntary and local authority sectors and the need for effective management of available resources. I am consequently issuing today for consultation the draft of a circular setting out the Government's views. Finally, I have also given careful consideration to the recommendation for a national body to offer advice on questions arising on youth affairs. I have noted, particularly, the considerable support expressed in the report of the review of the National Youth Bureau. In view of the range of activities currently undertaken by the youth service, I am persuaded that a role exists for a small advisory body capable of offering informed advice to me, to my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Wales, and to others with youth service responsibilities on the appropriate scale and direction of youth service activity, having regard to the available resources. I accordingly propose to establish such a body within the next few months for an experimental period of three years in the first instance, subject to review at the end of that period. I shall appoint, in conjuction with my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Wales, individual members to this body in a personal capacity. In making choices for membership, I shall have regard to the broad range of interests in youth service and to advice I may receive on membership from those active within it. By these arrangements the Government intend to develop further the youth service partnership, both at national and local levels, for the benefit of all young people.

Mr. Giles Radice (Durham, North): Is the Secretary of State aware that it is nearly two years since the Thompson committee report was published? Is he aware that that committee was set up to buy time and to divert the wrath of the Conservative Back Benchers? Is he further aware that, after all this delay, most hon. Members, including all his hon. Friends, will feel that he has just produced a pathetic mouse of a statement? Does the right hon. Gentleman not agree that the two central Thompson recommendations - that there should be statutory backing for local authority youth provision and that the youth service should be adequately funded - have both been decisively rejected by the Government? How can the House take seriously the Secretary of State's concern for youth when the latest public expenditure White Paper shows that he plans to cut youth spending on the service by 17 per cent. in real terms over the next three years, and when the Government are seeking to impose spending plans on LEAs by targets, penalties and, of course, by rate capping as well after next year? Above all, how can we take the Secretary of State seriously when well over a million young people under 25 do not have a job? Coming to other Thompson proposals, what about political education, which Thompson believed to be essential? We have not heard about that. What about the need to combat racism and to take account of the requirements of ethnic communities? We have not heard anything about that. Where in the Secretary of State's statement is there any mention of Thompson's proposal to encourage participation by young people in decision making and community affairs? What about the idea of a Minister for youth? He did not mention that. Is it not the truth that the Secretary of State pays lip service to the needs of young people and to ideas such as the International Year of Youth, but has compeletely failed to apply his mind and his imagination to the problems facing youth today: lack of jobs, inadequate facilities and services, and their sense of having no control over their lives? As a result, he has missed a great opportunity for which many hon. Members, including Conservative Members, and people outside the House will not lightly forgive him.
Sir Keith Joseph: the hon. Gentleman is indulging in rhetoric. It is true that it is nearly two years since this committee's report was published, and it is an excellent report. The consultation period ended 15 months ago. But evidently the hon. Gentleman has failed to know that three of the Thompson committee recommendations have already been answered. **Mr Barry Sheerman** (Huddersfield): We all know that.
Sir Keith Joseph: The hon. member for Durham, North (Mr. Radice) plainly did not know that the Government have already replied to the Thompson recommendation that there should be a Minister for youth. The Prime Minister turned that down because she said - in my view absolutely rightly - that it would make existing co-ordination worse. There have been Government announcements in response to the Thompson recommendation on the setting up of a committee for the training of youth workers. That committee now exists, under the chairmanship of Professor James. The Thompson committee's third recommendation, which has already been answered by the Government, was the inquiry into the National Youth Bureau on which the Government have already received a report which they are considering. The period since the Thompson committee reported has been put to good use. There is no recommendation in that report on what the hon. Gentleman referred to as "adequate funding". As for political education, racism and ethnic minorities, these do not call for any particular Government action but are recommendations to the field. Finance for the youth service is not being cut, as the hon. Gentleman suggests.
Mr. Radice: Yes it is.
Sir Keith Joseph: The hon. Gentleman has again demonstrated that he does not understand the public expenditure reports which he studies, because he has again ignored the unallocated margin, from which the youth service will presumably get its share. The big difference between the Thompson report and the Government is that, although the Government value the report and regard it as excellent, they are not convinced that new legislation is necessary, because no evidence is adduced that anything which the youth service wants responsibly to carry out is frustrated through lack of legislation.
Mr. David Madel (Bedfordhsire, South-West): As the Manpower Services Commission is now involved in education and is currently underspending on some of its projects, will my right hon. Friend look to the commission to help with the extension of an improved youth service, including the valuable work done by the Open University in helping with the training of part-time and voluntary youth workers?
Sir Keith Joseph: I am grateful to my hon. Friend. A youth service representative sits on the Youth Training Board and there are youth service participations in various MSC activities. However, my hon. Friend's suggestion should be directed to my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Employment. As to the Open University, the Government are already funding some training for part-time voluntary workers in the youth service and are considering an extension of that training.
Mr. Clement Freud (Cambridgeshire, North-East): How will the Secretary of State's reaction to the Thompson report help the young unemployed? Does he accept that, as he has ignored so many of the Thompson committee's recommendations, it will not be easy for him to get people of excellence to serve on the committees?
Sir Keith Joseph: I think that the hon. Gentleman has got it wrong. The Thompson committee does not make any recommendations to central Government about the work of the youth service in relation to the unemployed. It correctly praises the splendid work done by many parts of the youth service in connection with youth. The hon. Gentleman says that the Government have ignored youth service recommendations, but very few have been turned down. I repeat that there is a difference of opinion about the need for legislation, and that there is no evidence in the report that the youth service finds any difficulty in carrying out what it judges to be right because of a lack of legislation.
Mr. Alan Haselhurst (Saffron Walden): Doubtless my right hon. Friend will assess the Opposition's reaction in the light of five years of Labour Government, during which they twice managed to reject Bills that were the successors in title of the one that I originally introduced. However, will he bear in mind the fact that his understandable reluctance to legislate himself at present may encourage some local authorities to undervalue the role of the voluntary sector? Will he ensure that, as a result of his circular local authorities realise that the voluntary sector can contribute to the discharge of statutory functions, which those authorities need not necessarily discharge themselves?
Sir Keith Joseph: I agree with my hon. Friend. Hon Members should remember that, during the Labour party's aggregate of 17 years in office, no legislation for the youth service was suggested or carried through. However, I agree that some local authorities seem to undervalue the good work that can be done by the youth service. I hope that the circular will encourage them to take it more seriously.
Mr. Derek Foster (Bishop Auckland): Is the Secretary of State aware that his response to the Thompson report will be viewed with profound dismay by the whole youth service? Three years after the Thompson committee was set up in order to take the heat out of a Conservative Back-Bench revolt, the right hon. Gentleman has ignored most of the report's recommendations and has given us a wholly appointed advisory body. That will be viewed as totally inadequate. He is being contemptuous of the youth service and of young people.
Sir Keith Joseph: But the advisory body that we are setting up will be constituted on the very basis that the voluntary sector asked for.
Mr. T.H.H. Skeet (Bedfordshire, North): Is my right hon. Friend aware that at least three of us on this side of the House introduced legislation because we thought that such legislation was vital, and that there has been no legislation on this subject for the past 40 years? When will he be prepared to consider realistically the need for legislation and to give the youth service the resources to which it is entitled?
Sir Keith Joseph: I am well aware of my hon. Friend's initiative in this area, but that admirable report was unable to produce evidence that the youth service found any difficulty in fulfilling its functions through lack of legislation. Therefore, the Government will legislate on this subject only when they think that it is really necessary to enact new legislation of further education, and they are not at present convinced of that need.
Mr. Allan Rogers (Rhondda): Although I applaud the report's authors for their comprehensive review of the youth service and for the fact that they have drawn attention to the gross under-funding that is apparent in the youth sector and to the very patchy provision for the young particularly in Conservative-controlled authorities, I am amazed at the Secretary of State's selective approach to its recommendations. I note with dismay that he is setting up yet more managers and advisory bodies - despite the fact the National Youth Bureau and the Youth Service Forum are already available for advice - and that he still refuses to fund the training of youth workers, which is vital. The right hon. Gentleman's approach is appalling. It is not good for the youth service. It would have been better if he had been able to tell the House today that he was prepared to accept the Thompson report as it is instead of being selective about it.
Sir Keith Joseph: It is very odd that I should be charged with ignoring the Thompson report and then be accused of setting up another advisory committee. The Thompson report particularly recommends the setting up of a national advisory committee.
Mr. Patrick Thompson (Norwich, North): I welcome my right hon. Friend's long-awaited statement. It may not satisfy all the requests that the Government have received from youth organisations, but does my right hon. Friend agree that it must be right to emphasise voluntary work and voluntary organisations as the Government are doing? Does he agree that, for every £100 voluntarily spent upon youth work, £1,000 in resources is generated to help young people between the ages of 11 and 21?
Sir Keith Joseph: Yes, I agree with my hon. Friend. Hon. Members on both sides of the House agree that the report is excellent. Almost ten times as many resources come from the voluntary sector as from the public sector. The whole burden of the report is that good management is essential. The report comes back to that again and again. With better management we can make even better use of the splendid work of the youth service.
Ms. Clare Short (Birmingham, Ladywood): Is the Secretary of State aware that the current generation growing up in Britain is facing the hardest most blighted future of any generation since the war? Does he agree that the major cause of the problem is the high unemployment level - one in two of under 18-year-olds and 1 million under 25-year-olds are unemployed, and may have been so for a year or more? Does he agree that this creates a crisis and a massive demand on the youth service which it has not faced before? Does the right hon. Gentleman accept that the Thompson report identifies unemployment and its consequences, and racism and homelessness, as major problems and says that the service is patchy and disorganised and needs co-ordination at national and local level? Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that nothing that he has said today will remedy the problems?
Sir Keith Joseph: The report explicitly dismisses any suggestion of a crisis among youth in this country - *(Interruption.)* I am quoting from the report. The report emphasises that resources could be better used with an improvement in management.
Mr.Roger Gale (Thanet, North): Does my right hon. Friend recognise that many of my hon. Friends will welcome the creation of a unit to deal with youth service matters. My right hon. Friend said that he intended to "develop further the youth service partnership, both at national and local levels, for the benefit of all young people." Given the emphasis on funding for headquarters groups, can my right hon. Friend explain how his circular will encourage involvement, participation and consultation between voluntary bodies at local level?
Sir Keith Joseph: There are particular suggestions in the circular to encourage that crucial recognition by local education authorities of the need to involve voluntary bodies in the creation of plans rather than after the plans have been made.
Mr. Eric Deakins (Walthamstow): By giving the thumbs down to the youth service in his statement, has not the Secretary of State given a clear signal to local authorities throughout the country that they can cut back on this non-statutory service at a time of increasing financial stringency? Does the right hon. Gentleman accept that it is wrong to under-value the potential of the youth service for achieving desirable social objectives for young people at a time of rising tension and rising unemployment among that generation?
Sir Keith Joseph I seem to be one of the only people who have read the report - few Opposition Members seem to have done so. The report emphasises in chapter after chapter that there could be better management of the large resources with great benefit for the youth service. *(Interruption.)* The hon. Member for Bolsover (Mr. Skinner) mutters from a seated position. There is ten times that, of which 90 per cent. comes from voluntary services.
Mr. Harry Greenway (Ealing Common, North): Is my right hon. Friend aware that from my long experience of running voluntary youth clubs - in east London with Peter Duke, who became the first principal of the college for training youth leaders, in King's Cross and west London - I found that voluntary activities and youth clubs were much more effective than those which were funded? Does he accept that the great problem is how to handle the unclubbable? Will his circular on youth services issue guidelines and help for dealing with that important but difficult element?
Sir Keith Joseph: The report pays tribute to the often very effective work of detached workers in reaching those who are not always accessible otherwise. The circular encourages all aspects of youth service.
Mr. Nicholas Brown (Newcastle upon Tyne, East): How will the Secretary of State respond to the recommendation in chapter 8 headed "Structures", which deals specifically with the structure at local level? How does he deal with the recommendation that at the centre of the local structure there should be a joint committee, to which specific functions and powers should be delegated by the local authority, and on which representatives of voluntary organisations of young people and of the local authority should work together to frame a review policy and to monitor performance? How does the Secretary of State square that with his statement that he will not produce legislation?
Sir Keith Joseph: Because in most cases local authorities conform with that practice and the circular, which is being issued for consultation today, will wncourage those who do not, to do so.
Mr. Geoff Lawler (Bradford, North): In welcoming the long-awaited response from the Government on the Thompson report, does my right hon. Friends recognise that there will be a great disappointment in the service that it will not be given a statutory base, which would have ensured that all local authorities at least provided a minimum standard for the service? Will he assure the House that the circular mentions and encourages the participation of young people at local level?
Sir Keith Joseph: Yes, Sir. I can give that assurance.
Mr. Reg Freeson (Brent, East): The Secretary of State, at least twice in answer to questions, said that he did not feel that it was right to introduce a statutory base for the youth service because it needed to be linked with fresh legislation of further education, to which he is also opposed. Will he please reconsider this, because it is a fundamental question which requires attention, at at least give authority within the remit to the proposed youth advisory committee for it to look wider than merely at the youth service itself? The committee should be able to look at other prospects for broader legislative reform in the provisions for 16-to19-year-olds in the youth service and other areas.
Sir Keith Jospeh: No, I am not convinced and do not expect soon to be convinced that there is a need for such legislation.
Mr. Timothy Wood (Stevenage): I am one of those who believe that on the whole we should avoid too much new legislation, and I welcome the restraint of the Secretary of State in that regard. I emphasise the point about the importance of voluntary organisations. Will the Secretary of State further clarify the amount of increase that may have been given to voluntary organisations recently?
Sir Keith Joseph: Yes, Sir. I cannot commend too highly the vitality of voluntary organisations. I only hope that the better management for which the report calls will make even better use of it.
Mr. Greville Janner (Leicester, West): Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that, when one runs a voluntary youth organisation as some hon. Memers such as I did before coming to the House, good management is no substitute for adequate funding and that the poorer and more disadvantaged the area, the more difficult it is to supplement funding from public sources by private donation, whether from parents or anyone else? Does he realise that the failure of the Government to accept the Thompson recommendation that voluntary services should be adequately funded will destroy any good intentions that he might have in other respects?
Sir Keith Jospeh: Opposition Members never find difficulty in spending yet more money from the taxpayer, but the Government believe that we are already overspending. That is why we should emphasise the scope for a better youth service via better management; I say that even to someone with the hon. and learned Gentleman's experience.
Mr. Michael Stern (Bristol, North-West): Will my right hon. Friend fill a gap in an otherwise admirable statement and explain to the House the extent to which his statement will enable the youth service to have adequate clout, compared with statutorily funded parts of the education service, in obtaining its fair share of educational resources from financially pressed education authorities.
Sir Keith Joseph: There is no evidence that the youth service is being discriminated against by local authorities, despite their difficulties.
Mr. Paddy Ashdown (Yeovil): Does the Secretary of State accept that the central recommendation of the Thompson report was for a statutory youth service? Does he also accept that the present permissive nature of the youth service means that it is always the Cinderella of local government - cut and cut again - and that those pressures will increase as a result of the Government's restraints on local authority spending, at precisely the time when the youth service must increasingly carry the burden of youngsters' problems as a result of unemployment and social deprivation? Does he realise that his statement will be seen by many as a betrayal of the youth service, as ignorance of youngsters' problems and as an opportunity missed for the Government to redress some of the difficulties that their policies have created?

Sir Keith Joseph Public spending on the youth service has been maintained during the past four years and it could be used better. That is the emphasis of the report.

Mr. Richard Tracey (Surbiton): I truly hope that my right hon. Friend will reject many of the social engineering suggestions from the Opposition and will instead concentrate on sound secondary education, support for voluntary organisations - it may be appropriate to mention the scouts today - and a sound family life.

Sir Keith Jospeh: I agree with every word that my hon. Friend uttered and accept the tribute paid in the report to the uniformed and church bodies.

Mr. D. N. Campbell-Savours (Workington): Does the Secretary of State accept that his statement has ducked the issue of funding and failed to meet the expectations of thousands of youth workers? Is it not strange that, on the day when the Government come before the House and refer to public expenditure restraints on the youth service, within half an hour the House will be discussing an amendment to the Finance Bill to hand back hundreds of thousands of pounds in capital transfer tax concessions to people who own stud farsm? The Government's priority is for stud farms, not for people who deal with the problems of an unemployed Britain.

Sir Keith Joseph: I am not the least impressed - nor will the youth service be - by Labour Members ignoring the main emphasis of the report, which is the need for better management of the considerable resources available to the youth service.

Mr. William O'Brien (Normanton): As it has been pointed out, realistically, that his statement will not help youth, will the Secretary of State have regard to a statement made by Her Majesty's Inspectorate earlier this week on the role of college training in the youth training scheme? *The Times* yesterday stated: "Poor links between further education colleges and employers managing the Youth Training Scheme have undermined the scheme's educational success in its first year, Her Majesty's Inspectorate reported yesterday." Will the Secretary of State take on board the criticisms in that report and introduce a scheme to improve the relationship between the colleges and YTS?

Sir Keith Joseph: I read most, and I welcome all, HMI reports. I read with special interest recently the report on three youth clubs in Lambeth. I hope that the hon. Gentleman will also read it.

Mr. Simon Hughes (Southwark and Bermondsey): Does the Secretary of State accept that members of youth committees meeting week after week, such as the one that I attended in Southwark last night, with the best management skills and with officers working many hours of overtime, cannot produce facilities without resources? Unless the Secretary of State announces something this afternoon, he will have done nothing for the youth service and nothing to encourage youngsters to believe that Parliament cares for their future.

Sir Keith Joseph I hope that the hon. Gentleman will devote some of his energy to reading the recently published report on three youth clubs in Lambeth, which showed that large resources are being greatly under-used.

Mr. Radice: Is it not true that the Secretary of State has ignored the two central Thompson recommendations - he must admit that, whatever else he says - which are statutory backing for local authority youth provision and adequate funding for the youth services? The paragraphs on funding are paras 10.24 and 10.25, in case he has not read them. Has he not also shown himself this afternoon to be completely insensitive to the problems of young people in Conservative Britain, especially the 1.2 million young people who are unemployed? As his statement had received so little support in the House, will he now withdraw it?

Sir Keith Joseph: Not at all, because the main finding of the report is that there could be better use of the substantial resources available. I echo the report's tribute to the work being done in the youth service, but I am not convinced that we need legislation.

V37 N64

Religious Education OA

Mr. Greenway asked the Sec. State Education and Science if he is satisfied with the operation of the religious education provisions of the Education Act 1944;**The Under-Secretary (Dr. Rhodes Boyson):** I have no doubt that we could - and should - provide better religious education for our young people

Mr Greenway: Although one does not wish to see rigidity in this area. Is he aware that 80 per cent. of parents, whether or not they are churchgoers themselves, want RE teaching for their children but that in 80 per cent. of schools there is known to be no regular act of worship, as by law there should be, nor proper RE teaching? As the law requires that there should be proper RE teaching in all schools, why are we not getting it?

Unemployed Teachers OA

Dr. M.S. Miller asked the Sec. State Education and Science how many unemployed teachers there were 10 years ago, five years ago and last year in *(a)*primary education,*(b)* secondary education and *(c)*further education.

Sir Keith Jospeh: In round figures, the numbers of people registered as unemployed and seeking teaching posts in England in September 1973, 1978 and 1982, respectively were 1,000, 4,000 and 9,000 for posts in primary schools; 1,000 6,000 and 13,000 for posts in secondary schools; and 1,000, 3,000 and 6,000 for posts in higher and further education:

Peace Studies and Defence OA

Sir John Biggs-Davison asked the Sec. State Education and Science if he will issue guidance to local education authorities as to appropriate teaching material relating to peace studies and defence. **Dr. Boyson:** It is for schools themselves to decide exactly what they will teach, but what is offered should always be education and not indoctrination. **Sir John Biggs-Davison:** Is hon. Friend aware that one-sided propaganda for one-sided disarmament is circulating in our schools? Will he ascertain to what extent local education authorities and head teachers are making use of the excellent material that is provided by Government Departments, giving a balanced view of this great issue so that it may be sensibly covered? **Dr. Boyson:** If my hon. Friend has evidence of one-sided propaganda going into schools, we shall be glad to receive it, as we reveive materials from others. The Foreign Office has material available and it sends it to schools that wish to receive it. We have made that public property etc. exch

Citizens Advice Bureaux WA

Mr. Wolfson asked the Min. Trade what estimates he can make of the current value of (a) the total funding and (b) the assistance by way of accommodation, facilities and services, provided by local authorities to their local citizens advice bureaux. **Dr. Vaughan:** The value of grants from local authorities to bureaux in the current financial year is estimated by the National Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux to have been around £10 million.

Teachers WA

Mr. Donald Stewart asked the Sec State Scotland how many teachers were employed in Scotland in each of the last four years. **Mr. Younger:** Full-time equivalent number of teachers employed in education authority and grant-aided nursery, primary, secondary and special schools at September 1979, 1980 and 1981 were 58,940, 57,580 and 55,940, respectively. Completely comparable information for September 1982 is not yet available, but the total number at that date is provisionally assessed at about 54,500.

Pupils (Statistics) WA

Mr. Flannery asked the Sec. State Education Science what percentage of secondary pupils are now educated in comprehensive schools, secondary modern schools and private schools, respectively. **Dr. Boyson:** In January 1982, the proportion of school pupils aged 11 years and over in England was 79.7 per cent. in comprehensive schools, 5.1 per cent. in secondary modern schools and 7.5 per cent. in independent schools. In addition, 3 per cent. of pupils aged 11 years and over were in maintained grammar schools and 4.4 per cent. were in special schools and other maintained primary, middle and secondary schools.

Pupil-Teacher Ratio WA

Mr. Kenneth Carlisle asked the Sec. State Education Science what is the forecast pupil to teacher ratio in schools for the present year. **Dr. Boyson:** In the latest public expenditure White Paper - Cmnd. 8789 - the overall pupil-teacher ratio in nursery, primary and secondary schools in England is projected at 18.3 in January 1983, compared with 18.5 in the previous year.

Further Education (Statistics) WA

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett asked the Sec State Education Science what percentage of the 16 to 18 year age group have remained in schools or sixth form colleges in each of the past four years. **Dr. Boyson:** The proportion of pupils remaining at maintained and non-maintained schools, excluding special schools, in England for the latest four years for which information is available are as follows:

Percentage of pupils remaining at school beyond the statutory leaving age

January of each year Age at 31 August of preceding year	*1979*	*1980*	*1981*	*Per cent 1982*
16 years	27.6	28.1	28.9	31.6
17 years	18.2	18.1	18.7	19.6
18 years	1.7	1.7	1.8	2.1

V37 N65

Sports Council WA

Mr. Proctor asked the Sec. State Environment what public funds were given to the Sports Council in 1982-83 and 1981-82; **The Under-Secretary of State for the Environment (Mr. Neil Macfarlane):** In 1981-82 the Sports Council grant-in-aid was £21,032,000. For the current financial year, it is £28,002,000. That figure includes £1 million for Merseyside and two supplementary grants totalling £4.25 million.The Sports Council's grant-in-aid for 1983-84, subject to parliamentary approval, will be £27,030,000 which includes a further £1 million for Merseyside. etc. exch.

Family (Government Policy) D

Mr. Keith Best (Anglesey): Within a short space of time recently the family has once again been in the focus of public attention. The first was the publication of "Families in the Future" by the study commission on the family. I am glad that the Department of Health and Social Services and the Social Science Research Council will continue to fund this body. The second occasion was an article in *The Guardian* of 17 February referring to confidential Cabinet documents emanating from the family policy group set up by the Prime Minister. Its purpose was as set out in one of the alleged confidential memos of Mr. Ferdinand Mount:"We are concerned with the overall well being of the family and not solely or specifically with the provision of welfare by the state and other public agencies (which is how Family Policy is sometimes interpreted)."In that same article reference was made to the Conservative manifesto of 1979, which stated:"We want to work with the grain of human nature, helping people to help themselves-and others. This is the way to restore that self-reliance and self-confidence which are the basis of personal reponsibility and national success. "It is no new idea that the family is the bulwark against the state and survives independently of it, and is therefore a bastion of freedom. Any politician who acknowledges this must be led to two conclusions. The first is that the state must not inhibit, indeed should encourage positively, family stability even though it is done at the expense of the state in terms of control, both financial and administrative. The second conclusion is that those who fall outside the definition of the typical family, or those whose family breaks down, need succor. That can be provided in some circumstances by voluntary organisations and friends, but in a welfare state where none should fall below the safety net of adequate food, heat, shelter and health care ultimately that succour must be provided by the state. Government who fail to do so cast the first stone against the family. It begs the question as to what is the family? Certain trends stand out over the past 20 years. First, there has been an increase, in fact a doubling, of one-person households, typically elderly people living alone or young people on their own, often prior to marriage. Secondly, the proportion of all families that might be regarded as typical-a married couple with dependent children-has declined from 38 per cent. in 1961 to 32 per cent. in 1980. Thirdly, the number of one-parent families with dependent children has increased; they formed only 2 per cent. of all households in the early 1960s but made up 4 per cent. by the late 1970s. Are these changes desirable or inevitable? Is there anything that the Government can do by way of a comprehensive policy to strengthen what might be regarded as a typical family? Cout: exch. etc. As the study commission on the family concludes "A combination of factors-unemployment, low wages and an increase in those family types most in need-means that today a large proportion of British children live either below the poverty line or near to it. The most recent figures show that 880,000 are in families with incomes of the supplementary benefit level and, altogether, there are some 2,360,000 children in families with incomes below 140 per cent. of the supplementary level." It is small wonder then that I ask the Government to concentrate on what I term "families at risk". Supplementary benefit is not a proper basis of permanent income for so many families, nor was it designed as such. Cout: Reply by Mr. Newton: Under See State Health etc. Adj.

School Meals WA

Mr. Ernie Ross asked the Sec. State Education and Science if he will estimate that cost of providing free school meals for all children attending primary schools, given a 70 per cent. uptake. **Dr. Boyson:** This would involve additional expenditure of about £200 million a year in respect of England.

Free School Meals WA

Mr. Ernie Ross asked the Sec. State Scotland if he will estimate the cost of providing free school meals for all primary school children, given a 70 per cent. uptake.**Mr. Alexander Fletcher:** The additional cost involved in providing free school meals for 70 per cent. of all primary school children in Scotland is estimated to be about £24 million a year, at current prices.

Personal Capital WA

Mr. Lee asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer what information he has as to how many persons have capital in excess of £100,000, £150,000 £500,000, £1,000,000 and £2,000,000. **Mr. Ridley:** The latest detailed figures on the size of individual wealth holdings are for 1978. It is estimated that the numbers of iridividuals with identified wealth in excess of £100,000, £150,000 and £500,000 were then approximately 195,000 95,000 and 10,000 repectively.

Children and Young Persons Act 1975 WA

Mr. Alfred Morris asked the Sec. State Social Services if he has yet completed his consideration of the arrangements necessary to implement so much of section 64 of the Children and Young Perons Act 1975 as is required to make parents eligible for legally aided representation when an order is made under section 32(A)(1) of the Act; **Mr. Newton:** I have nothing to add to my reply to my hon. Friend the Member for Brighton, Kemptown (Mr. Bowden) on 14 Febraury.-[Vol. 37,c.24.]

V37 N66

Mr. Mayhew Published annually in a Home Office statistical bulletin "Statistics of the misuse of drugs in the United Kingdom" - table 8 of issue 13/82. - The readily available statistical information about non-British citizenship of drug offenders, which may be incomplete, is given in the following table.

Persons found guilty of drug offences by type of offence who were recorded as not being British citizens

United Kingdom

	Number of persons								
Offence	*1973*	*1974*	*1975*	*1976*	*1977*	*1978*	*1979*	*1980*	*1981*
Unlawful production	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	3	-
Unlawful supply	70	71	81	92	70	68	74	90	124
Possession with intent to supply unlawfully	7	50	83	80	71	85	74	115	104
Unlawful possession	1,562	1,328	1,303	1,447	1,361	1,591	1,657	2,101	1,884
Cultivation of cannabis plant	33	38	43	66	78	93	125	190	123
Permitting premises to be used for unlawful purposes	54	44	34	37	25	27	28	28	19
Other Drugs Acts offence	4	7	22	12	22	22	22	47	56
Unlawful import or export	183	206	259	375	489	514	612	833	786
Other offences involving drugs	27	17	19	18	13	15	10	5	13
All drugs offences	1,793	1,588	1,638	1,924	1,944	2,207	2,408	3,159	2,857

Probation Service (Trainees) WA
Mrs. Renee Short asked the Sec. State Home Department why he has decided to reduce the salaries of probation trainees starting training during 1983. **Mr. Mellor:** The special and generally more favourble treatment in salaries and other financial support given to probation students sponsored by the Home Office, as compared with other social work students, had its origin in a need found in the early 1970s to attract more applicants. In recent years the number of suitable applicants has much exceeded the numbers required. The number of students sponsored by the Home Office who are due to enter probation training this autumn is 288. In each of the past five years the number of such students was as follows:

1982	295
1981	254
1980	412
1979	457
1978	425

Vandalism WA
Mrs. Renee Shortasked the Prime Minister if Her Majesty's Government will take further action to prevent vandalism. **The Prime Minister:** There is no single or simple solution to the problem of vandalism. Since coming into office this Government has strengthened the police by 9,000 officers and we have, in the Criminal Justice Act 1982, considerably strengthened the power of the courts to deal with young offenders. In particular, the Act reinforces the powers to make parents responsible for their children's actions. This Government have also greatly increased the number of attendance centres. But vandalism is not something just for the Government, police and courts to deal with. It is for parents and teachers acting with others in the local community to tackle this problem. To help encourage this, the Home Office already produces films, leaflets and posters aimed at both parents and potential offenders and hopes to have published later this year a teaching package for secondary school on law and order including material on vandalism.

Single-parent Families WA
Mr. Wigley asked the Sec. State Soc. Serv. what is the latest figure for the number of single parent families in the United Kingdom; and how this compares with corresponding figures five and 10 years previously. **Mr. Newton:** Preliminary estimates, subject to revision in the light of detailed results from the 1981 census, suggest that there were about 900,000 single parent families in Great Britain in April 1981. The estimates for mid-1976 and mid-1971 were 750,000 and 570,000 respectively.

Unemployment Costs WA
Mr. Wigley asked the Chancellor what is his latest estimate of the total annual cost to the Exchequer, including both benefit payments and loss of tax revenue of a married man with two children, previously on average industrial wages, becoming unemployed. **Mr. Brittan:** Benefit payments would depend on the family's circumstances, but under reasonable assumptions would be about £3,000 at current rates. The man would also be entitled to a full rebate of rent and rates under the housing benefits scheme. This example is not typical of the unemployed population as a whole.

Family Spending Power WA
Mr. Ralph Howell asked the Chancellor what would be the net weekly spending power of a man with a wife and two children, calculated on the same basis as in the tax benefits model tables for November 1982 whose wage was £150 per week if he was paying mortgage interest of (a) £10, (b) £20, (c) £30, (d) £40 and (e) £50 per week, comparing it with the net weekly spending power (i)while receiving unemployment benefit and (ii) when unemployment benefit had ceased and he is totally dependent on supplementary benefit. **Mr. Newton:** The following table shows the net weekly spending power of a man with a wife and two children aged 4 and 6:

1	2	3	4
Mortgage interest paid	*Employed earning £150 a week*	*Unemployed receiving unemployment benefit only**	*Unemployed receiving supplementary benefit*
£	£	£	£
10	98.78	45.42	66.77
20	91.78	35.42	66.77
30	84.78	25.42	66.77
40†	77.78	15.42	66.77
50†	73.28	5.42	66.77

Note * In all these cases the individual would be entitled to supplementary benefit. If taken up net weekly spending power would be £66.77 a week as in column 4.
† These interest payments would not be consistent with normal building society policy for advances against an earnings level of £150 per week.

Assumption
1. The wife has no earnings or income other than child benefit.
2. Mortgage capital repayment is ignored because it is not met in supplementary benefit awards. General rates are £5.10 a week and water rate is £1.30 a week.
3. Fares to work are £5.50 a week.
4. All means-tested benefits are taken up in full except supplementary benefit in the column 3 examples.
5. Local authorities continues to exercise their discretion to allow free or cheap meals on low income grounds.
6. No tax repayments are received out of work.

V38 N68

Policing in the Metropolis
The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. William Whitelaw): I very much welcome this opportunity for a full debate on policing in the metropolis. In a series of discussions with hon. Members, both before and after the publication of the Commissioner's recent report to me, I came away with a strong sense of a community of interest in ensuring adequate debate of such a major issue. It is right that the House should have occasion to examine how I, as police authority, and the Commissioner, tackle and plan to tackle the problems that the capital presents. Cont. Sir Keith Newman took up office at a time when the force was about to reach its establishment of 26,615, having grown by 4,046 since May 1979. The Metropolitan police had also, in the previous two and a half years, had to cope with a range of major problems notably the riots of 1981, and absorb the lessons which had been learnt. Lord Scarman, whose report on the Brixton disorders pointed up some areas of policing practice and policy which needed to be changed. In referring to the Commissioner's report, I begin by emphasising the public order dimension of Metropolitan police work. The report reminds us of how significantly the routine demands of public order in the capital city have grown. Between 1972 and 1981, demonstrations which required the employment of more than 100 police officers increased from 55 to 354-from an average of one a week to almost one a day. These figures exclude the sporting and ceremonial events which, however much pleasure they give to millions, require careful policing, often with large numbers of officers. At the same time, district commanders have reported increases in the number of local disturbances, such as rowdyism and hooliganism. Over the last few years, 1,000 officers have been returned to beat duty. In a shorter time scale, the Commissioner proposes to redeploy a minimum of 650 more from savings elsewhere. In doing this a practical operational problem has to be faced. As work loads have risen and the demands on the police from calls from the public have grown-they take up about 70 per cent. of uniformed police activity-the Commissioner is concerned that his officers have tended more and more to have to react to the problems around them rather than being able to mould new ways of tackling them. Officers on uniformed patrol will therefore be given clear directions about their objectives, priorities and tasks; for example, the need for co-operation with other agencies in priority estate projects, servicing and monitoring neighbourhood watch schemes, liason with victim support groups, and tackling racial harassment, vandalism and hooliganism. count:exch: **Mr. Hattersley:** They have 3.6 officers for every 1,000 people within their area compared with 3.1 in Merseyside, 2.7 in greater Manchester, 2.6 in west midlands and 2.3 in Northumbria. The Metropolitan police spend £69.7 per thousand people within their area compared with £48 in Merseyside, £40 in greater Manchester, £36 in the west midlands and £35 in Northumbria. The hard fact is that even when the figures are made genuinely comparable to allow for the extra duties imposed on the Metropolitan police, London has more policemen than do the provinces, spends more on the police than do the provinces, and is less successful in catching, prosecuting and deterring criminals than is anywhere else in the country. Cont:further exch.
Mr. Toby Jessel (Twickenham): This is a serious matter. The word "racism" is being used in a rather general way, as though it justifies assumptions being made about what is happening. I do not necessarily accept that such worrying things are happening. Is the hon. Gentleman suggesting that police officers are charging people of a certain racial background with offences that they have not committed? **Mr. Davis:** The hon. Gentleman has clearly not read the Scarman report. I believe that he had some connection with Hackney. Did he not stand for election to the GLC at one time? **Mr. Jessel:** No, but my grandfather did. **Mr. Davis:** The hon. Gentleman's grandfather could have taught him a thing or two. I shall demonstrate what I mean by that. In youth clubs in my area largely populated by black youngsters I have seen and heard real bitterness expressed. Black youngsters are harassed. They are picked up by the police. Sometimes they are humiliated in public. Sometimes they are spoken to as though they are less than animals. That is what they tell me, and it cannot be entirely false. As I am sure the hon. Member for Bury St. Edmunds (Mr. Griffiths) will know from his conversations with police officers, the police know that it happens even if the hon. Member for Twickenham (Mr. Jessel) does not. Those youngsters are desperately sensitive, and such sensitivity all too readily leads to bitterness. In such an atmosphere suspicions become sharply etched, feeling become intense and rumours become rife. Such ground can be effectively tilled political exctremists who wish, for their own sometimes scurrilous objectives, to denounce the police. I have also heard some of my black and Asian constituents claim, perhaps entirely without justification, that the police are slower to take action against those responsible for racial attacks on them than they are to provide the same protection for white people. **Mr. Mikardo:** They have admitted it. Cout: exch.**Mr. Page:** I shall do my best for the hon. Member for Hackney, South and Shoreditch (Mr. Brown), who seems to have a number of problems of identity and nomenclature. The hon. Member for Hackney, Central spoke of the sense of harassment felt by young coloured people when being interviewed by the police. Having four sons, I can tell the House from experience that there is a sense of harassment created by young white people, especially if they have long hair, and wear black leather and earrings. Luckily, none of my sons has worn earrings. But I believe that the members of any outré minority, whatever they are doing, give the police justifiable cause for concern because they are likely to cause a breach of the peace. If six young chaps are shouting in the street, it is natural to expect them to be reprimanded by the police.

Probation Service (Trainees) WA
Mr. John Grant asked the Sec. State Home Department what are the reasons for reducing the pay of probation service trainees from a scale of £4,551-£5,529 a year to £3,558-£5,382 a year. **Mr. Mellor:** The special and generally more favourable treatment in salaries and other financial support given to probation students sponsored by the Home Office, as compared with other social work students, had its origin in a need found in the early 1970s to attract more applicants. In recent years the number of suitable applicants has much exceeded the numbers required. The new rates are based on reduction ranging from 23 per cent. at the lower end of the scale to 0.5 per cent. at the upper end, the object being to give priority to attracting suitable mature recruits eligible for the upper points on the scale. They only apply to new entrants, not to students already in training. It is estimated that the saving in a full year will be £300,000.

Children Act 1975 WA
Mr. Foulkes asked the Sec. State Scotland if he will list those sections of the Children Act 1975 which have not been implemented in Scotland. **Mr. John MacKay:** The following sections of the Act which apply to Scotland have not yet been implemented: 1, 2, 9, 14-16, 18-20, 22(1), (2) and (3), 23, 25, 47-55, 66, 70, 78, 80, 95-97 and 102. Relevant paragraphs in schedules 3 and 4 consequential to these sections also remain to be implemented.

Football Matches (Alcohol) WA
Mr. Bill Walker asked the Sec. State Scotland if he will introduce measures to extend the alcoholic drinks ban to junior football grounds; and if he will make a statement. **Mr. Alexander Fletcher:** My right hon. Friend has at present no plans to do so but we will continue to keep a watch on the situation.

Pound Sterling WA
Mr. Bidwell asked the Chancellor if he will express the value of the pound sterling for each year since 1969 as a percentage of its value in that year. **Mr. Bruce-Gardyne:** The information is as follows:

Year	*Per cent.*
1969	100
1970	94
1971	86
1972	80
1973	73
1974	63
1975	51
1976	44
1977	38
1978	35
1979	31
1980	26
1981	23
1982	21

School Meals WA
Mr. Field asked the Sec. State Education and Science if he will list *(a)* the revenue raised from school meal charges, *(b)* the expenditure on the school meals subsidy and *(c)* the expenditure on the provision of free school meals at the last available date. **Dr. Boyson** In 1981-82, the revenue from school meal charges was £214 million; the subsidy on paid meals was £245 million and the expenditure on free meals was £145 million.

Community Programme WA
Miss Joan Lestor asked the Sec. State Employment if he will set out a table indicating the numbers of *(a)* men and *(b)* women participating on the community programme, indicating the numbers in part-time and full-time jobs, on the most recent date for which the figures are available. **Mr. Alison:** On 31 January 1983, the latest date for which this information is readily available, there were 30,269 full-time and 3,930 part-time participants on the community programme. It is now known precisely how many were men and how many were women, but it is estimated that 80 per cent. of participants were men and 20 per cent. were women.

V39 N69

Unemployment Statistics WA
Mr. Wigley asked the Sec. State Social Services in how many households there are one or more persons unemployed; and what proportion of the total number of householders this represents. **Mr. Alison:** The information requested is not available from my Department's monthly unemployment figures. However, the 1981 labour force survey shows that, in the second quarter of 1981, nearly 2.2 million households contained one or more unemployed persons. This represented 11 per cent. of all households in Great Britain.

Special Educational Needs (Pupil Integration) WA
Mr. Wigley asked the Sec. State Education Science if he is satisfied with the progress that has been made in relation to integration of those with special education needs into ordinary schools and colleges. **Dr. Boyson** In January 1982, 15,474 handicapped children were registered as pupils in ordinary classes in ordinary schools and a further 14,502 were registered as pupils in designated special classes or units in ordinary schools. The comparable figures for 1981 were 10,369 and 16,456, respectively.

Solvent Abuse WA
Mr. Corrie asked the Sec. State Scotland how many deaths there have been as a result of sniffing solvents in Scotland over the years 1975 to 1982; **Mr. Younger:** Information for 1975 is not available. Information for 1976 to 1982 is shown in the following table.

Deaths from solvent abuse by region of occurrence 1976 to 1982

Region	*1976*	*1977*	*1978*	*1979*	*1980*	*1981*	*1982*	*Total*
Borders	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Central	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Dumfries and Galloway	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Fife	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	2
Grampian	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	2
Highland	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Lothian	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	3
Strathclyde	1	2	1	-	2	6	6	18
Tayside	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	3
Orkney	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shetland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Western Isles	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	1	2	2	2	3	9	13	32

Community Education Courses WA
Mr. O'Neill asked the Sec State Scotland how many students were admitted to community education courses in colleges of education from 1970-71 to 1982-83. **Mr. Alexander Fletcher:** The information in respect of the academic sessions 1979-80 to 1982-83 is set out in the following table.

Admission to community education courses at college of education in Scotland

College	*1979-80*	*1980-81*	*1981-82*	*1982-83*
Aberdeen	11	16	22	16
Dundee	38	39	33	39
Jordanhill	89	85	63	70
Moray House	60	55	78	70
Total	198	195	196	195

U38 N70

Young Persons (Unemployment) WA
Mr. Douglas asked the Sec. State Scotland what is the total number of young people aged 16 to 18 years who are currently unemployed in Scotland; and, of these, how many are aged 16 to 17 years and 17 to 18 years, respectively. **Mr. Younger:** On 14 October 1982, the total number of young people registered as unemployed at employment offices and careers offices in Scotland was 51,800. Of these, 30,608 were under 18 years of age and 21,192 were aged 18 years. Cont: exch.

Vandalism OA
Mr. Ancram asked the Solicitor-General for Scotland what proportion of reports to the procurators fiscal of offences relating to the crime of vandalism have resulted in prosecutions in the last year. **The Solicitor-General for Scotland (Mr. Peter Fraser):** No figures are kept for the number of such cases where no proceedings are taken. However, in 1981, of those offences of vandalism made known to the police, 8,610 were cleared up in that one or more persons were apprehended, warned, cited or traced for the offence. Procurators fiscal took proceedings against 2,619 persons and approximately 91 per cent. of those were convicted. In addition, 1332 children were referred to the reporters to the children's panels for such offences. Cont:

Divorces WA
Mr. Wigley asked the Attorney-General how many divorces were registered during 1979, 1980, 1981 and 1982, respectively. **The Solicitor General:** The numbers of petitions for divorce, nullity of marriage and judicial separation and numbers of decrees absolute of divorce and nullity and decrees of judicial separation granted for the four years from 1979 to1982 are set out in the table.

England and Wales

Year	*Petitions*	*Decrees Absolute of divorce and nullity*	*Decrees of Judicial Separation*
1979	167,511	137,985	1,640
1980	177,415	146,458	2,560
1981	176,162	144,825	3,334
1982	170,350	135,903	3,868

Community and Voluntary Projects WA
Mr. Russell Johnson asked the Sec. State Scotland what is the value of grants paid in each of the past five years to regional councils in Scotland under the capital grants scheme for community and voluntary projects; and what was the allocation between regions and island areas in those years. **Mr. Alexander Fletcher:** Under the capital grants scheme for local voluntary youth and community organisations, the grants are paid directly to the applicant body and not to the regional and islands councils concerned. The total of the grants paid in 1981-82 was £671,000 of which £306,000 related to projects in the areas of the islands councils; the grants paid in the previous years will be shown if the *Official Report.*

Young Persons (Unemployment)
Mr. Canavan asked the Sec. State Scotland what is the total number of unemployed young people registered in careers offices in Scotland; and what is the total number of job vacancies for young people so registered. **Mr. Alexander Fletcher:** On 13 January 1983, the total number of young people registered at careers offices in Scotland was 30,881, including Christmas school leavers. On 7 January 1983, the total number of unfilled vacancies held at careers offices and job centres in Scotland stood at 169 and 12,157, respectively.

V38 N71

Police Work (School Visits) DA
Mr. Dormand asked the Sec. State Home Department if he will encourage chief constables to run schemes for visits to schools by police officers on request, to talk to pupils about the work of the police. **The Minister of State, Home Office (Mr. David Waddington):** Forces throughout England and Wales already operate schemes for police officers to visit school on a regular basis to talk to pupils about the work of the police. Chief officers know that they have my right hon. Friends's full support in all their efforts to make contact with young people Etc. cont.

Criminal Damage (Conviction Statistics) DA
Mr. Latham asked the Sec. State Home Department what progress is being made by the police recently in improving the rate of those charged and convicted of criminal damage; and what proportion of those liable to charge are subsequently found to be below the age of criminal responsibility. **Mr. Mayhew:** Over the past five years the clear-up rate for offences of criminal damage valued over £20 has remained at bout 30 per cent. Between 1977 and 1981 the number of persons convicted of or cautioned for criminal damage rose from 50,000 to 60,000.

Crimes of Violence (Wales) DA
Mr. Delwyn Williams asked the Sec. State Home Department what was the percentage increase in the number of crimes of violence to the person in Wales between the years 1972 and 1981. **Mr. Mayhew:** Between 1972 and 1981 the average annual increase in all offences of violence against the person recorded in Wales was about 7 per cent. a year; for the more serious offences it was about 2 per cent. a year.

Children in Prison WA
Miss Joan Lestor asked the Sec. State Home Department if he will state the number and age of children currently in prison with their mothers. **Mr. Mellor:** Twenty on 21 February. Their ages were one month (three), two months (three), four months (three), five months (three), six months (one), seven months (one), eight months (three), nine months (two) and 14 months (one).

Truancy WA
Mr. Heddle asked the Sec. State Home Department if he will publish the number of convictions successfully brought under the provisions of the Education Act 1944 for offences related to truancy. **Mr. Mayhew:** The available information, which may be incomplete, relates to all offenders found guilty of offences against the Education Act 1944 and is published annually in "Criminal Statistics, England and Wales"-offence classification 112 of table S1.1(A) of volume 1 of the Supplementary tables for 1981. This information does not distinguish truancy offences from other offences under this Act.

Unemployment Statistics WA
Mr. McTaggart asked the Sec. State Scotland if he will provide a breakdown by number and percentage of young people under 25 years unemployed in *(a)* Glasgow and *(b)*Scotland for each of the past five years. **Mr. Alexander Fletcher:** The table shows the number of persons under the age of 25 years registered as unemployed-the old basis of the unemployment count-in the Glasgow travel-to-work area and in Scotland in October 1982 the latest date for which the information is available; and in October in each of the previous four years. The table also shows the figures as a percentage of the total number of unemployed persons in these areas.

Unemployed persons under 25 years of age

	Glasgow travel-to work area Number	*As a percentage of all unemployed persons in the area*	*Number*	*Scotland As a percentage of all unemployed persons in the area*
October 1978	22,289	42.6	70,701	40.3
October 1979	22,308	41.5	71,271	39.9
October 1980	31,676	42.3	101,572	41.3
October 1981	38,999	41.1	131,835	40.5
October 1982	42,166	41.6	144,187	40.9

Community Schools WA
Mrs. McElhone asked the Sec. State Scotland how many community schools there are in Scotland; and how many of these are in Glasgow. **Mr. Alexander Fletcher:** The term "community school" has no statutory signigicance, and the information requested is not centrally available.

V38 N72

Yorkshire and Humberside (Employment) D
Mr. Barry Sheerman (Huddersfield, East): I beg to move, That this House deplores the ineffectiveness of Her Majesy's Government's policies and its failure to produce positive plans which tackle Britain's economic problems as a whole, which have resulted in dire consequences for the economic and social life of the people of Yorkshire and Humberside; and furthermore condemns the Government for not introducing those alternative economic and regional strategies which would restore prosperity to the region, and allow it to resume its historic role as the dynamic centre of the British economy. I move the motion with some depth of feeling as I represent a constituency which has been sorely damaged by this Government's policies. I intend to present the House with those positive alternative strategies that could turn back the clock and make Yorkshire and Humberside the centre of our industrial dynamism once again. Cont: West Germany marketed £8 million worth of suits in Britain-between January and September 1982 and 671,000 square metres of fabric, compared with 553,000 square metres during the same period in 1981. Meanwhile, in West Yorkshire 7,065 redundancies were announced in the clothing industry between the beginning of 1980 and the end of 1982, and 16,785 redundancies were announced in the wool textile industry. For the wool textile industry, that is not just a blow but will have a steamrolling effect on the whole future of our industry. Etc. etc. Exch. 15 pages Motion Withdrawn.

18-year-olds WA
Mrs. Renée Short asked the Sec. State Soc. Serv. what has been the annual change in the number of 18-year-olds in each of the last 20 years. **Mr. Geoffrey Finsberg:** The Registrar General's estimates of the number of 18-year-olds resident in England and Wales on 30 June of each year are shown in the following table:

	Number of 18-year-olds (thousands)
1962	668.3
1963	665.1
1964	667.5
1965	838.2
1966	768.5
1967	717.3
1968	690.5
1969	670.8
1970	650.3
1971	666.3
1972	675.0
1973	656.1
1974	673.2
1975	695.7
1976	720.7
1977	730.9
1978	740.2
1979	772.5
1980	791.4
1981	*801.2

*The figure for 1981 is provisional and not strictly comparable with the ones for preceding years which have not yet been revised to take account of the 1981 census.

Schools (Sports Facilities) WA
Mr. Mark Carlisle asked the Sec. State Education and Science what steps he is taking to encourage the dual use of sports facilities in schools by both pupils and other people living in the neighbourhood. **Sir Keith Joseph:** Constant encouragement has been given for the community use of maintained school premises, including sports facilities; and I hope that local authorities will continue to promote such use so far as practicable within the resources available to them. In December 1982 the Department published a revised version of Building Bulletin 28, "Playing Fields and Hard Surface Areas", a copy of which is in the Library, containing a chapter on shared use. I am preparing to repeat in a modified form the survey of shared and extended use of schools carried out in 1978-79, covering sports among other facilities, the findings of which were summarised in the Department's Statistical Bulletin No. 1 of 1982, a copy of which also is in the Library.

'Monitor for' this issue: Richard Jenks

tended to evolve more slowly than in other parts of the United Kingdom. The Children Act 1908, represents a shared landmark between Britain and Ireland. In Northern Ireland, where it remained the principal statute until it was superseded by the Children and Young Persons (N.I.) Acts 1950 and 1968, its influence has been considerably more enduring than Britain. These measures brought the Province broadly into line with the Children and Young Persons (England and Wales) Act 1963. The lack of corresponding legislation to the Children and Young Persons (England and Wales) Act 1969 and the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968, (which substantially reformed the juvenile justice systems in Britain), was a major consideration in framing the terms of reference of the Black Committee established in 1976 to review the entire corpus of child care provision in Northern Ireland. The Black Committee has issued a comprehensive set of proposals concerning the young offender, initially in the form of a consultative document in 1977[39] and subsequently, to coincide with the Year of the Child, a report in 1979.[40]

Currently the treatment of the young offender is shared by two statutory social agencies, the four Area Health and Social Services Boards and the Probation Service. The age of criminal responsibility is ten. In the case of children (i.e. those between ten and fourteen years) the common law presumption of "doli incapa" applies whereby no person between these ages is presumed capable of an offence unless there is evidence showing that he was aware that the act was wrong (mens rea). Practice indicates that, mens rea is usually established by the fact of the offence as far as the courts are concerned.[41]

The Black Report has recommended that Northern Ireland adopt a **justice** approach to the treatment of the young offender. This would supplant the current balance between **justice** and **welfare** principles which has prevailed throughout the twentieth century. The concepts of **justice** and **welfare** are used to describe differing premises upon which approaches to the treatment of the young offender are predicated. The former is concerned with the maintenance of a stable society and attributes responsibility to the young offender for his or her actions. This is the approach which has prevailed in traditional societies where childhood is not perceived as a separate status and children are subject to the full rigour of the law. The latter approach, which has been preferred in developed societies, is based on the concept of **parens patriae** i.e. that the state is the higher or ultimate parent of all children. The doctrine of **parens patriae** does not assure children the 'right to liberty', but merely promises them a 'right to care, protection and control'. The Black Report has argued that the 'serious and persistent' young offender should be segregated from other children through a bi-furcated court structure and a separate set of judicial dispositions.

The bi-furcated court structure will involve a separation of care and criminal proceedings. Offenders will appear before a more formalised judicial structure which will be primarily concerned with punishment. In practice operationalising this structure may prove very difficult. Firstly, in the inevitable event of an overlap between care and control (e.g. when a child in need of care has committed an offence) there will need to be a complicated system of cross-over linkages between the two court structures. Secondly, there are major logistic difficulties which will make the establishment of these courts outside the Belfast conurbation very difficult.[42]

In the vocabulary of the juvenile justice system the term sentence is replaced by less judicially endowed terminology such as disposition - though in a justice context it would seem consistent to revert to the earlier usage. There are currently a wide range of non-custodial and custodial dispositions available to the juvenile courts in Northern Ireland for dealing with young offenders. The former range from absolute or conditional discharges and fines through supervision to attendance centre orders. The latter range from remand through training school orders to borstal detention for those over 16 years of age. Both training school orders and borstal detention are semi-indeterminate sentences. In addition, higher courts and in certain circumstances juvenile courts, can make an order of detention under section 73 of the Children and Young Persons (N.I.) Act 1968 which may be for a fixed period or during the Secretary of State's pleasure. Statistical analysis, as illustrated in Figure 6 indicates a current predisposition towards the use of custodial disposals in Northern Ireland compared with England and Wales.

Figure 6: Residential Disposals of Juvenile Offenders (indictable) 1978 in Northern Ireland and England and Wales (per cent)

Offence	*Northern Ireland*	*England and Wales (Inc Care Order)*	*England and Wales (Ex Care Order)*
Violence against the person	24	12	9
Sexual Offences	40	15	8
Burglary	24	22	13
Robbery	55	43	32
Theft and Handling of Stolen Goods	9	9	5
Fraud	8	11	5
Criminal and Malicious Damage	33	8	4
Other	21	29	22

Source: E. Jardine, **Proceedings of British Psychological Society Conference.** Aberdeen University, March 30th 1980.

Following the logic of their dichotomous approach to care and control and their commitment to the 'justice' principle the Black Committee made a number of important recommendations concerning custodial dispositions. Firstly, they asserted the institutional provision for the young offender should be separated from that for children in need of care, protection and control. It was proposed that a single secure custodial institution be established which would be non-denominational and co-educational in character with a capacity of approximately 120 beds. This institution, they suggested, should be placed under the control of the newly devised Probation Committee. The probability is that it will be permanently located in the site of the former Millisle Borstal. Though it is uncertain whether the Millisle unit will have sufficient capacity since it currently has a limit of 70 beds. It is possible that it may operate in tandem with the Hydebank Young Offender's Centre, which currently accommodates approximately 70 juveniles (i.e. 14-17 year olds), offering a total capacity of about 140 places.

The inspiration for this secure unit would appear to originate from the Diplock Report in 1972 which urgently called for such a facility:

> "The need is immediate for a secure unit capable of accommodating up to 100 young persons aged from 14 to 16 on remand and after sentence. We find it difficult to credit that temporary accommodation of this kind could not be prepared in a matter of weeks rather than years."[43]

The scale of the demand for secure unit places is remarkable as Tutt has noted:

> "In specifying a number of secure beds Black illustrates the custodial nature of the new system. 120 beds for a population of approximately 1.5 million people has to be compared. Massachusettes state, which has approximately 120

beds for a population of 6 million, or near to home England and Wales which has no more than 2,500 secure places in Borstal. Dentention Centres and Community Homes for a population of nearly 50 million. These figures all suggest Black's figures are greater per capita than comparable states. However, this is just the beginning, already official bodies in Northern Ireland are questioning whether Black has allowed for enough security and figures above and beyond 140 or 150 places are being banded about."[44]

Political Violence and Child Abuse

One of the most disturbing products of the civil conflict in Northern Ireland is the abuse children have experienced both at the hands of the security forces and the para-military organisations. This type of politically-associated child abuse can be divided into three categories: brutalities, killings and separations. In relation to the former category of abuse Amnesty International in an international report on politically-associated child abuse commented on two cases of brutality perpetrated by the security forces in Northern Ireland:

> "There have been reports of young people being assaulted by the security forces in Northern Ireland. In August 1977 13-year-old Brian McCabe was reported to have been beaten on the head, back and legs by British soldiers in the street before being taken into custody for questioning. He stated later that while in custody he had been punched and his head banged against the wall. A 13-year-old girl who was alone when British soldiers broke into her home has since suffered blackouts and insomnia after they placed a barrel of an automatic weapon against her head and abused her."[45]

The para-military organisations who have administered law and order in certain 'no-go' areas where the security forces are unable to operate have adopted a system of punishment methods which involve an alarming degree of brutality. These methods are generally referred to as 'kneecapping'. There are in fact a number of variations as the following example demonstrates:

> "A 16-year-old boy underwent emergency treatment in hospital yesterday after being the victim of a vicious punishment shooting. He had been sitting in the upstairs bar of a pub in Waterloo Street, Derry, on a Friday night, when he was accosted by four men, one with a hand gun and another with a cosh. The youth was held down and then shot twice in the left leg - the bullets shattering his thigh - once in the right leg - one in the hand, shattering his fingers."[46]

'Knee-capping' (i.e. shooting a bullet through the knee) has been used as a form of punishment by the I.R.A. in Northern Ireland since the early 1970s, after some Catholic working-class areas in Belfast and Derry became 'no-go areas' and were consequently unpoliced. Initially, vigilante groups drawn from the community attempted to replace the police. Most of these groups were short-lived and the I.R.A. began punishing what they call 'offenders' for 'anti-social behaviour'. Initially 'minor offenders' were subject to other punishments e.g. 'tarring and feathering' and 'kneecapping' was reserved for 'serious offenders'. However, Operation Motorman in July 1972, put an end to the 'no-go areas' and this former type of flamboyant punishment became too risky so the I.R.A. adopted a policy more heavily dependent on 'kneecapping'. Many people are alternatively subjected to beatings and expelled from their neighbourhoods. (Some I.R.A. victims suffer the ultimate 'punishment' of death.) The police estimated between 1973-82, 919 people had been the victims of 'kneecapping' in Northern Ireland. In the Derry area 42 people have been shot in this way between 1977-1982.

Ambulances retrieve the injured from burnt-out houses, derelict sites or from where they have been 'dumped' at the side of the road after 'sentence' has been carried out, often at the behest of a kangaroo court. The damage may vary from relatively simple wounds to the flesh and muscles around the knee joint to shattered bones. In some cases arteries or veins may be ruptured and victims may loose large amounts of blood. Some victims have lost a leg because of this. Most victims apparently make a sound recovery and are able to resume an active life. While it is likely that many will suffer from arthritis in later life, little is known about the long term psychological and social effects. The term 'kneecapping' is a somewhat inaccurate description of what happens since the paramilitaries repetoire of physical punishments is more extensive. A variety of other techniques are employed to fracture or amputate limbs as is illustrated by the following example:

> "A teenage boy with a serious arm wound was recently brought to the Royal Victoria Hospital in Belfast. Somebody had tried to cut off his arm by sawing through the elbow joint as a punishment for some alleged crime against the nationalist community."[47]

In their defence the I.R.A. in Derry recently issued a policy statement against a background of a renewed spate of punishment shootings. One youth is reported to have been kneecapped twice within three weeks, while another youth lost a leg due to the injuries inflicted during the punishment shooting.[48] The I.R.A. claim that they do not seek a policing role in the community, but argue that the community is entitled to protection from 'anti-social activities'. They blame politicians, community and youth leaders for failing to face up to the reality of the community's rejection of the police.[49] Unfortunately, they neglect to address their own role in undermining effective policing in Catholic working-class areas.

It is perhaps ironic that the I.R.A.'s brutal response to lawlessness in the areas they seek to control appears to be counter-productive according to the Derry Journal:

> "The emergence of gangs known locally as 'the hoods' in recent years is one of the reasons behind the recent escalation of punishment shootings according to the I.R.A. These gangs often indulge in various crimes including mugging and burglary and any youth in the Bogside has claimed that having been kneecapped is considered a status symbol among these gangs, not least because of the large compensation often paid out to victims of punishment shootings."[50]

Killing is the ultimate form of physical abuse since it deprives the victim of life. Such killings in Northern Ireland cannot be classified, either as deliberate murder or as accidental, but are essentially the product of political circumstances and administrative procedures that legitimate the action of the killer. The British Army have a 'code of practice' concerning killing which has been formalised into what is known as 'the yellow card instructions'. One newspaper voiced concern in an article in June 1980 which investigated the use and possible abuse of the yellow card instructions in relation to the shooting of teenage 'joy-riders' in West Belfast, asserting:

> "Politicians, worried about trigger happy soldiers shooting joy-riders cannot check the yellow card instructions because it is classified secret under the Official Secrets Act.... So far this year nearly a dozen youngsters have been shot by British troops opening fire on cars which fail to stop at road checkpoints. Two boys have been killed."[51]

Other child killings by the security forces arise out of the control of riot situations, notably the use of plastic bullets. During the unrest throughout the spring and summer of 1981 in Northern Ireland, arising from the H-Block crisis three children were killed by plastic bullets: Paul Whitters (14); Julie Livingston

(14) and Carol Ann Kelly (11). In addition seven children were seriously injured by plastic bullets. The British Society for Social Responsibility in Science (BSSRS) is reported as having described plastic bullets as "the most dangerous 'non-lethal' riot control weapon in service with national security forces anywhere in the world."[52] The plastic bullet appears to originate from the wooden 'baton round' devised by the Hong Kong police to minimise human contact in crowd control situations. It was considered too dangerous by the British because of its tendency to splinter and was consequently replaced by the rubber bullet in 1970. The rubber bullet was withdrawn in 1975. It was in turn replaced by the plastic bullet. Until the onset of the H-Block crisis in April 1981 only 13,000 rounds of plastic bullets had been fired since their introduction to the Province in 1973 compared with 55,000 rubber bullets in the 1970/75 period. Plastic bullets which are very similar to rubber bullets supposedly offer the security forces greater efficiency in crowd control because of their superior accuracy facilitating individual targeting. A recent commission on enquiry in Northern Ireland comprising an international team, under the auspices of a civil rights organisation, the Association for Legal Justice, was informed by all four doctors who gave evidence that plastic bullets are more dangerous than rubber. The commission concluded that "the Northern Ireland authorities were knowingly allowing widespread, indiscriminate and illegal use of a weapon whose lethal potential was well known."[53] They recommended that plastic bullets be banned from use in Northern Ireland and called for enquiries into the recent deaths and serious injuries resulting from the deployment of this weapon. On May 13th, 1982, the European Parliament voted by a large majority for a ban on the use of plastic bullets throughout the E.E.C.

Not surprisingly this kind of killing has not been restricted to the security forces. In December 1981 three members of the (Protestant) Ulster Defence Association received double life sentences for murdering two girls with a car bomb. Clara Hughes, aged four and Paul Strong, aged six, had been blown up while playing around a Halloween bonfire near their homes in Belfast some nine years previously. The court was informed that no warning was given of the bomb.[54] It should be stated that this case merely provides an exemplum of a much more general problem.

Separation has been categorised as a form of child abuse by Amnesty International. The introduction of internment in Northern Ireland in 1971 which imprisoned without trial large numbers of men, many of whom were parents, was clearly an abuse of both parents and children. The replacement of internment in 1973 by trial in the 'Diplock Courts' which operate without juries and where the rules of evidence have been changed to admit confessions which may have been obtained under duress has not allayed concern with regard to this problem. Separations may also be caused by abduction and/or murder which the paramilitary organisations practice for the purposes of raising ransom money or dealing with 'informers'. The high level of sectarian assassinations as well as the assassinations of members of the security forces is indicative of the scale of the problem. Given that approximately 2,500 people have been killed since the commencement of the civil conflict in 1969 and a similar figure incarcerated, separation is a major issue and deserves more attention.

Professionals in the field of child care have not been notable for their vociferousness in condemning acts of politically-associated child abuse. Perhaps they have been influenced by the experience of the medical profession. Police surgeons who monitor the health of, and treat, suspects subjected to interrogation (amongst other duties), have expressed concern about possible abuses of interrogation procedures resulting in physical injury. They reported their observations to the Committee of Inquiry into Police Interrogation Procedures in Northern Ireland (Bennett Committee):

> "The forensic medical officers, early in 1977, examining prisoners at the stage when they were being charged at police stations throughout the Province, noted in some police stations and offices a large increase of significant bruising, concusions and abrasions of the body and of evidence of hyper-extension and hyper-flexion of joints (especially of the wrist), of tenderness associated with hair-pulling and persistent jabbing, of rupture of the eardrums and of increased mental agitation and excessive anxiety states."[55]

It appears that the action taken by the doctors clearly on the basis of ethical considerations was not universally accepted as such. Morrissey and Ditch have commented with reference to the consequences of the police surgeons' actions:

> "It is accepted that the doctors submitting evidence on this particular matter were not politically motivated but concerned with the medical condition of suspects. However, as a consequence of their intervention (based on appropriate ethical and professional values), many doctors were subjected to vilification and condemnation. By not turning a blind eye to interrogation irregularities they were accused of being soft on terrorism or even worse. In a particularly offensive manner, one doctor was maligned and abused because he had given evidence. In a press report (allegedly coming from the Northern Ireland Office) it was stated that the doctor in question was vindictive towards the security forces because his wife had been raped, it was believed by soldiers, who had been neither caught nor tried."[56]

The failure of those concerned with child care to fully publicise the effects of politically-associated child abuse or to take effective steps to bring about its cessation gives cause for serious concern. An Amnesty International study of 58 Chilian children who were victims of politically-motivated abuse reported:

> "A significant number of these children show serious psychosomatic symptoms owing to the imprisonment and torture of one or both parents. Twenty-one (36%) are very nervous: noise such as cars braking or people speaking loudly makes many of the children cry. A similar number of children have difficulty in falling asleep or have their sleep interrupted by nightmares about police, soldiers, murder and death. Many of the children walk in their sleep. Bed-wetting in the case of previously clean children has occurred with 13 children (22%), while 10 children (17%) have become introverted and depressed with subsequent difficulty in establishing contact with other children. Another 10 children (17%) have developed aggressive behaviour. Several children have complained about headaches, aversion to food, and difficulty in concentrating and remembering; some have reported stomach aches and nervous constipation."[57]

This evidence takes on a particular poignancy in view of the recent revelations concerning Kincora House, involving sexual offences against children in care in a Belfast boys' home apparently over many years, which have taken on a major political dimensions including an alleged paramilitary link. The Irish Times in an editorial comment on 30th January 1982 was moved to ask:

> "of all the atrocities perpetrated in the North in recent times, is there any more dispiriting than that of Kincora House and the long years of failure of so many to act."[58]

The reaction of frontline workers from within the board concerned has been succinctly put by the **North and West Belfast**

Social Work Bulletin:

"The 'Kincora Affair' has rocked the Eastern Board at all levels and raised many questions about child care generally in Northern Ireland."[59]

Conclusion

In this article the socio-economic context of the civil unrest in Northern Ireland has been adverted to. It has been argued that the necessary and sufficient conditions exist for endemic violence. However, it was noted that despite sensational media reports concerning the involvement of children and young people in the conflict that they would appear to have achieved a degree of adjustment. Empirical evidence concerning four areas of behaviour (a) psycho-social effects, (b) criminogenic effects, (c) truancy and school discipline and (d) attitudes towards authority has been produced to support this conclusion. It may be helpful to note that the current civil unrest is not a unique phenomenon but merely one outbreak of inter-communal strife in a three hundred year old feud. There is perhaps a degree of integration in the **conscience collective** which enables this divided society to sustain reality in the midst of what some would term 'civil war'.

However, the inevitable moral panic which social disorder gives rise to has to find its folk devils. Sadly, the young offender appears to have become a major focus for this **angst**. Despite a relatively low level of juvenile crime a **justice** model has been proposed as the future strategy for the treatment of the young offender in the Province. This would appear to envisage a disproportionate level of custodial provision. Paradoxically, the alarming growth in politically-associated child abuse arising out of the civil conflict has found a more muted response in the community. Professional reticence in confronting the perpetrators of these acts must at least in part explain this societal acquiescence. It has been suggested that fear of the consequences of exposing the perpetrators may explain this reticence. Though it must be said that social workers are not above the conflict and reflect the broad spectrum of political attitudes which may have in some cases coloured their perception of these actions.

Perhaps understandably there has not yet been an overall assessment of the impact of the conflict in Northern Ireland on child care policy. A major victim would appear to be the doctrine of **parens patriae**. This doctrine has not only been called into question by security policies (e.g. the deployment of plastic bullets against children) but, by the proposed restructuring of child care policy envisaged by the Black Report.

Fundamental issues arise about the role of individual nation states as the custodians of children's rights. The conventional family focus of child abuse must be reviewed in tandem with the dismissal of other considerations by commentators like Giovannoni and Becarra. In their recent study **Defining Child Abuse** they asserted in this context:

"To begin with let us circumscribe the nature of the situations about which we are concerned: the abuse and neglect that children suffer at the hands of their own parents, within the confines of their families. To be sure, children suffer assaults at the hands of outsiders as well and are victims of abuse and of neglect by social institutions other than the family. Resolution of these situations is not without its problematic aspects, but in neither instance does it entail the complexities involved in dealing with abuse and neglect that occur in the family, between parent and child."[60]

This narrow definition of child abuse has been attributed by one leading authority on the subject, David Gil:

"to a significant, built-in bias of the social and behavioural sciences, and of the general system of beliefs in our society. This general conception of the dynamics of deviance seem to derive from a politically 'conservative' premise."[61]

Morris et al, in the wider context of children's rights have cryptically observed: "What is in the child's 'best interests' frequently conforms with social and political expediency."[62]

It would appear that there needs to be recourse to international law. The child's right to protection regardless of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, nationality of social origin, is enshrined in principles of the **United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child 1959**. Similar rights were identified in an earlier document the **Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child 1924**, which was revised after the Second World War in 1948 despite the dissolution of the League of Nations. What form this recourse should take is beyond the scope of this paper. However, there is clearly an important place for professional social and youth work opinion in launching such an initiative. The success of the Society of Teachers Opposed to Physical Punishment (STOPP) in Britain, has shown what professional protest can achieve against state abuse in this respect. Rulings in February 1982 by the European Court of Human Rights in a number of cases have made it clear that corporal punishment could be a breach of parents' rights under international law.[63] There is every reason why social and youth workers should seek to emulate the example of the teaching profession however daunting the task.

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failure through resistance: critique of learning to labour

GLYNIS COUSIN

One response to that much vexed question about working class failure in schools has been to translate the behaviour of the 'failed' into a form of resistance. Paul Willis' book Learning to Labour[1] remains a very influential interpretation of this perspective. While I strongly support Willis' efforts to understand school students from their own point of view and to credit them with rational, active parts in the schooling process, I would challenge the conclusions he draws from his research. In particular I question Willis' claim that the white male youth he studied create a counter-culture which is an embrionic critique of capitalism.

Firstly I think Willis' perspective depends on an exclusive focus on school as an instrument of social control and this limits his inquiry. For instance in his account there is little sense that school is a qualified gain for working class children, that it can be emancipatory, that it can teach important skills; little sense that schools reflect and generate struggles among teachers, parents, education authorities, political parties and even pupils themselves over for example matters of curriculum, resources and pupils' rights;and little sense of the significance of differences between progressive and traditional schools; in short little sense of the contradictory character of schooling. That is why for instance he can advance the half-truth that progressivism has come to represent no more than a managerial strategy. His concentration on the repressive nature of school leads Willis to take the view that any pupil disaffection is laudable resistance, in fact, a counter-culture based on a 'partial penetration' of the true nature of school and its relation to the labour market.

For Willis a counter-culture emerges from a process of working class cultural production in both schools and the workplace. In part Willis advanced his theory of counter-culture in opposition to the sort of reproduction theories offered by Althusser in which school pupils are reduced to malleable objects of the ruling class and in which the school appears as an ideological state apparatus functioning unproblematically to reproduce class relations. The strength of Willis' case is that he sought to extend a perspective shared by his colleagues at the Birmingham Centre for Cultural Studies that gives primacy to the experience of the students and that explores the relation between conditions imposed by rulers and the forms of resistance practiced by subordinate classes. In short Willis seeks to break from the functionalism which mars a particular mode of criticizing schools. His problem in my view lies in the incompleteness of his break.[2] It is important to note that what Willis means by 'cultural production' has nothing to do with organised political opposition.

It is a far cry for instance, from the political demands for 'really useful knowledge' put forward by socialists in another era[3] or from the alternative educational forms generated out of the labour movement. His work does not establish a continuity with the kind of working class youth resistance in which young people take up definite demands against the school regime or for a more adequate education.[4] Willis' concept of cultural production is self-consciously less politicised. It refers to a process whereby workers turn their oppressive circumstances into something creative, vibrant, humourous and bearable. This, writes Willis, is a culture that cuts through the boredom and alienation of compulsory schooling or waged labour. Workers, he states, "thread through the dead experience of work a living culture which is not just a reflex of defeat".[5] Such a culture, argues Willis, ensures that capitalism does not get its own way in the manner Althusser would claim because it introduces elements of working class independence from the demands of school or waged labour. The twist is that the final outcome of this semi-autonomous culture is the obliging reproduction of workers by workers for capitalism. As a result, Willis did not so much undermine the functionalist reproduction model of schooling as introduce a cultural mediation in it.

In crude terms, he offered the image of working class students doing their own dirty work in the reproduction of themselves as workers: resisting against authority but in such a way as to embrace their role as wage workers. At the same time, Willis suggests that the effect of this resistance can be reversed. Its self-damnation of working class students to manual labour can be turned into resistance against capitalism and the functionalist circuit thus broken. This remains a latent potential and in the absence of its realisation the circuit of capitalist reproduction through schooling appears as unproblematic as ever. Willis develops this perspective in his exploration of working class failure in **Learning to Labour.**

Learning to Labour is the study of a small group of 'lads' in a Midlands secondary school. These lads refused to conform to a schooling system that fails all but a handful of its students. Unlike the 'ere-oles' they are not duped by the claims of meritocracy and withdraw from the learning process as much as possible. The lads inhabit the margins of school life creating a living area which defies the school timetable, its content, the rules and rituals of school life. The lads see themselves as more masculine, more resourceful and better sussed than the ere-oles. They especially like to have a 'laff' at the expense of

authority.

Willis argued that a powerful reason behind the lads' disaffection lay in their anticipation that schooling will make little difference to their employability. The lads believed that upward mobility through educational achievement is reserved for a very few. Willis endorses their view, concluding in support of the lads, that upward mobility opportunities are "created only by the upward pull of the economy" and "make no difference to the ...position of the working class".[6] My own view is that struggles by workers and progressive struggles by workers and progressive struggles over education also affect upward mobility and that this makes **some** difference to the relations between classes. Though the lads grasped a partial truth instead of analysing and taking it further Willis reflected their cynicism. Thus when the lads conlude that they have no reason to defer their gratification for at best marginal rewards, that they might as well have a 'laff' instead, Willis does nothing to question the premise of their position.

Importantly for Willis, the lads do not enter waged labour with heads hung low. They do not see their future as a gloomy fate to be sealed on the assembly line but relish the prospect of manual labour. Their fathers in particular and their general cultural milieu claims Willis transmit positive messages about male working class adulthood. A shopfloor counter-culture has learnt to accommodate alienation through the extrinsic pleasures of work: having a 'laff' with mates, using your body and getting paid are all things to look forward to. The lads' furtive resistance in school is an imitation of shopfloor practice.

Willis recognises the limitations of shopfloor and school counter-culture in its male character. The lads embrace the prospect of manual labour because it conforms to a romantic vision of manhood: getting your hands dirty and sweating belongs to mature men. In contrast brain work is seen to be effeminate. The rejection of mental labour becomes an assertion of (white) masculinity. Although the lads are able to see through a hypocritical schooling system their machismo (and racism) inhibits a full critique. Willis refers to this as 'partial penetration'.

Although it is easy enough from Willis' ethnography to find the sexist and racist elements in the lads' and their fathers' behaviour, his assertion of its critical content; its 'partial penetration' into capitalism - is far more problematic. It hangs in part on his own uncritical adoption of the lads' views on the insignificance of upward mobility and formal schooling and their image of shopfloor culture which is bereft of trade union or socialist content. One is left with the worrying suspicion that stripped to its bones little remains in the lads behaviour to be dignified with the concept of 'counter-culture'. Certainly much of the activity Willis reports is not discernably oppositional: far from creating their own culture, these lads appear to be giving a working class version of establishment views. Take for example the following extract related to Willis by one of the lads to illustrate that work is a 'laff' and related by Willis to illustrate an informal cultural continuity between work and school:

> "...he (father) told us about this bloke, got this other Paki, and fucking pulled his trousers down and pulled him round the shop by his cock, like, got him by the cock and fuckin yanked him around the shop, all silly things like that. You could pull him and he might fall into the furnace or fall under a fucking hammer. He says you go under and you put a, not the spade end the other end of the shovel, and you put that under their (indicating crotch) and they can't get off..."[7]

Nothing subverts capatalist authority here or is distinct from dominant culture. On the contrary, the father is legitimating racist bullying for his son. The 'laff' appears to be at another workers' cost. This works perfectly well for management, it being preferable that workers take time off from production to engage in this kind of torment than to call a mass meeting. Tired, socialist cliches no doubt to the cultural theorist but Willis needs to prove his case better. Why does he leave this provacative contribution dangling? Elsewhere Willis cites a borderline lad who reveals that some of his peers became at work unpopular bullies rather than incipient rebels or bearers of an informal working class culture:

> "...they tek it a bit too far, I mean they might do it once its a laff and they carry on, and it gets on your nerves a bit... they made the one woman cry who's in the sewing shop... they kept whistling you know, I can't whistle but they kept doing it, on and on and it got on her nerves, she started to cry. They had to get the union about it..."[8]

In this case Willis reports the opposition between the culture of the lads and the culture of the union (both of which are doubtless part of shopfloor life) but his analysis of rebelliousness deals only with the former.

We need to appreciate that 'bolshieness' comes in many forms, often reactionary and may need careful unpackaging; but we should also recognise the difference between demoralised behaviour and rebellion. Like many radical deviancy theorists Willis tended to identify any and every kind of deviation from established norms as some form of rebellion. In opposition to this, I do not want to propose a stale socialism that condemns anything outside the organised labour movement as if the latter held a monopoly on worthwhile working class ideas. The strength of Willis' work is that he does try to understand workers outside this sphere. He was right to credit workers with a consciousness that fits neither the politicised nor the deferential stereotypes. Yet is that consciousness, immersed as it is with awful prejudices and at times brutalised behaviour proof of 'counter-cultural' production? The effect of Willis' method is to subordinate trade union and political forms of resistance within the working class to the lads' indeterminate forms of cultural resistance. Willis thereby sets his sights low for the forms of counter-culture workers are capable of producing.

In the schooling context Willis rightly wants teachers to orient their pedagogy to the opposition to class and classroom authority felt by working class students. By privileging uncritically the views of the lads Willis displaces the importance of a more politicised approach to failure and instead translated the lads' oppositionism into a political response. Willis thus placed excessive faith in the lads' own critical edge. Is it really tenable to suggest that 'ere-oles' are less able to see through their class conditions simply because they conform to school rules? Though the lads paint the 'ere-oles' as polished, obsequious swots, must we take their word? Most teachers will tell Willis that the school population is more heteregenous than his report implies. In any case, conformity in school may indicate a desire for knowledge and may indicate a basis of resistance should that desire be frustrated through the inadequacy of the school.[9]

As an explanation of failure Willis' account does not suffice. If the 'ere-holes' do not share the lads' standpoint what explains their failure? This remains a loose end in Willis' work. In replying to his own question Willis claims that it is 'much too facile' to attribute failure to class restrictions on the labour market. Yet it is precisely because the lads recognise that upward mobility is blocked for them that their disaffection takes root. It is in this context claims Willis that the lads turn necessity into sexist

virtue by rejecting what they cannot get as 'feminine' activity. Crucially for Willis the lads' sexism keeps them from mental labour and encourages them into factory work. Why then is there no different outcome for a majority of students apparently willing to be 'feminised'? Whether working class students self-induct themselves or not there are forces within class society which impel them, not always successfully, to the bottom. Willis merely qualifies this with the observation that a minority look forward to the prospect of manual labour while the majority make generally vain attempts to escape it.

In Willis' account 'ere-oles' exist mainly as a counter-point to the lads; as such they lose their own specific indentity. Girls also exist as a counter-point to the lads, the personification of the femininity which the lads reject. Willis paints the lads' relation to girls through the stereotyped image of the lads themselves who lock girls in a frozen frame of passivity and in the binary categories of the virgin and the whore. Although Willis rejects the lads' sexism as the dark side of their penetration, the real relations between the lads and women and the contradictions in the lads' view - e.g. what happens when they are given the brush-off by sexually more mature women than themselves or when they encounter strong and assertive women - never reach the surface.

The association which Willis attributed to the lads of femininity with mental labour presents problems in the analysis of failure for girls. If mental labour equates with femininity, then girls should be churning out the 'A' levels in asserting their femininity but all the evidence shows that they are not (and in 'masculine' subjects like the sciences they lag seriously behind boys). Indeed many girls see mental labour as man's territory and conducive to career rather than to marriage. This incoherence derives from Willis' attempt to explain 'failure' exclusively in gender and ethnic specific behaviour. While there is no doubt that young people white, black, male and female may receive and express their failure differently, we need also in my view, to locate the cause of failure in the class experiences they share. Willis' method has led him to claim that sexist and racist posturing account for failure. It is more likely that the lads' sexism and racism are elements of their failure. These elements may reinforce the problem of failure but they do not cause it in the manner Willis describes.

An alternative reading of Willis' ethnography would suggest that the lads' class alienation from school work is defensively disguised in diversionary behaviour. It is for instance revealing that the much quoted lad, Joey found English classes worthy of attendance. The fact that he worked at English to produce his 'brilliant essays' showed that he was willing under the right circumstances to suspend any negative indentification of mental labour with femininity. Joey was learning something as his exceptional articulateness and vocabulary bear witness to. What we need to discover is what factors inspired Joey's success in English but about that Willis reveals nothing.

A more critical methodology would investigate whether painful layers of disappointment were hidden beneath the lads' undoubted wit and intelligence and beneath the brave face of their 'counter-culture'. Willis' research methods inhibited a more thorough explanation into failure. His ethnography represents a welcome attempt to give school students a voice but the voice that emerges is as much a projection of Willis' method as a considered expression of the lads' view on school and work. Rather than ask students what they think and question their initial responses closely, Willis' style is very much that of the urban anthropologist who records at a perceived cultural level and finally reports in a language that is inaccessible to the subjects themselves. Willis' democratic gesture in inviting the lads' back to his university to read his book consolidated his and the university's privileged status. The lads' alienation from higher education was confirmed:

> *Bill:* The bits about us were simple enough.
> *John:* It's the bits in between.
> *Joey:* Well, I started to read it, I started at the very beginning, y'know I was gonna read as much as I could, then I just packed it in, just started readin' the parts about us and then little bits in the middle.
> *Spanksy:* The parts what you wrote about us, I read those, but it was, y'know, the parts what actually were describing the books like I didnt...[10]

A more sensitive methodology is suggested by Ann Oakey in her work on feminist research. Oakley points out that researchers commonly turn their investigation into an unequal relationship that reaps distorted evidence:

> Interviewers define the role of interviewees as subordinates; extracting information is more to be valued than yielding it; the contention of interview-interviewee hierarchy is a rationalisation of inequality; what is good for interviewers is not necessarily good for interviewees.[11]

Oakley argues for a general involvement of the subject in the research process so that the researchee can consciously collaborate and bring to light experiences in a reflective way. Although Willis attempted to break from a conventional interviewer-interviewee relation, the only space he allowed for reflection came at the end of his research. Despite its limitations I found this part of the most illuminating. Willis' questions are more penetrating here and the lads are free associating less and thinking more. Joey for instance, laments that nobody noticed their potential: "I mean there was so much talent there that it was all fuckin' wasted".[12] He is saying that many teachers find it difficult to tap working class intelligence or to recognise its existence. This deserved to be a wider issue in the body of Willis' book. This last section also posed a challenge to Willis' thesis which he did not take up. As we have seen Willis argued that the lads' reject school because their culture leads them to see mental labour as feminine. However when asked if he blocked his mental abilities in order to be masculine Joey disagrees: "It wasn't that, it was just that mental work was what teachers required, to do what they wanted. If the teachers had let us play up, say 'OK, off you go', if they'd 'ave said that we'd 'ave wanted to do whatever they said they didn't want us to do..."[13]

In this instance it was not schooling as such but the authority present in the school which Joey rejected. This is a very different conclusion from that drawn by Willis. Joey's words would seem to indicate that he rejected mental labour not because it was 'feminine' but rather because and only when it was associated with subordination and degradation. The lads' statements are of course, not always consistent but Willis imposes upon them a forced coherence which ignores an important aspect of their experience and imputes to them a narrower motivation than their words imply.

Willis was among those who radicalised educational perspectives on working class students by removing failure from the realm of individual and group pathology and by locating it instead as a rational response to an alienated situation. However his alternative to orthodoxy is equally one-dimensional. In his own way he too places the problem back on the working class. He picks up on the lads' rejection of mental labour because of its alleged association with femininity but not the occasions on which they embrace mental labour, feel frustrated at being denied the opportunity to mental labour, express anger

at being denied recognition for mental labour and resentment at the school for associating mental labour with discipline. All these contradictory currents are to be found in the lads' statements but they remain unexplored and undeveloped in Willis' critique.

I should like to thank Bob Fine, Simon Frith and Geoff Whitty for their help.

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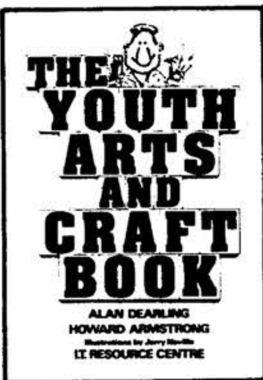

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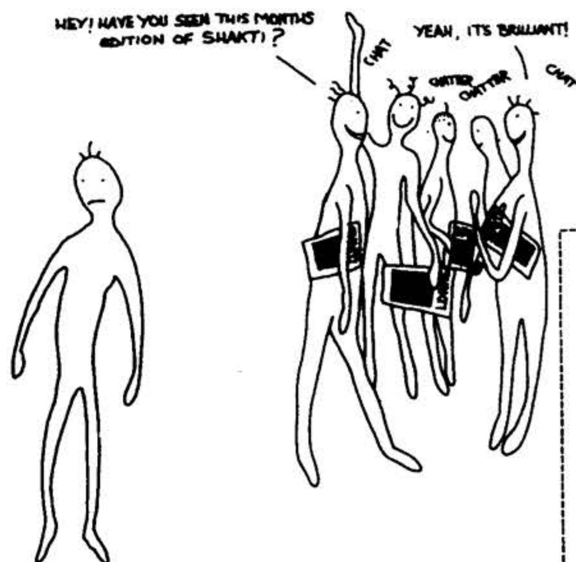

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the problem of the problems of generations

JOHN HOOD-WILLIAMS

Anyone who tries to think seriously about childhood and youth as social relationships has at some stage to consider Karl Mannheim's famous essay on The **Problem** of Generations.[1] A fragment of the essay, written in the 1920's, has recently been reproduced in Jencks. [2] The essay was discussed by Peter Woods in Block V of the Open University Course **Schooling and Society**.[3] Subsequently the article has, I believe, a hidden influence in the youth sub-cultural writings of the C.C.C.S.[4] who dress up in Marxist terminology some thoroughly Mannheimian notions. For example, the idea that we can talk about youth by analysing stylistic responses is closer to Mannheim's idea of 'entelechies' than anything to be found in Marx.

This article provides a critical discussion of Mannheim's essay, or more accurately, with those parts of it that deal directly with the 'problem of generations'. Mannheim's real interest in this paper was the sociology of knowledge. Much of the effort of the paper is an attempt to adapt an historicist stance to the understanding of cultural production. He believed that 'the problem of generations' was 'one of the indispensable guides to an understanding of the structure of social and intellectual movements'.[5] In a sense therefore much of his paper is not **about** generations at all.

To reveal the plot at the outset, it may be said that an analysis of Mannheim's essay reveals it to be thoroughly incoherent in its discussion of generations. Mannheim is unable to free himself from biologistic conceptions of age and rather misconstrues the nature-culture relationship, although as a good sociologist, he realised that all was not quite right with his discussion.

My own conception of the character of the 'generation problem' is to view it as an adjunct to patriarchal relations.[6] This involves recouping to partriarchy the anthropological meaning involving the sense of relations between ages as well as sexes. Generational relations are, within our culture, at heart, familial relations - an institution to which Mannheim (like the C.C.C.S.) makes no reference. Additionally, the constituting of specific social categories of age owes no more to biology than masculinity owes to the penis. The social categories include in themselves a vision of a 'relevant' and meaningful biology that **inherently** carries no such values. If we can free ourselves from the obfuscations of biologistic thinking, and that in part means freeing ourselves from some of Mannheim's conceptions, it will be possible to think more clearly about the real problem of generations.

Mannheim begins with a rapid survey of previous approaches to the study of generations and finds, unsurprisingly, that the 'problem of generations' has been related to current wider and pressing concerns. Comte's discussion relating generations and life span to the tempo of social change and Hume's discussion of the succession of human generations to the problem of choosing a rational form of government, are two examples.

Mannheim distinguishes between two broad approaches to the study: positivist and romantic - historical. The positivists' interest is held to stem from a feeling of attachment to the 'ultimate facts' of human existence. There is birth; there is death; there is a span of ageing life; there are generations succeeding one another. All other events, processes and relations are conditioned by these fundamental facts which, if altered, would occasion fundamental changes in the lives of humans. Here then, given the proper analysis, is the key to social scientific understanding and in particular the key to the rhythm of history itself which is derivable from the rhythmic succession of generations.

It seems that it is from here stems an old, elaborate and wearisome pun repeated by Mannheim and almost every writer on the subject: that generations generate. They generate history, culture, social changes, class struggle - according to the writer. I hope, by demonstrating its fallaciousness, to put to bed a very tired pun.

Mannheim has little sympathy with positivist accounts which lead to the absurdities of Rumelin's precise and irrelevant calculations. However, as suggested, he takes on board its pun and the final flourish to his essay makes a positivistic (and anti-materialist) claim: "The phenomena of generations is one of the basic factors contributing to the genesis of the dynamic of historical development".[7]

The romantic historical approach identified by Mannheim is represented by writers such as Dilthey and Heidegger. Here the central problem is not that of identifying the rhythm of history or the driving force of progress through the measurement of generational succession, but the problem "of the existence of an interior time".[8]

Once Dilthey posited the notion of interior, qualitative time, subjectively experienced, the limitation of analysing generations as purely temporal units was removed. Generations could now be thought of in a way that did not regard them as direct manifestations of biology or chronology.

The basis of Mannheim's own essay is an extension and refinement of Dilthey's important break. It is a development of both the notion of qualitative time which is taken up by way of Pinder's suggestion of generational "entelechies" and of the notion that the importance of the co-existence of generations is more than chronological: it is the contemporaneity of, to move to a different problematic, a shared culture.

Mannheim's main concern is with characterising the effect of generations upon a particular Zeitgeist by which he understands, unlike Pinder, an extremely stratified and differentiated complex. Generations contribute to this complex in the following way.

The unity of a generation is made up, not by concrete groups (by which is meant groups that experience regular face to face interactions, for example, family members) but by "a similarity of location of a number of individuals within a social whole".[9] However, 'generational as actuality' required, in addition to a shared location within the social structure, active **'participation in the common destiny'**.[10] This means the sharing of a common historical and social unity and of a 'concrete bond' resulting from shared 'social and intellectual symptoms'. Hence, although rural and urban youth of a particular country may share the same generation location they may not share the same generation as an actuality. However, being similarly located they share the potential of actual generation membership - perhaps through the incidence of a national war. Furthermore, within an actual generationa there may arise groups with differing mentalities - for example, differing political affiliations and explanations. These constitute a generation unit - a more concrete generational group that 'works up the material of their common experience' in common and specific ways. An actual generation is composed of a number of generation units - differentiated, antagonistic - arising from the interplay of firstly the data of a shared experience arising from a shared moment of being pitched into the social and historical process and more importantly of secondly, the 'formative forces', 'the fundamental integrative attitudes and formative principles' that 'alone can bind groups together'. A particular, recognisable cultural configuration of a generational unit - a collective impulse, style and principles is referred to as a generation entelechy. Finally, a generation entelechy feeds into the construction of a zeitgeist by interplay with 'trend entelechies' - enduring 'formative principles underlying social and historical development' and having to do with 'compact, mutually antagonistic social groups which stand behind' generation entelechies.

In this account, which is thoroughly contradictory, it is not at all clear what a generation means to Mannheim. In what precise sense is the common structural location of a generation to be understood? If it were to be comparable in some sense to a class location - a shared social relationship in which childhood/youth is created in opposition to adulthood - one would have some sympathy with it. The idea of a common structural location is clearly tenable. What is not is the attempt to construct it upon the notion of generation. Such an attempt will inevitably lead to the incoherences that Mannheim's account is prey to.

We have seen that for Mannheim, in concrete terms, the common structural location of a generation means the sharing of an entechly: a common belief system. Therefore values are held to determine the structural positions. Mannheim's account presents a continuum from the very weak and very general sense in which a generational group is to be understood as a shared birth date within a common social and cultural history, through the more specific use of generation as an actuality whereby a 'concrete bond' exists between members, through to generational units in which, more specifically still, a shared understanding, a 'parallelism of responses' is involved. In fact this continuum is incoherent since the criteria for establishing it varies to suit the circumstances. At the level of generational unit it is 'shared belief system' but if this were adhered to throughout there would be no basis to the commonality of generation as actuality since this consists of groups of completely opposing views. If a shared belief system is insisted upon as the tool of greater specification the generational features are lost. The generational units are, as likely as not, non-generational since shared belief systems separate generations as is recognised and unite members of different age groups. With this criteria it is difficult to see what the 'concrete bond' of the generation as actuality might consist of. It is presumably for this reason that the criteria are switched. The assumption here is that shared experiences from the level of generations as actuality are capable of being worked up into quite different world views and that, these differences, at this level are unimportant: superficial differences which ar indeed **evidence** for deeper unities. Yet at the level of generational units the similarities of belief are taken at face value. Why should they not be taken as evidence for deeper disunities? We can reject therefore the sharing of belief systems as a specifying tool for pin-pointing the core of generational unity. This is not the relevant criteria. This rejection has of course implications for the C.C.C.S. who are deeply Mannheimian here.

We have not yet discovered from Mannheim a coherent criteria for establishing the similarity of generational structural location. However, the question may be pursued in a different way by examining the crucial features - what Mannheim calls the 'fundamental facts' or the 'natural data' - of the phenomena of generations. Unfortunately, as we shall see, we cannot derive a satisfactory answer from this part of the paper either which is subverted by its own perceptive criticism.

The fundamental facts of the phenomena of generations are these:

> '(a) new participants in the cultural process are emerging whilst
> (b) former participants in that process are continually disappearing.
> (c) members of any one generation can participate only in a temporarily limited section of the historical process and
> (d) It is therefore necessary continually to transmit the accumulated cultural heritage.
> (e) the transition from generation to generation is a continuous process.'

and (f) humans are born, and mentally and physically, grow age and die. (Mannheim does not have the category (f) in his list but is an additional feature discussed in the paper).

It will not be necessary to examine these 'fundamental facts' in turn but merely to refer to Mannheim's own discussion of (f) in which he quite rightly argues, in effect, **that nothing whatsoever hangs on these fundamental facts**. He does not seem to notice, however, how his own important sociological criticism undermines his own writing.

The simple, but crucial point that Mannheim makes is that it is not possible to deduce sociological phenomena from biological data. He makes the observation perfectly clearly:

> "The sociological phenomena of generations is ultimately based on the biological rhythm of birth and death. But to be **based** upon a factor does not necessarily mean to be deducible from it, or to be implied within it. If phenomena is

based upon another it could not exist without the latter; however it possesses certain characteristics peculiar to itself, characteristics in no way borrowed from the basic phenomena ..... It must be admitted that biological data constitute the most basic stratum of factors determining generation phenomena; but for this very reason, we cannot observe the effect of biological factors directly; we must instead, see how they are reflected through the medium of social and cultural forces. ..... As a matter of fact, the most striking feature of the historical process seems to be that the most biological factors operate in the most latent form and can only be grasped in the medium of the social and historical phenomena which constitute a secondary sphere above them."[11]

I would agree. The reducing of sociological phenomena to biological ones is very common in contemporary ideologies, particularly of a sexist and racist kind. Unfortunately it is also common in writing calling itself sociological. Writings on the family, for example, frequently assume that becauise some 'fundamental facts' of human life, such as birthing, enculturating and mating are handled by our own family forms, that **they** are in turn, 'natural' and inevitable.[12] Felicity Edholm in a succinct review of the anthropological literature[13] forcibly demonstrates that what seems to us to be profoundly natural relationships such as mother-child are in fact capable of being socially organised in a dramatic variety of ways. Our language itself conflates nature and culture, hence the indiscriminate use of 'mother' to mean a biological and a social relationship - of a particular kind.

Nevertheless, there does exist a real problem here - that involving relationships between nature and culture. Mannheim writes "The sociological problem of generations therefore begins at that point where the sociological relevance of these biological factors is discovered." In trying to discover this point of sociological relevance Mannheim is in danger of conceiving of the nature-culture relationship in ways that repeat another, and related, vulgar distinction: the man/individual and society distinction. Now the way in which sociology is typically taught today recognises that this distinction will not serve. It is generally realised that the notion of individual, indeed of human, is itself the product of social arrangements. Hirst and Woolley in the title of a recent fascinating book on the subject speak of **Social Relations and Human Attributes** as a way of trying to write sociologically but not sociologistically.[14] Of course, at one level it should have been understood that language and ideology and class constitute, differentially, the sense of the selves that we take ourselves to be - at least since the time of Vico[15] or Marx.[16] However, frequently it seems that this has not been understood. Instead of properly studying the social categories men-women, adult-child through the structural relations that construct them there is too frequent reliance upon the so called 'fundamental facts'.

My argument is then that to think in terms of nature on the one hand and culture on the other is to repeat a related, vulgar distinction with misleading consequences. Even the popular sex-gender distinction[17] makes this mistake by assuming that there really is something in nature (sex) that provides the basis for the culture (gender) that we have. This way of constructing the problematic - as sex and gender - cannot ask the question, why 'sex' in the first place. It persuades the reader to think that sex **is** biological **but there is nothing biological in the distinction necessary to our understanding of what sex is**.

We have seen that in the process of being a thorough sociologist Mannheim has lost the concept of generations entirely and is left with a vague notion of social group characterised by incoherent criteria. How then is it possible to specify coherently the object of study in a way that Mannheim failed to do? Clearly little detail can be given in a short note.[17] However, the general principles may be set out - if only dogmatically.

Childhood/youth is indeed a stable category sharing a similar structural location but not, as is now clear, one that may be founded upon a notion of generations. Of course, to borrow an old metaphor from dischronic and synchronic analysis, in so far as time is like a strip of film the moment of birth of any subject determines which frame, or frames, they will be in. But their position within the frame, to the extent to which it is determined on the basis of a cultural signification of the importance of age status, has little to do with shared birth dates or common entelechies. Neither, incidentally do these things explain the character of the zeitgeist. What it has to do with is the social relationships given in the family and continued by a familial state (for example through the legal doctrines **in loco parentis** and **parent patraie**). This means regarding childhood/youth as a category constituted in **opposition** to adulthood as is masculinity to femininity: the one being incomprehensible without analysis of the other. It also means recognising that adult/youth relationships are, as was referred to above, adjuncts to patiarchal relations. What is central to this argument is the quest to understand the position of childhood/youth through the quality of a relationship which is **definitional** of the category. This relationship, currently conceived, is principly one of dependency, protection and exclusion. The argument necessitates tracing the complex lines of similarity and difference between women-wives and girls-daughters and boys-sons specifically within the family itself, in which, perhaps, such similarities and differences are ultimately grounded but also within those institutions over which the family casts its dark, but rarely observed, shadow: (principly) the labour market and the school.

The history, by which here I mean the content, of the frames is of course not irrelevant to such analysis but it is not where one begins and ends. Indeed, in all thorough analysis the reference that the term generation makes to, in effect, study and concrete reality of the specific historical conjuncture, is superfluous. Careful analysis has always already built into it a sense of the importance of accounting for the various conditions existing within a social configuration in particular periods. But this is not to be confused with the youth question. What is important is to work out how and why differently located groups experience the frame differently and here the concept of childhood/youth as a social relationship within a patriarchy is crucial. At any historical moment the experience of members of the childhood/youth category will be the product of the mediations between the features of the childhood/youth relationship and an historical configuration **which they share with** adults. To begin with the concept of generations is to naturalistically construct non-existent (or rather not **necessarily** existing) unities and to loose the mediations brought about **through** the childhood/youth category.

The creation of different subjectivities is the result of **social** divisions and in so far as generations has served to confuse this point it should be jettisoned. Societies that are highly stratified on the basis of age, like our own, require anlysis on the basis of the identification of their object of analysis as a particular social grouping which is, fundamentally, but not exclusively, as a part of familial, patriarchal relations.

Continued on Page 56.

juventus: half way to a youth utopia

PAUL WILLIS

The young citizens of Juventus did not suffer from fear and insecurity. They looked back with amazement to a few short years before when the excitement and potential of youth, the excitement of how the new generation was formed, of how the new society was formed, had been pictured only in a series of negative images - delinquents, trouble makers, muggers, hooligans, rowdies. Even though most of them were actually bored stiff stuck in the house watching the tele or a blank wall for most of the day, youth had been seen simply as a problem. Before the **Youth Reforms** and the **Youth Guarantee**, the only question had been, 'How to control Youth?'.

It was accepted now that, really, this was only a way for the old guard to protect their old values by branding any new ideas or changes or developments as an unholy threat from the young 'folk devils'. The old society before the **Youth Guarantee** had seemed interested only in producing the same from itself. The creativity of youth had become only the creativity of destruction. The future and all that youth promised for it, somehow had become weirdly no future for nobody.

Mass youth unemployment in the 80's merely completed this dismal picture. It made real what a lot of people anyway thought - young people were of no use to themselves or to anyone else. Many young people even began to agree with this assessment of themselves. Others became totally alienated. Others became angry. The youth riots of 1981 introduced years of discontent, police repression and deteriorating relationships between the generations. By the early 90's there was a vast chasm between young and old. For young people many of the main social and public processes and institutions were completely discredited. The youth clubs, libraries and drop in centres were empty. The voting rate amongst the under 25's had dropped to below 10%. There was widespread cynicism about the much reduced welfare state and politicians had become merely figures of fun.

Finally this vicious spiral downwards was broken, as only it could be, by the adult society removing some of the main bases for the fear and insecurity of the young. This had come about partly through mass agitations and uprisings from below, and partly through some far sighted calculated risk taken by the then controlling politicians. At any rate, five years ago the local and national state had made a series of promises to youth - known as the **Youth Guarantee** - of food, separate shelter, life necessities and meaning for all.

The biggest battle and controversy had been over the **Youth Wage** - a guarantee to all young people over sixteen of an unconditional wage whether in education or unemployed, amounting to about half of the average industrial wage. Industry said it would stop people working. The Treasury said it would bring back the old inflation. Educationalists said that no one would bother with education and training.

There had also been a bitter argument over the name itself. Young people said that 'allowance', a name from the old society which some wanted to carry forward, implied dependance and something for which one should be grateful. Why not call it 'pocket money' if that was the idea they said? It was the respect and independance associated with the wage which they wanted. Of course this was exactly why it was opposed by others who feared that the world, as they knew it, was coming to an end.

But despite all the controversy the **Youth Guarantee** and the **Youth Wage** had actually been the public sign of, and real basis for, the beginnings of a virtuous circle in youth affairs. Young people began to have a sense that youth was a stage of construction, growth and positive involvement in society. They were to help make the new society and its future - not be the spanner in the works of the old. Instead of bringing out its long feared 'worst side', this guarantee of good faith and trust had brought out all the natural creativities of youth, and laid the basis for a whole series of new, more participative and democratic forms of politics, art and culture.

Of course the state could not guarantee work and a full wage for all. Both public and private industry still refused to accept social objectives in their manpower policies. It was still rationalising, automating, cutting, shedding labour headlong so that every year its products took less labour time to manufacture. This had been balanced partly by the growth of an 'alternative sector' of co-ops, voluntary organisations and community groups supplying goods and services on a communal and social rather than private commodity basis. They were encouraged and supported by state grants, access to community workshops and wide ranging subsidies. But still there was not enough 'raw' 'work' to go around. But in Juventus this did not mean that the young workless were thrown onto the scrap heap. The agreed social objective was that much of what the wage offered before - its transitions, meanings and powers - should be replaced as far as possible in other ways. This was the essential force of the 'meaning' element in the **Youth Guarantee**. Of course much of the developments were still experimental, and there were difficulties and problems. Nor were there any less

problems generally in society. Perhaps there were more as people's expectations for a good and reasonable life had been raised. But in Juventus the difference was that now problems were recognised and discussed. Young people were seen, not as **another** problem adding to the dreary catalogue of things going wrong, but as an active partner in the attempt to collectively work towards the solution of problems - often by putting 'problems' together and coming up with a creative solution from their combination.

Housing was a good example. Part of the **Youth Guarantee** had been cheap and appropriate housing for all those who wanted it. There was a clear problem in meeting this guarantee. At the same time much of the public housing stock in Juventus was rundown and irrelevant to the needs of tenants who were now much more likely to be in single, multiple single or single parent households than in the nuclear families for which the units had been designed originally. On what used to be known as the 'problem estates' in the old society some housing frequently was shunned altogether. 'Voids' had become a really major problem of the 80's and early 90's. They became vandalised, boarded up ugly eyesores - the first cracks in what became the wholesale physical and social collapse of complete estates. The ghost cities of post industrial 'plenty'.

But now in Juventus groups of young people organised as small co-ops could apply to take over these 'voids' on a **State Contract**, live in them rent free and renovate and convert to appropriate singles, and multi-single, design as they went along. The state supplied grants towards materials and for essential skilled work and supervision from older craftspersons. This provided a real project and skills training for the young and also made a start on rehabilitating and giving a future to the rundown housing estates. It also increased the stock of appropriate public housing. Of course there had been opposition. Older council tenants who were paying rent for sub standard housing were understandably resentful. The **Contract House** scheme had come about in the first instance only through widespread squatting of council and other property. This had brought young people into direct confrontation with the local authorities and with the police. But this episode, with many others had taught the people of Juventus to accept the importance of varied and multi-power bases in a society, and to recognise and make systematic provision to give real power to grass root and popular movements which were often actually the first to see injustice and to suggest new social forms. Juventus tried to adapt its political structures to encompass permanent change and development as a process of conflict and contradiction - a permanent struggle between ideas and interests in society which **produced** the future, rather than as it had before, stultified and alienated the future.

It was recognised that youth policy was informed by a series of dualisms and contradictions. Social development was a process of working these through in relation to each other. It was necessary, for instance, to define youth as a separate category and to understand its specific problems and to develop some structures such as the **Youth Council** and the **Political Education Groups** both to represent youth and to provide a forum for discussion amongst youth. But it was now recognised that some of the solutions to the youth question were not best provided nescessarily on the same grounds - ie. treating youth in all respects as a separate category. That is one of the mistakes that had been made in the old way, when special training schemes, and youth clubs and youth projects had, in effect, ghettoised youth and cut them off from the rest of society. In Juventus young people wanted to mix for a good part of their time with older people, to learn from, constructively to criticise and contribute to adult society. Many young people wanted to be out of the category, 'youth', virtually as soon as they were in it, and to be embarked on adult relationships, social careers and transitions. The old question of the powerlessness and alienation of youth had been tied up with its separation. The old fashioned 'youth experts' had been despised because they seemed implicitly to be trapping youth in a static and dependant state: an unending outside definition of appropriate youthful activity and attitudes.

So the **definition** of the youth question relied on recognising youth as a separate category, but the range of policy options and solutions to the youth question tried to do the opposite - to break down the stasis and separations of youth. In part this was through the replacement and development of new transitions, now that the full wage could no longer be the pivot of the old transitions. The **Youth Wage** had gone some way towards this. So had the possibility of moving into cheap single accommodation as well as the possibility of **Contact Houses** for groups of young people who could get themselves organised.

But there were other methods of involving young people in adult society and processes now that so many could no longer do this through work. In Juventus there were systematic attempts to involve young people in the variety of local services aimed at meeting their needs. The **Youth Council** could nominate people to 'work' in the social services, in the leisure and recreation departments, in the Housing and SB offices. This meant both helping in any way which was practicable but also having the right to question, to monitor and to see how the services worked. Most services had anyway been de-centralised and operated from local neighbourhood offices. Also any young person could nominate and take along their own 'adviser' to any interviews or dealings with any of the agencies. Many young people had decided to specialise in this area and had developed considerable knowledge of the relevant statutory provisions and bureaucratic forms

Also the local state and voluntary organisations had a new **Open Space** and **Free Resource** policy. Buildings, materials, musical instruments, reprographic and electronic resources, lecturers, experts, community involvers and craftspersons were all made available for young people to build their own projects, activities and interests without guidance 'from above'.

Really this was an area of another dualism - pursuit of pleasure through the market/pursuit of pleasure through the 'open state'. Private enterprise and the 'consciousness industries' still continued with some success. During the collapse and de-legitimation of the public institutions and services in the 80's and early 90's, the pubs and discos, the pop industry, disco-dancing and fitness, up-market health clubs with saunas and solariums, had continued to boom whilst the youth clubs and libraries were empty of young people. In these areas the 'hidden hand' of the market really had produced, and continued to produce, commodities and services which people wanted. But now the **Youth Guarantee**, the **Youth Wage**, the **Open Space** and **Free Resource** policy, had produced the possibility of successful alternatives. Commerce did not have all its own way in Juventus. In the old days a minority of youth had conducted a resistant yet parasitic style war with the fashion and consciousness industries taking their fashions but re-arranging them into a whole series of youth styles. But now many more groups of young people produced some of their own styles and fashions locally and produced and played their own music locally. These things were becoming almost the means of personal and group artistic expression - rather than the grounds of a war between mass

commercial fashion and the urban style guerrillas. Clothes and fashion and the emergence of local 'style vanguards' - their meaning and political significance - were popular topics of discussion at meetings of the **Political Education Groups**. The interest in style, clothes and expression through the body had led some groups and individuals to an interest in Art, poetry writing and broad expressions of a very wide kind - much more open and vital than the traditional arts of the museum.

Groups of young people were all the time offering living exhibitions, new art forms, fashion shows, live music and entertainment of all kinds in the new **Free Space** - the large communal area in the centre of Juventus free from shops and commerce but never-the-less trying to borrow the busyness and life of the old town centre but add to it in new and creative ways. Much had been learned from how the unemployed had 'disrupted' the old shopping centres. Signs, images and frequent interactions could be used to generate social atmosphere and pleasure without these things necessarily being tied to the celebration and purchase of commodities.

This freer development of art and culture in Juventus was also aided by the recognition of another set of dualisms and contradictions which were discussed and helped to frame policy - the shifting relations between the political/the non-political; the public/the private; personal freedoms/civic control. An older and narrower notion of 'politics' still had importance in Juventus: power and allocation of resources; representation of sectional interests; vigilance against those who would destroy the democratic rights of, or subjugate, other groups. At the same time it was recognised that there were many activities, interests and processes in Juventus which were not directly the concern of the state or directly a question of politics. This included the right to privacy, to private hobbies and pastimes, to family life and to all those freedoms of expression which did not limit the same freedoms in others. But it was also clear that political messages and political issues were being raised in different and creative ways in many social and cultural activities. Some things could be **both** political and cultural as well as many other things - as in the implicit and explicit messages of the riot of styles, fashions and music in Juventus. Some political movements and pressure groups had arisen through cultural forms, excitement and 'fun' and were taken no less seriously for that. The success of **Free Space** had led to very lively and critical discussions of consumerism in the **Political Education Groups**. Widening the limits and 'throwing open' the political windows in this way had reduced political apathy in Juventus and had broken down some of the older bureaucratic formalisms which had caused the mass of people to vote with their feet against them. It was actually the case that often the most creative, broad and talented individuals were not those most involved in the narrower versions of the political process. But it was a feeling in Juventus that all had some duty in this direction - although there was great suspicion surrounding those who tried to make a full time profession out of politics. A current proposal before the **Youth Council** was that, under some circumstances individuals of obvious merit or achievement, but with no interest in the narrower political arena, could be drafted onto the Council or even into one of its offices, for a period as a public service duty.

Certainly every young person in Juventus was encouraged to join a **Political Education Group** - small discussion groups led by someone of slightly greater experience than the others, and drawn from a similar social background but certainly not 'qualified' in the old social work sense. These groups discussed many topics and much that was not directly 'political'. They could call on 'experts' or practitioners from many fields as well as representatives and officials from the political parties and state agencies to explain policy and theory. Many of the discussions were 'fun' and covered the content and meaning of local developments in fashion, style and music. But many young people felt that they had received their real 'worldly' education in these groups and not from formal compulsory schooling with its continuing dead weight of selection and streaming. Many had gone on from these **Political Education Groups** to 'serious' study at University whereas they had been complete 'failures' before at school.

Many people had feared that the **Youth Reforms** and the **Youth Guarantee** heralded the arrival of a 'big brother' Orwellian state surveilling and controlling the youthful population. Ominously for some, many of these ideas first were discussed seriously in 1984. But certain self-conscious guide lines and understandings had helped to guard against these sinister possibilities. Policy reform and development was seen to be a permanent process of change democratically involving (in principle at least) all young people and was aimed at the positive involvement of all (in principle at least) and not just at those seen in the 80's and early 90's as 'social problems'. All state services which contacted youth were to contain also young people in some capacity or another. All young people were to have the right to their own 'private' interests and activities, with the State, Voluntary Agencies, Youth Houses and the **Political Education Groups** providing access and resources rather that monitoring and control.

Perhaps most important, the **Youth Council** was set up outside the state sector although it was funded and housed by the state and also enjoyed some statutory rights including open access to data and processes within the main state agencies - a process made infinitely easier in Juventus by the new information technologies and the democratic distribution of computer terminals. **Youth Council** representatives were also involved in consultation with and without state agencies and could accompany, advise and counsel young people in their dealings with officialdom and bureaucracy. Instant information retrieval and the computer resources of the **Youth Council** had also made these tasks much easier and more viable than had been imagined in the 80's. The local and national state could not dictate to the **Youth Council,** nor stipulate its membership or officers, nor could it victimise or pressurise any of its members by a threat to withdraw the **Youth Wage.** The autonomy and toughness of the **Youth Council** had come to be seen as quite as important to the health of the society in Juventus as the continuing autonomy and toughness of the Trade Union movement.

Of course there were continuing problems and conflicts within and without the Youth Council. Many older citizens resented the success of its campaign for public singles housing and for the new design of physical and social support services for single mothers. Also bad feeling persisted in some quarters about the **Contract Houses** which the Youth Council had strongly supported. Others felt that the **Youth Council** was in danger of reintroducing a political ghetto for the young and that its success re-inforced too much of what was transient in the condition of youth. There was uproar when the **Youth Council** wanted canabis and other soft drugs officially controlled and distributed to Youth Houses. There was also a continuing and extended debate about re-structuring the Council to replace more elected representatives with direct delegates from the **Political Education Groups,** Youth Houses, tenants associations and Trade Unions. Of course many young people were not interested and

just wanted to get on with their own 'private' interests and projects - and they had the right to do this.

Never-the-less it was the **Youth Council** alongside the **Youth Wage** which had provided the most believable guarantee to **all** young people that they were taken seriously, and that when they did have difficulties and problems they would be involved in their definition and solution - rather than being cast as the 'folk devils' in the first place responsible for the problem. In Juventus young people felt that they had a legitimate right to be involved in building the new society.

The emerging major problems in Juventus concerned the very success of the **Youth Reforms** and the **Youth Guarantee.** As young people were recovering their morale and really beginning to feel part of society they were increasing questioning the role of the productive and of the waged sector. Now that they controlled so much more of their own lives and participated in so many more social processes, they were pushing the questions of democracy and accountability at the still closed and secret doors of 'Production' and at the power relations and control of resources in the 'private sector'. If ever industry became completely automatic in the dim but not too distant future, and the vast majority of the population joined youth in permanent 'worklessness', how would society control and understand its own production? Would no-one feel any control over what supported and made them? Perhaps the whole society would have to learn from the **Youth Reforms** very shortly.

On the other hand, those in work and full time technical education preparing for work were questioning whether their own 'sacrifices' in work - even though producing a higher living standard - were really worthwhile in relation to the new opportunities, securities and involvements of the unemployed. Some people feared that Capitalism itself, relying still on a work ethic and incentive motivation, might not survive in the new social environment where it was possible to have a meaningful life without the wage.

These deep contradictions and further unfolding dualisms meant that further change was due in Juventus....

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reviews

Nicholas Dorn
ALCOHOL, YOUTH AND THE STATE: DRINKING PRACTISES, CONTROLS AND HEALTH EDUCATION
Croom Helm, 1983.
ISBN 0 7099 0243 3
£17.95 hardback
pp 280

Denis O'Connor
GLUE SNIFFING AND VOLATILE SUBSTANCE ABUSE: CASE STUDIES OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG ADULTS
Gower, 1984
ISBN 0 566 00641 3
£13.50 hardback
pp 103

Glue sniffing and teenage drinking are subjects about which everyone seems to have an opinion. Unfortunately, most of these are based on hearsay, anecdotal evidence, and media hyperbole which masquerade as 'common sense'. The recent publication of these two books, I hoped, would help to counter the moral panics more usually associated with the subjects with some solid empirical research.

Nicholas Dorn, who is Assistant Director of the Institute for the Study of Drug Dependence has produced a book which is exemplary in its approach to youth-cultural analysis and deserves to have a wider audience than the title may initially attract. It is, in places, not an easy book to read but nevertheless, is consistently rewarding. Dorn aims to describe the historical origins of contemporary concerns about youthful drinking, investigate present-day drinking practises, and examine the implications of these for health and social education.

The first section of Dorn's book places drinking squarely in the arena of political economy and state regulation. He begins with the premise that the state's concern with public (and, particularly, youthful) drinking is closely identified with fears of breakdown in political stability and in the moral conduct necessary for work discipline. The exclusion of children from public houses (seen by the state as threatening venues for the congregation of the working class) was a deliberate attempt to remove them from models of morally and economically undisciplined conduct.

Chapter 2 shows how the state's ambivalent attitude towards alcohol consumption evolved. On the one hand its concern about the threat to moral discipline: on the other the inextricable links with 'private production, profitability and electoral and fiscal considerations'. Finally, Chapter 3 brings the development of state policies on alcohol up to date by describing the evolution of health education. Particularly noticeable is the reinterpretation of problematic social practises in terms of individual or family pathology. Health education, it is argued thus becomes concerned with the development of personal restraint and socialisation into consensus models of society and provides the backdrop of the current 'moral panic' which underlies youthful drinking.

Part II of Dorn's book provides a timely review of youth culture research with particular reference to youthful alcohol consumption. Rejecting the views that teenage drinking represents either premature involvement in the 'adult world' or, simply, social indiscipline, Dorn makes a convincing argument for viewing it in the light of the teenagers' transition to the labour market. At times he is quite scathing of youth culture research which has focussed almost exclusively on lower working class boys' behaviour and interpreted this in terms of gestures of defiance or 'class resistance'. Dorn develops a series of four research guidelines which underlie his subsequent Area Case Study of young people in 'Servicetown' (a declining inner-London Borough). In these he emphasises the importance of both sexual divisions and social class in understanding young people's ideas and behaviour and suggests that both of these can only be fully understood in the context of the labour market. In a fifteen page annexe, Dorn develops a challenging analysis of sexual divisions and their relation to social class. Briefly, he argues that social classes are differentiated by their 'effective possession' of the material pre-requisites for life but since the bulk of working class women have some of their labour power appropriated in domestic work they cannot be said to have full 'effective possession' of their labour power as working class men do. Hence they should be seen as a 'female underclass' which is quite distinct from the male working class. This 'three-class analysis' of society implies three sets of class relations two of which (relating to capital) are set up within the labour market. The relations between male working class and female 'under-class' however are established quite early in the life of the child.

'Youth' is thereby defined as an extended process of taking on those class relations. This analysis is skilfully employed by Dorn and provides a useful analytical framework for understanding the developing relations between genders and generations. However, as an overall analysis of society it is much more problematic, though, in fairness to the author, it is not clear whether he is recommending its use in any setting.

Dorn's 'Servicetown' case study provides an excellent model for youth-culture analysis. Using a combination of interviews, group discussions, observations and background literature, the author investigated the actual form of drinking carried out by young people going through the transition from school to labour market in an attempt to compare this with the view of youthful drinking used to justify the 'moral panic'. The results when analysed using the 'three-class model' are noteworthy in a number of respects. The interconnections between various aspects of the teenagers lives are graphically described. Drinking no more takes place in a social vacuum than any other aspect of a person's life and Dorn succeeds in making sense of teenage drinking practises such as round-buying for the 'Servicetown' teenagers. The changes which occur in drinking behaviour as young people move from dependancy on parents to the relative economic independance of work or the dole are described in terms of economic and social relations. Although at first sight the idea of 'pre-capitalist' fag buying among younger children may seem unlikely or even amusing, by showing that 'cigarettes and alcohol become the goods by which the ideology of equality with the labour market is passed down to children yet to enter it', Dorn convincingly argues the case that 'learning to drink is also learning to labour, and vice versa!'

In Part III the implications for education about alcohol are explored. In this the author develops a more general model of youthful drinking and argues in favour of a materialist approach to health education which would involve young people, themselves, in researching their local youth culture. The basic aim would then be to build on the existing features of their own culture rather than imposing an unrelated set of guidelines on such subjects as drinking. Only in this way will there be any possibility of questioning the conservative assumption of a direct link between youthful drinking and social indiscipline.

Dorn insists that youthful drinking can only be understood by investigating the "material conditions facing adult groups in a specific geographical area and working 'downwards' to youth." This should then be followed by a consideration of the social meaning ascribed to that particular behaviour.

Alcohol, Youth and the State is significant because it challenges a number of preconceptions and prejudices about one type of teenage behaviour. Denis O'Connor's book **Glue Sniffing and Volatile Substance Abuse** is, unfortunately, more likely to reinforce the prejudices which fuel moral outrage. In discussions about volatile substance abuse, (V.S.A.), it is light and not heat which is needed to illuminate the issues. The 'moral panic' over glue sniffing is, if anything, more hysterical than that concerning teenage drinking. Of course, it is not difficult to understand why. Unlike teenage alcohol consumption, there is not real adult parallel to V.S.A. The practice is quite alien to most adults' experience and leads to expressions of disgust and contempt. It is, therefore, rather disheartening that O'Connor, himself, opens his introduction by referring to the "noxious practice by young people of inhaling poisonous fumes...." O'Connor is a lecturer in the School of Education at Newcastle University who runs a weekly clinic for solvent abusers and their families. In his dealings with the effects of 'chronic' solvent abuse it is not surprising that he has deeply-felt views on the subject and throughout the book he refers to case studies which graphically illustrate the desperation felt by some 'glue sniffers' and the harmful effects which chronic V.S.A. can have. Nevertheless, there is little recognition by O'Connor that his view of V.S.A. is distorted by dealing almost exclusively with those young people who consider their glue sniffing as a 'problem' about which they wish to 'do something'. His argument is that experimental solvent abuse can lead to chronic abuse and that this, is a self-evident justification for intervention.

The author describes the background to current solvent abuse and outlines methods of abuse and the effects of V.S.A. He then goes on to review a comprehensive list of research into the causes and motivations of solvent abuse. The research cited suggests that solvent abuse is a 'psychological crutch' which enables the sniffer to avoid the harshness of day to day living.

Peer group pressure is important in reinforcing this practice particularly as it often represents a deliberate attempt to outrange 'public opinion' (presumably this means adult opinion), and the profile of a 'glue sniffer' is of someone who has difficulty in expressing basic emotions associated with aggressive and/or sexual feelings and shares a lot in common with adult alcoholic patients. With this emphasis on the psychological deficiencies of the typical 'glue sniffer' it is not difficult to follow the reasoning behind the treatment regime suggested by O'Connor in the book and operated by him in his clinic. The focus is clearly on the personality of the sniffer as well as the symptoms of sniffing behaviour. Solvent abuse is seen here as a 'cry for help' or, in O'Connor's words, "a fashionable way of presenting a need for therapy which derives from underlying problems." A therapy model of "one-to-one, client-centred, non-directive psychotherapy" forms the basis for a later treatment policy which may incorporate "a

behaviour modification programme, or confrontation technique deriving from Gestalt psychotherapy" or, in some cases, hypno-therapy.

Although the author appears to have set out to provide a humanistic view of V.S.A. aimed at those who care for "the sniffers in need", it also contains a number of suggestions for a wider approach to control solvent abuse. The most worrying aspect of these policy recommendations (which include more police powers of detention, adding solvent abuse to the grounds for instituting care proceedings and the development of inter-agency clinics) is that they are based on what appears to be little more than anecdotal evidence. Notwithstanding the references to research evidence, it is the 'case studies' (some of which read like sensationalised newspaper articles) which O'Connor uses to argue his case most forcefully. I, myself, work with a number of teenagers who inhale solvents and lead fairly 'normal' lives as well, but it would be equally implausible to cite this as evidence that V.S.A. does no harm at all. The ultimate irony in O'Connor's book, is that the implementation of his policy recommendations might well prove counter productive. By focussing more attention and justifying more therapeutic intervention there is an acute danger of drawing into the welfare net many young people for whom solvent abuse is a brief, unproblematic, and (for them) relatively unimportant part of their lives.

By appealing for "some guidance from society as to what constitutes right and wrong behaviour" O'Connor assumes a moral consensus on V.S.A. which is then used to justify his 'common sense' policy recommendations. It is clear from Dorn's work that no such consensus can exist. In that case it seems that a long hard look at the social context and meaning of glue sniffing to the youngsters themselves is overdue. Only such a materialist analysis can generate a realistic and practical basis for the regulation and management of solvent abuse and only then can we begin to counter the spectre of the 'punk glue sniffer' so beloved of the tabloid press.

Bruce Britton

Keith Watson (Ed.)
YOUTH, EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT: INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES
Croom Helm 1983
ISBN 0 7099 2782 7
£14.95 (hardback)
pp180

A.G. Watts (Ed.)
WORK EXPERIENCE AND SCHOOLS
Heinemann Educational Books 1983
ISBN 0 435 80911 3
£9.50 (hardback)
pp259

A.G. Watts
EDUCATION, UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE FUTURE OF WORK
Open University Press
ISBN 0 335 10411 8
£5.95 (paperback)
pp218

In attempting to analyse the cause and effects of mass unemployment, particularly in terms of youth unemployment, the focus of both state policy and academic analysis has increasingly shifted to education. As all three of these publications identify a role for themselves in contributing to practice, I anticipated some new perspectives which would inform and challenge current discussions and debates. There is certainly some interesting new material here, or at least 'old' material put together in new ways. Overall, however, you are left with the impression that events have overtaken the respective authors, leaving **them** to be informed and challenged **by** the current discussions and debates.

The **Youth, Education and Employment: International Perspectives** offered by the British Comparative Education Society, in a collection of papers from its 1982 annual conference, are a welcome reminder that mass unemployment and under-employment represent a political problem on a world scale. Certain contributions to this collection stand out. Wolfgang Mitter's analysis of the West German training system shows that it is far from being as perfect a model as the MSC would have us believe. This brings home the need to develop our own knowledge of international comparisons in order to counter the way they have been used as one justification for many recent developments in training policy in Britain.

Mark Richmond's work on the transition from school to work in Cuba provides a rare and well researched insight into the way that a society attempting a transition to socialism tries to cope with these problems. There are a number of tensions and contradictions documented by Richmond, particularly moves towards greater emphasis on academic qualifications and competition over the past 10 years. As well as illustrating the difficulties facing any transitional society trying to build socialism in a hostile world, this also shows that vocational education and training policies cannot be developed, or understood, in isolation from wider economic and political perogatives.

Most of the other material in this collection, however, is very disappointing, particularly that on Britain. Overall, the international comparisons are rather narrow in scope, covering West Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Cuba and "small Commonwealth countries" (mainly Island states), owing more it would seem to Society members' funding sources than to a genuine desire to produce a wider and more balanced mix. Major omissions must be the USA, where Reagan's Job Training Partnership Act with its emphasis on Private Industry Councils as local 'managing agents' provides some excellent comparisons with our own MSC, Japan and at least one of the major communist states, e.g. East Germany or Hungary.

The main weakness is in its comparisons with Britain, where some sections become little more than a series of rather glib assertions. We are told that 'profiling' is "to be welcomed" as a way of "developing a variety of aspects of human potential"; that "small businesses offer new opportunities even to very young people" and that colleges should be looking at ways they "can help in training new entrepreneurs"; and that YTS should be seen as "the beginning of establishing satisfactory vocational preparation arrangements" for all young people (that by an ex-assistant secretary of NATFHE who has subsequently moved over to work as a senior adviser to the MSC).

The final chapter, "Alternative Structures - The Way Ahead", is both frustrating in its idealism and disturbing in its naivety. It sets out an 'agenda for action' based on an uncritical acceptance that new information technologies, and the education services of the existing media, being both neutral and rational in their form and content, can provide the base for "a fresh concept of young adult education to suit the realities and prospects of young adults' context".

The idea that there may not be a consensus on just what the "realities and prospects" of this "context" are is completely ignored by the authors. Their inability even to acknowledge more critical perspectives, which stress the political and ideological context that underpin and shape such ideas, seriously weakens all of their arguments in the concluding, prescriptive chapter. At a time when critical analyses of these issues are vital in helping us to understand and respond to the rapid shifts of state policy in these areas, publications such as this are very disappointing and of little real use. On a more positive note I would recommend anyone interested in international comparative work to search out the 'European Institute on Social Welfare' and its 'European Regional Clearing House for Community Work' (6001 Marcinelle, Rue de Debarcadere 179, Belgium).

Another comparative study is provided in **Work Experience and Schools** using different case studies of the ways that "work experience" has been organised in Britain. As you might expect of any book in an "Organisation in Schools" series, the emphasis is firmly on description and practical advice, "to help teachers to develop better schemes". The editor insists that the book will have a wider role looking at **why** 'work experience', as well as **how** to do it, and will also help teachers and others "to address their attention to some of the deeper issues which the concept of work experience raises". Despite this the overriding assumption throughout the book is that work experience is **a good thing** and that the main topic for critical concern should be how it is organised.

The case study of 'Project Trident', now operating in over 20 LEA's provides some interesting insights into both the attitudes of those involved in planning work experience and the content of the 'experience'. The list of the placements on offer through the Barnsley project is a clear reflection of the realities of the labour market for most school leavers, 15 of the 22 'experiences' being unskilled manual work. Similarly the school based project at Stowmarket High School is predominantly based on small employers offering unskilled manual work. Many of the teachers' and project organisers' comments are revealing. One teacher praises the way in which "when they come back", from work experience, the students "were more adult and reasonable". An organiser of the Cleveland LEA scheme explains that bad feedback from "pupil reports" is "rare" and most adverse comments "can be discounted" as "expressions of dismay on confronting the reality" of the labour market, i.e. "no pay, early starts etc."

A very different approach is taken by some of the schemes run by the Schools Council's Industry Project, in trying to link work experience back into the curriculum. Here, at least, is a recognition that the world of work is not simply about learning the work techniques and disciplines so praised by other schemes in the book. It is accepted that such a 'world' is full of tensions and contests brought out in both individual and organisational forms. After the other schemes it was a welcome relief even to hear of concerns about trade unionism and trade union roles, or potential roles, in work experience.

This is in stark contrast to the emphasis on the need to 'train for entrepreneurship' in schools. Business games and setting up mini-companies in schools are given as two examples, providing students with the chance to "combine fun and excitement with the opportunity to experience the planning and decision making that are the essence of business". One wonders if, in the name of 'balance', the same enthusiasm would be shown for setting up mini-trade unions in schools and playing 'collective bargaining' games.

Finally, we come to the world outside of the school and are asked to consider the future of work experience and of work. Some of the worries about work experience are at least acknowledged here, for example, that raised by careers officers in one research study that such schemes have the

effect of spreading "a smoke screen over unemployment and creating false expectations about employment prospects". Rather than exploring this further, however, the book concludes with a rather superficial analysis of MSC initiatives. The heady days of the Youth Task Group consensus backing for YTS shine through here. YTS is seen as "potentially a development of enduring educational and social significance", as "offering structures through which" the previous mobility of young people between jobs "can potentially be legitimised and used creatively", and as an example which "might be applied more widely at an earlier age" in schools.

It is this last chapter that essentially provides the basis for Watts' own book **Education, Unemployment and the Future of Work**. This provides an adequate and useful review of the literature, and some of the debates, about the role of education in the current economic climate and state intervention through agencies such as the MSC. It suffers from two major weaknesses, however. The first is its concentration on analysing responses to unemployment as disparate and disconnected, and, in doing so, ignoring wider political and ideological questions. The second is its attempt to reduce its analyses to traditional structural-functionalist sociological categories, defining education and responses to unemployment, for example, in terms of their selection, socialisation, orientation and preparation 'functions'.

Undoubtedly a useful introductory reading, but those involved in the day to day world of working with, or in spite of, the MSC and its programmes, in or out of education, are likely to find themselves rather frustrated after reading this or either of the others. All three leave the reader with a lot more questions than answers.

Dave Carter

Colin Fletcher
THE CHALLENGES OF COMMUNITY EDUCATION
University of Nottingham, 1983 (?)
ISBN 0 902031 97 7
£5.50 plus £2 for Footnotes and appendices
pp317

John Wallis & Graham Mee
COMMUNITY SCHOOL: CLAIMS AND PERFORMANCE
University of Nottingham 1983
ISBN 0 902031 90 2
£4.00
pp81

Both the above are available from The Publication Unit, Dept. of Adult Ed., University of Nottingham NG7 2RD.

Having read ecstatic reviews of Colin Fletcher's book that coincided with its publication I eagerly sought out the Review Editor to volunteer my services. Here at last I thought was the book I had been waiting for on community schools. A serious well researched evaluation of their strengths and weaknesses based upon the author's extensive involvement with one of our most innovatory community education projects. A text moreover that would take the whole debate forward, a book that those working within such institutions could seek out in order to clarify their thinking and enlighten their practice, and which those on the outside might turn to as an entre into the mysteries of the community school. I was, I am afraid, bitterly disappointed.

Colin Fletcher offers the reader a lengthy and painstakingly detailed but ultimately superficial history of the Sutton Centre Nottinghamshire, up to and including 1982. Sutton Centre was and remains a truly innovative community education initiative. Built in the very heart of Sutton-in-Ashfield during the course of the 1970s it encompasses not only a new comprehensive school but also for example an ice rink, theatre, indoor bowling green, sports centre, day centre for the elderly, teachers' centre and a youth wing plus facilities for the Careers Service, Probation Service and an on site Health Centre.

The book attempts to tell the story of the Sutton Centre with the aid of over 150 snap-shots, many of which look as if they have been taken with a Brownie Box camera and inserted to fill out the text, photocopies of numerous newspaper clippings and a narrative that far too often descends into the recounting of anecdotes of questionable significance, I put the book down little the wiser as to what constituted the 'challenge of community education'. Instead I felt as if I had spent 24 hours strapped to a chair whilst a succession of 'friends' entered the room and inflicted on me a trip down memory lane with their slides and tales of a fortnight in Majorca. An impression unfortunately reinforced by a vox pop style of writing more suited to a Parish Magazine than a serious book. Insider tales and anecdotes intrude to distract the reader and the book chooses far too often to concentrate upon personalities when it should be dealing with issues. Whether discussing the untimely and sudden 'departure' of the founding Head Stewart Wilson or the difficulties that came to beset the youth centre the book remains bound within the micro world of the Sutton Centre. Yet even the most superficial acquaintance with the history of community schools in the U.K. is sufficient to make one aware that similar crises of leadership and tensions between youth wings and the wider constituency of users are legion. These problems and tensions plus the others that according to this account dogged the progress of Sutton Centre are of course to a degree surmountable as many institutions have shown but they are fundamentally structural in their origins. If as I fear certain readers gain the impression that the growing pains of the Sutton Centre would have been less traumatic with a few changes in personnel, styles of management, better building design or a more supportive community they will be sadly mislead. This book may forewarn but it does not forearm, a much more comprehensive study that related the experiences of Sutton to those of other community schools would be required to achieve that end.

The Challenges of Community Education will I am certain be of abiding interest to those who have or are currently involved with the Sutton Centre as a scrap-book, but I doubt if those less in touch will find it a worthwhile investment in terms of cash or time. Certainly for individuals living in areas that are moving towards the development of community school provision or are contemplating working in one, the books by Dybeck, Poster and Moon (reviewed in **Youth and Policy** Vol. 2 No. 2) are much more useful starting points.

Before moving on to the Wallis and Mee book I must draw the attention of any potential purchaser of the Fletcher book to what must amount to one of the most dubious practices ever wrought by a publisher. Having paid £4.95 for the book you will discover that although it is footnoted, no footnotes or appendices are to be found for it transpires that to obtain these you must fork out an additional £2.00. I hope this underhand method of drumming up extra income does not catch on.

The Challenges of Community Education ends with a quote from Stewart Wilson "Education is one way of changing society for the better. After twenty years the Centre should have improved the quality of Sutton town." Wallis and Mee in a very real sense take up that challenge by trying to measure some of the claims of community schools against reality. Their short book, **Community School: Claims and Performance,** is the result of a fairly low-level research project that focussed on the advantages and disadvantages of community schools for the education of adults. Yet it raises all the questions that need to be asked of school based youth work and as such deserves close scrutiny by those outside the world of adult education. Before outlining the research itself the authors in two short but stimulating chapters summarise much of the literature on community schools and the claims made for them by their advocates. They then go on to outline the findings based upon a sample of 32 schools. The authors openly admit that their work has severe limitations but the findings are not encouraging, as they put it "there is nothing in this report to indicate any cause for optimism." They found **for example** that in community schools co-operation between youth services and adult education to be no more effective than in many other situations; that community schools tended to be insular; that 'outreach' work was minimal; that what is provided is tailored to fit in with the timetable and calendar of the host school. This short but invaluable book maps out many of the challenges that face community schools but although the authors eschew optimism I think they may be mistaken. For far too long the community school movement has been carried along on a cloud of rhetoric and false promises, this little text marks and important landmark in the creation of a different tradition. When the sort of research called for by Wallis and Mee is set in motion and when the criticisms raised by them are honestly faced then I am confident that we may see community schools beginning to fulfil their long promised potential.

Tony Jeffs

Kenneth Hudson
THE LANGUAGE OF THE TEENAGE REVOLUTION
The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1983
ISBN 0 333 29400 9
pp137

Kenneth Hudson
THE DICTIONARY OF THE TEENAGE REVOLUTION AND ITS AFTERMATH
The MacMillan Press Ltd., MacMillan Reference Books, 1983
ISBN 0 333 28517 4
£12.95
pp203

These two books are intended to complement one another. In the introduction to the dictionary the author writes: "The philosophical and historical basis of the Dictionary will be found in **The Language of the Teenage Revolution**". Unfortunately, the latter contains no philosophy and rather poor history. From the book's title one might expect an analysis of the language of adolescents. There is no serious attempt to analyse language, either linguistically or historically. Even the term 'Teenage Revolution' is ill-defined. There is a footnote to the title of the first chapter which says 'Throughout this book "revolution" is used in a general sense of "fundamental and far reaching change"' (p124); yet there is no attempt to analyse such change. He merely states that 'the traditional respect for rank and authority disappeared during the Second World War and the years immediately following it ... it was paralleled by a similar weakening of the previously accepted relationship between generations. By the 1950's in Britain, and considerably earlier in America, the Teenage Movement had arrived, with its insistence that adolescents should be regarded as a force in their own right, entitled to make their own rules and

observe their own standards, without interference from the adult world'. (pp1-2) This hardly constitutes serious analysis.

In fact his argument is set up more in terms of what it is not. What it is not is what social scientists and lexicographers do. Social scientists have failed to properly understand youth and youth culture because they over-generalise. He refers to the 'strangely unreal creations' (p15) of the sociologists' categories, and argues that 'what we really have to consider ... is what individual people of all ages, think about society and their place'. (p15) He follows this with a number of gross over-generalisations, quite unsupported by evidence. He offers no real justification for the centrality of language or communication in subculture, and chooses to ignore most of the vast literature on subcultures. He assumes that 'teenage language' revolves around pop music and almost all of his 'analysis' revolves around 'pop culture'.

The second group he is concerned to criticise are the lexicographers. His criticisms of dictionaries are fairly standard. He is, though, particularly critical of their failure to recognise the ironic use of terms. It is the use of other age-groups' terminology (or style) in an ironic or alternative way - what he calls the 'grandmother's - old - fur - coat - syndrome' (p71) which he sees as a major element of 'Teenage Language'. Yet in place of a serious analysis of 'teenage' language, he offers us merely lists of definitions taken from his dictionary. At one point he asks us to ask four questions of these 'teenage' terms: do I understand it? would I use it? if not, why not? what kind of picture do I have of the kind of people who would use it? How one answers will be indicative of how one relates. Despite his emphasis both in the book and the dictionary upon vocabulary, he concludes that 'Vocabulary in itself is not, however, the most important feature of one's speech. How one uses a word is as socially critical as the word itself. Language labels .... are of three kinds .... those which mark one off as belonging to a particular cultural group. Second .... the whole language one uses. And, third .... the words one takes care not to use. The first two of these one might call positive labels, the third, the negative label.(p122)

If there can be said to a philosophy underlying the book it is contained in its banal conclusion. 'What one loses is the subtle, but enormously important symbolism of doing or saying something 99 per cent as the convention dictates, the remaining one per cent being one's own personal contribution, the twist .... which allows one to remain fully human and an individual.' (p123)

In **The Language of the Teenage Revolution**, Hudson states plainly 'I make no claims whatever to be a lexicographer' (p73). Despite this, given the disappointing nature of that book, it is perhaps worth considering the dictionary simply as a dictionary of adolescent terminology. There are, I suppose, three questions one might reasonably ask of any specialist dictionary. If I make a list of key words, are they in it? Are there any terms in it which are new to me, or of which I did not know the meaning? How accurate and comprehensive are the definitions? The first question itself poses difficulties, since Hudson, despite his criticism of lexicographers' use of written sources, himself rejects terms for which there is no written reference. Within these confines, however, it is pretty comprehensive, though I noted that 'New Wave' was in, but 'New Romantic' was not, which may say something about his written sources. As to the second question, there were a few terms new to me, but most of these Hudson informed me, were obscure. What surprised me was the inclusion of numerous terms which seem very marginal to 'The Teenage Revolution'. For example: **Buggered**, physically exhausted; **Charisma**, the personal power of an individual to impress others. Other terms seemed so obvious as to hardly warrant inclusion. For example: **Boring Old Fart**, a boring person; **Wally**, a stupid person. He claims that about one in four of the terms are not to be found in other dictionaries, but this in itself is hardly justification for their inclusion here. As to the adequacy of the definitions, for the most part these seemed reasonable, though there were some startling omissions: **Piss Up** is defined as making a mess of something, without reference to the imbibing of alcohol; **Jerk** is defined as a stupid person, but with no reference to sexual connotations. These could lead to some unfortunate, albeit interesting, misunderstandings. I was rather surprised, also, to see **Rocker** defined as 'A motor cycle enthusiast of the Hell's Angel type', a definition likely to offend both rockers and Hell's Angels.

One question that remains, though, is who is going to pay £12.95 for this set of definitions? Now, how did he define Wally ????

David M. Smith

Elizabeth Stafford
DOES IT WORK?: A STUDY OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF INTERMEDIATE TREATMENT IN BIRMINGHAM SOCIAL SERVICES DEPARTMENT
Available price £1 from Research, Planning and Development, Birmingham Social Services Department, Snow Hill House, 10-15 Livery Street, Birmingham B3 2PE

One of the gloomier conventional wisdoms of the present time is that delinquency is rife and getting worse and that its about time we got tough with the little thugs. Factual evidence and sophisticated analysis do little to reduce this clamour. Crime and the waywardness of the young seem to be emotive constants in human society, and one result of this is that those concerned with finding alternative solutions to social problems have to present good arguments whilst practicing discretely.

This local study of fifty nine attenders at two of Birmingham's IT Centres between 1980 and 1982 is a small but useful piece of evidence for those engaged in winning resources for Intermediate Treatment. By using a control group to statistically analyse the effectiveness of IT intervention against three hard measures, Stafford is able to conclude that "Intermediate Treatment works in terms of reducing the amount of time spent in care or custody, and reducing the care categories of clients, 12 months after the programme. It also had an effect in reducing the number of offences committed during the IT programme and four months after IT. Young people who completed the IT programme also showed a significant reduction in the numbers of offences committed 12 months after the IT programme."

The document is wholly given over to a description and proof of the research method which should be of interest to those wanting to investigate their own or local programmes. There is no description of the IT centres' programmes so we do not know whether they had similar or different approaches. Neither are the centres compared in terms of the adopted measures. Magistrates and others seeking the answer to the question "what is IT?" will have to look elsewhere.

However, to anyone with more than a passing interest in the subject, there are some fascinating snippets buried in the text. Some of these have, I think, quite serious implications for Intermediate Treatment as a strategy. For example, **completion** of the programme was clearly significant. 62.7% of the examined group did so, but what is of interest is those who dropped out. The author points out that reasons for non-completion varied but that the design of the research did not allow for a seperate analysis of these reasons. This continuity of contact is an important element in supervision and a difficult message to get over to Magistrates and social workers who may feel that a reoffence during participation in IT indicates the failure of the programme and the occasion for care or custody. One of Stafford's measures is **reduction** in offending, including the seriousness of types of offence. Those of us who have stood with our miscreants before the Bench know that it is not so much the nature of the offence but the number of court appearances which escalate sentences to Care or custody.

Stafford may also have confused her Director of Social Services by lumping together Care and costody when looking at savings in cost to the Department. Custodial sentences on those subject to Care Orders or Supervision Orders actually represent a saving to Social Services in accommodation costs and social work time. A proposed levy on Departments whose clients were thus sentenced might be an incentive to invest more in IT strategies. As it is, Stafford only demonstrates that this version of community care is far from the cheap panacea this Government seems interested in for welfare clients generally. The marginal lower cost has to be added to the marginally greater effectiveness to put the cost-benefit balance sheet into the black.

The sample was largely male (71%) and fifteen years of age on entry to IT (83%), six had already been to Detention Centre and eighteen were under Care Orders. The control group used for comparison was made up of 18 similar (83% fifteen years old, 61% male) young people refused places at the Centres because of lack of vacancies. Numerically, these are small groups on which to erect grand arguments. As a sample, it seems to have included both "light" and "heavy" end offenders. The numbers of girls presents an artefactal problem as Detention Centre is not available as a sentence to them. What does emerge, however, is that on every count, the lost of the excluded comparison group worsened during the study period. This should give pause to those who argue against intervention in the style of IT as a covert excercise in soft policing. Since we don't know the effectiveness of residential care in reducing offending (since related records are not required to be kept as was the case with the old Approved School system) but we are aware of the (in) effectiveness of the juvenile custody system (reconviction/failure rates between 70 and 80%) then Intermediate Treatment seems at least to be worth trying.

Given the individualised nature of our justice system, the question is always what to do in the particular case. Will IT work for this young person? How do we rate to risk of care and custody for the individual? Stafford asked the Centre wardens and the social workers and probation officers this second question. The wardens were much more certain in their replies but "there was no significant correlation between the ratings of the two sets of respondents" so Stafford concludes their estimations of risk are not highly reliable. This is interesting and either funny or sad depending, I suppose, whether one happens to be a client of these expert professionals. Prediction as a form of prophecy may be a job for fools but a great deal of social work is decided by social workers pondering whether to intervene, and if so, in what way. This survey seems to say that intervening in a way called IT is a better bet than anything else available, including not intervening at all.

Perhaps after all it is studies like this which influence the Government to fund IT to the tume of £15 million this year (albeit via voluntary societies fronting for local authority Social Service Depart-

ments) whilst at the same time suppressing the Select Committee report on the Short Sharp Shock DCs because it apparently suggests they don't work on any count. It is in the face of such contradictions that IT, in whatever form, will have to struggle to make its point.

(See also Elizabeth Stafford's article on her research in **Community Care**, March 15 1984: IT Does Work)

Barry Meteyard

Frances Widdowson
GOING UP INTO THE NEXT CLASS: WOMEN AND ELEMENTARY TEACHER TRAINING 1840-1914
Hutchinson in association with the Explorations in Feminism Collective 1983
ISBN 0 09 153421 6

The period covered in this short but detailed study is one of major development and change in the English education system. The earlier period, 1840-1870, witnessed the growing acceptance of State responsibility for the education of the working classes. That acceptance was realised through the introduction of the pupil-teacher system of teacher-training, the imposition of 'standards' through the system of grant payment by results and the consequent systemisation of teaching methods. The Education Act of 1870 brought in its wake major changes in curricula, improvements in standards, a broadening of the class basis of the elementary system, expansion in all areas of educational provision by the State and reforms in the teacher training system. This book reveals how, in their effect, the post 1870 changes both encouraged and consolidated lower middle class female numerical domination of the teaching profession.

Using a variety of historical methods and sources of empirical evidence, but paying particular attention to the information available in the records of Whitelands and Bishop Otter Training Colleges, Frances Widdowson attempts to chart the changes in education in relation to the situation of middle class women. As the 19th century progressed, it became necessary for increasing numbers of these women to find a way through the contradictions of their position which, in effect, meant finding an independent living without threatening their social status. Widdowson provides explanations for the growing attraction of elementary teaching as a solution to this problem for lower middle class women. Correspondingly, she shows how, despite the favourable domestic, childrearing connotations of the work, and occasional campaigns to attract them, solidly middle class women stayed outside the profession.

The overriding concern of the State agencies as they took control of elementary education was the development of an efficient system of schooling for the working classes which would inculcate in its pupils standards of morality, discipline, cleanliness and order while teaching appropriate skills which would ensure a stable workforce in the future. The pupil-teacher system, introduced in 1846 reflected this concern and, considering working class teachers the best vehicles for the achievement of these objects, created conditions for the pupil teacher system which were tolerable only to working class recruits.

The physical hardships endured whilst pupil-teaching, the difficulties in teaching and disciplining large classes of working class children within rigid organisational patterns, whilst being expected to learn at the same time and the Spartan conditions of the residential training colleges where the students were expected to do domestic work as part of their training, all combined to deter potential middle class recruits to elementary teaching. The working class context and expectations of the work counterbalanced the white-collar and 'feminine' advantages and mitigated against a middle class teacher maintaining her status as a 'lady'.

However, although discouraged for a while as the working-class dominated pupil-teacher system took effect, lower middle class girls were not so completely alienated from elementary education. Widdowson argues that the growing efficiency and relatively high standards of the elementary schools revealed the many inadequacies of private education for girls. Lower middle class parents were gradually inclined to take advantage of the free schools for their daughters who, as a consequence were more likely to consider elementary teaching as a profession if they needed to work for their living.

That lower middle class girls needed to earn a living was increasingly the case as the century progressed and the marriage market contracted. Security could no longer be guaranteed through marriage and it became more acceptable for girls to consider a career. As a further sput to their entry into the labour market it seems that given their social and economic situation, lower middle class women were most susceptible to the influence of feminism and were the class most inclined to adopt the independent, wage-earning stance of the 'new woman'.

While these changes were occuring in the economic and ideological conditions for lower middle class women, the market for teachers expanded considerably after 1870. In an effort to attract more recruits into the work, training colleges were made more comfortable and day colleges, which were more acceptable than residential institutions to the middle class parent, were introduced in urban centres. Although the pupil-teacher system continued as a means of entry, particularly in rural areas, and had been vastly improved with the centralisation of tuition, in 1907 a bursar system was introduced which required candidates to stay on longer at school before beginning their teacher training. This system finally rid the profession of its working class associations which were so closely tied to the pupil teacher system. At the same time, wages and conditions of work in elementary teaching were excellent compared to the occupational alternatives which were open to women at that time. By 1914, elementary teaching was almost solidly female and lower middle class.

This book is an interesting historical analysis and description of a very particular situation wherein the influx of women into a profession - contrary to conventional wisdom - actually perceptibly raised the status of that profession. However, while it is essentially a feminist work, it is most interesting in its observation of differences within one class - between the old professions and the new, between the 'solid' middle class and the lower middle class showing the relative conservatism of the former and the adaptability of the latter. The book would be worth reading by anyone interested in class and gender in the education system or in the question of women and work.

Jean Spence

Ellen Noonan
COUNSELLING YOUNG PEOPLE
Methuen & Co. Ltd. 1984
ISBN 0416 36220 6
£4.95
pp157

I approached this book with mixed feelings of scepticism and excitement. Scepticism because I was uncertain how so vast a subject as the title implied could be encompassed in so small a volume, and excitement that maybe I would learn something to add to my practice. Having read the book I feel that both emotions were appropriate.

My major reservation is that the case material, and thus the experience of counselling described is limited to a small cross-section of the population of young people - mainly students in higher education establishments. I wanted to know of experiences with more "difficult" young people, with less verbally articulate young people for whom counselling is an alien concept and yet who are deeply troubled and would benefit from the time and skill of trained counsellors. Counselling is often seen as the prerogative of the middle class and I fear that this book will do nothing to disabuse people of that opinion.

However, with a different, less all-embracing title this book would be highly commendable. It does give a good clear insight into a particular approach to a particular type of counselling. And the text is loaded with real gems - clear, concise statements about counselling and the conditions, both personal and physical, that are pre-requisites for successful counselling. The book opens with a consideration of adolescence as a process and Ms. Noonan sums up well the nature of the adolescent transition "... adolescence as a transition phase during which childhood has to be yielded to make way for adulthood, but in such a way that the present incorporates the past and anticipates the future."

The chapter on theory is largely a question of personal choice. A clear exposition of one particular theoretical understanding is given, the "Object-Relations" approach embodied in the work of Klein, Winnicott and Guntrip.

Ms. Noonan does, however, make some very pertinent comments on the necessity for counsellors to have a personal theoretical position, "We don't need theory as a collection of esoteric ideas or a set of rigid labels, but we do need it as a guide for the journey through the emotional maze laid out by the client... Theory primes us with a set of ideas about the nature of man and his relationships, ideas which help us to organize and make sense of what the client says about himself and his state."

The discussion of diagnosis is again coloured by the theoretical position, but Ms. Noonan also addresses the issue of diagnosis and suggests that "The diagnostic process ... is really an integral part of the therapeutic process, and it depends for its validity on co-operative exploration by client and counsellor together." Moving to a consideration of the counselling relationship the author has much to say that transcends the narrow confines of her theoretical perspective and is valid for counselling in general, "... Counselling is not primarily an intellectual exercise: the emotional engagement is the therapeutic element. Insight, on its own is not enough." "Integrity is about wholeness, and the counsellor is there to help her client begin to mend himself by acknowledging his problem as part of himself - neither separate from, nor all of, him." In an attempt to open the counselling relationship for study the author describes different levels of the relationships and she acknowledges that although they "... may be discriminated ... they interweave with each other to create a personal encounter which is unique and greater

than the sum of its parts."

"Counselling cannot be undertaken lightly: it entails responsibility and integrity in the counsellor." So begins the chapter on authority and responsibility in counselling and Ms. Noonan clearly states her position that counselling is a professional, skilled occupation, not to be undertaken lightly, that demands of the prospective counsellor commitment and dedication to understanding his/her own self.

Having decided that the book should not consider training as a full subject, she does make some very strong statements about training that again are appropriate to any theoretical perspective. "The most effective and appropriate training, however, is personal therapy or counselling ... The counsellor's own emotional resources are her greatest ally in her work, so if she is ignorant of them, afraid of them, or unable to rely on them, she is severely handicapped - and she handicaps her clients." I can only agree wholeheartedly with these sentiments and I found many such general statements in the book that I feel need to be made again and again.

The theoretical perspective adopted is not mine, but this is a book I would recommend as an introduction to counselling and as much Ms. Noonan achieves her stated aim to provide an "introductory text".

Tom Adams

P.W. Smith
UN/EMPLOYMENT 1-4
University of Durham 1983
£1 per set including package from Department of Adult and Continuing Education, University of Durham, 32 Old Elvet, Durham
Approx. pp30 per booklet

Patricia James, Rae Livingstone, Christine Walker
SENSE OF DIRECTION
Community Projects Foundation 1983
ISBN 0 902406 30 2
£1.75
pp69

A local political organiser in Newcastle upon Tyne performed a small experiment some time ago. Sadly for him, he got it wrong. He tried to re-enact the "Great Money Trick" described in the **Raggerd Trousered Philanthropist**. The point of the trick of course was to divide some slices of bread, and share some money between "The Kind Capitalist Class" and the "Working Class". Eventually, the capitalists win both bread and money back and the working class gain unemployment and poverty. But even though, in the case in question, the workers bankrupted the capitalists, and the trick failed, at least the performer had two things right. First, he attempted to illuminate what is a complex phenomenon i.e. capitalism, and second, his analysis of the problem, (the inherent contradictions of the system) was correctly highlighted.

Unfortunately a **Sense of Direction** can neither claim to have illuminated the problem of youth unemployment, nor can it boast any convincing analysis of the problem. Describing the project which grew out of a survey conducted to locate young unemployed people, it suggested that the "clients" suffered "frustration, stagnant lives and lack of opportunities".

The Priory Lane Project in Fife reveal that a major concern to young people is "the missing link" in their maturation process. They breathtakingly suggest that "in many ways unemployment itself was not the issue" but rather the cultural and developmental stages lacking in the growing up process. And that's where the Priory Lane project got it appallingly wrong. The disasterous diagnosis is compounded in its error by the prescription, although many will have already guessed it, **Personal Development**.

Surely, the last thing that any disenfranchised young unemployed person needs is the counsel of acquiescence. Of course young people get depressed on the dole, obviously they become self critical and deeply anxious. The missing link is experiencing exploitation, not one of "Maturation". A full time job either politicises the worker against capitalism or indoctrinates the person into the body of the system. The book ends in courtship of the MSC and claims that it does not offer "conclusive statement about the needs of young unemployed". The veracity of that statement goes unchallenged. A somewhat more enlightened set of booklets has emerged from the University of Durham Community and Youth Work Course. The booklets titled Un/employment 1-4 deals with employment issues, intervention, new initiatives and training, and are well referenced throughout.

The striking difference between this study, and the previous discourse is, that the writers from Durham have little trouble in locating the problem as resting firmly in the bowels of capitalism even if their references are, to some degree, more subtle. The first book scans the types of unemployment and at one stage even criticises the great god MSC. A rare occurrence indeed! In obtaining a balance throughout it suggests "only having faith that in taking action will we discover causes for optimism can we overcome our gloom and despondency". Unfortunately the particular action to be taken is a little benign. More practically, it sensibly refers Youth and Community workers to the Health and Safety at Work Act and its implications, as well as mentioning other important legislation and its effects on young people.

The second book is less remarkable in its remedies. It traces the development of the MSC and suggests that by becoming involved in MSC schemes they will become "closer to young people and their **real problems**". A review of the Urban Aid Scheme is included and two case studies quite indicative of their genre.

In the third book, concerned with new initiatives the approaches range from "crystal-ball gazing" to co-operatives and alternative communities. But whilst they tantalizingly propose that "if people as a whole can identify what kind of society they wish to have, and what kind of society is possible, then the political tasks become clear". Clearly that is exactly the correct solution to the problem, why later then, do they refer to a "shared endeavour" by society? Presumably, capitalists share the money (and bread) whilst the workers share the poverty, unemployment and ill-health.

The final book discusses training and quotes the admirable definition of Community Work given by the Association of Community Workers. It is realistic and accurate in its assessment of world capitalism and induces the reader to visualise communities linking with Trade Union Action and socially useful initiatives, such as those of the Lucas Aerospace Workers. The booklets kick the MSC as many times as they kiss it, and are refreshing to read. Perhaps some of the obvious restraint that comes through the works could have its explanations in the origin of the finance .... the D.E.S.

Steve Waldie

James R. Kluegel
EVALUATING JUVENILE JUSTICE
Sage Publications, 1983
ISBN 0 8039 2116 0
pp159

The justice model for dealing with young offenders is currently in fashion with both policy makers and practitioners. As so often, the Americans have been there before us. Hence this collection of research papers covering a number of recent American programmes of diversion and projects focusing specifically on serious juvenile offenders should be of more than passing interest to policy makers and practitioners in the U.K.

The first two papers present findings from diversion programmes, showing that in practice, rather than limiting the scope for social control, diversion has maintained and broadened it. The authors argue that whatever their rationale for involvement, "child helpers are reluctant to let go or leave be". Ironically just at the time funds for diversion are drying up in America, it is finding favour here.

Three other papers examine projects aimed exclusively at "serious" juvenile offenders - those young people so much the subject of political rhetoric and attention and development in the I.T. field. One contributor, McDermott, cautions against any rush to programmes targetted at this group because of the imprecise and ambiguous nature of the term "serious". She found it to have been used to mean behaviour variously categorised as violent, aggressive, dangerous, difficult to control and resistant to treatment; and/or, in offence terms, frequent offending and causing various degrees of injury or loss. She concludes that the term "may have more to do with practical concerns, political philosophies and the prevailing winds of public opinion than with empirical research or delinquency theory."

The question marks around concentrating resources, as demanded by the justice model, on the serious or (in our jargon) "heavy end" offender continue to be raised as a range of such projects are evaluated. First there is the problem of finding the customers. For instance one project with tight, offence based, selection criteria fell apart for lack of clients, the sponsors having to resist practitioners' attempts to widen the criteria. As the author writes, too few is both good news and bad news - good from the standpoint of dispelling popular myths and fears, bad for the project and its employed staff. Hence in another project, the danger of net widening is clearly revealed. Here "serious" in behavioural terms embraced youngsters who were estimated to have engaged in forms of "anti-social motor behaviour, physical contacts, verbalisations, object interference and distracting others" on at least 21 occasions in a given week. There were plenty of customers - but there would be, wouldn't there!

Having highlighted the significance of these papers for current practice, it is necessary to raise a caution, particularly for the more critical reader. By and large the papers are located firmly in the functionalist perspective. The research methods are highly technical and complex in the classical tradition of empirical social science research, and the research itself is impregnated with a view of juvenile delinquency as being a problem of social management to be addressed through the adjustment of particular intervention programmes, be they based on justice or welfare considerations. There is rarely any recognition of the political and ideological questions raised by the definitions, findings and recommendations offered. Perhaps this does not matter too much, at least in the short run, if it serves the purpose of casting doubts on justice based approaches, claims for which have provided a stalking horse for the law and order

lobby in recent years.

This being said, the most vivid presentation is left to the last chapter which is descriptive rather than empirical. In outlining the rise and demise of a "gang violence reduction program" in Los Angeles, a frightening picture is painted of youth/ social work "1984" style: "team of councellors operate from radio equipped cars .... maintain a high visibility by patrolling target areas and hot spots .... (and) .... a rapid response to violent and crisis events". Astonishingly (or perhaps not so) the teams have succeeded in meeting their "official mandate of reducing gang homicides by 15%", but unconventional methods when fact to face with the gangs have offended so many officials that their funding is to be withdrawn - a familiar story, not unique to L.A.!

The overriding lesson I have drawn from the studies presented in this book is that mere tinkering with the system doesn't change much. Even in moving from treatment to justice, the same unintended outcomes still emerge. In my opinion this is not surprising. After all, beneath the rhetoric, treatment and justice are merely variations of the same theme - blaming the young, whether they are seen as "mad" or "bad". Readers of **Youth and Policy** will be familiar with various explanations of how this state of affairs has come about and of the mechanisms which serve to maintain it. In a rare acknowledgement of the importance of these understandings, one contributor (Morash) concludes that dealing with delinquency will "involve the reallocation of resources and/or a rethinking of beliefs about the roles adolescents can or should fill".

Pessimistic about the prospects for the necessary political action and change in cultural beliefs, Morash retires to tinkering with the technicalities of existing programmes. Thankfully an increasing number of practitioners and academics in the U.K. recognise that the real job is not to draw back, but to hold on to their understanding, as a foundation upon which a new set of principles and strategies for day to day practice **must** be built.

David Ward

Simon Frith
SOUND EFFECTS
YOUTH, LEISURE, AND THE POLITICS OF ROCK 'N' ROLL.
Constable and Co. 1983
ISBN 0 09 464950 2
£4.95
pp 294

Simon Frith
THE SOCIOLOGY OF YOUTH
Causeway Books. 1984
ISBN 0 946183 06 6
pp 68.

Having read Simon Frith's contributions to **New Society** and the **Sunday Times** over the years I was looking forward to reviewing these two recent publications. The first book is a completely revised version of his earlier publication, the **Sociology of Rock.** It is a lengthy analysis of rock music as 'mass music' - a product which is both led by and leads the commercial industry which markets records. Briefly, it is **not** a book for rock fans, it **is** a book aimed at academics and others who are interested in the cultural phenomena of 'youth' and 'leisure'. The second book, **The Sociology of Youth,** is a brief introductory guide to the concepts of 'youth' and 'youth culture'. It is geared to the A-level market and specifically the AEB 'A' level syllabus, although it may well be of use to many college students embarking on a voyage of discovery in Sociology for the first time.

Sound Effects, I found a provocative read. Somehow I kept on thinking of the 'de-humanising' effect educational and literary criticism and study has on enjoying cerebral pleasure. Music is one of the most obvious examples of this, where analysis can intellectualise and consequently destroy the activity itself. Simon Frith seems to fall into this trap. He must have a considerable knowledge of musicians and their recordings, yet he has decided **in Sound Effects** to concentrate on the relationship between the Music Industry and the musicians and audience who create the mass market through their inter-action. He seems to understand the dilemma, since he ends the book stating that: "Music is still, above all, the source of a power and a joy that are disturbing as well as relaxing - witness the contradictions of punk." However, because he goes on to say the "Rock is capitalist music" and that "it reflects and illuminates (the system)" and that it is not "folk or art but a commoditized dream", he ensures that political polemic and not musical or cultural criticism are his arena for discussion. A shame, I think - for a balance between the two perspectives could be enlightening. What we have instead is a rather stark discourse on the mass cultural form of music, without the heart and soul of the subject which make it a such a significant factor in the growing up process for young people. How many young people could really see themselves incarcerated in Simon Frith's definition of rock, where "Rock is mass music, the sound of the city, the radio, the recording studio ..... Rock means commercial city leisure, the clubs and bars where bohemians mingle with the lumpenproletariat, where the bourgeoisie is robbed rather than shocked, where inner city fun is systematically detached from suburban respectability."

There is also a sense of the Woodstock and even beatnik generation, rather than post-punk Britain pervading the writing. Similarly, the majority of musicians quoted are those who have achieved artistic recognition by the cultural elite. So, references to the '50's and '60's abound and are held as academically credible, such as the references to Peter Willmott's studies of working class rebels. Dylan, Guthrie and Gershwin are all quoted at length, whereas Bob Marley, Police and Boy George don't get a mention. In any book of this length, there is bound to be a process of selection by exclusion. Unfortunately, this has the effect of making the book appear dated and elitist. These are not criticisms which can be levelled at Simon Frith per se, but they are perhaps true of this book. The 'reality' of the listeners' world is often hinted at, but rarely made explicit. The music is often of much more positive value in educating and informing young people than Frith would have us believe. For him it is almost a facet in a conspiracy theory of class repression. For me, the opportunities offered by rock music for involvement as either actor or audience are important. Frith contends that rock and pop music are created primarily for the mass market. Other writers, including George Melly in 'Putting on the Style', would contend that 'rock' should be seen as ambivalent, at the very least, in its relationship with the mass market. The existence of 'cult' status of much rock music seems to belie the central thesis of Frith that rock is not art and is not a folk form.

For brevity, I have probably undersold **Sound Effects.** It is an interesting, if not necessarily comprehensive book. It presents a useful blend of historical and Marxist analysis. There is also a discussion, although it may not be a totally convincing one, of the importance or otherwise of identity, sex and growing up in music. A quite interesting section on 'girls and youth culture' is included and this is echoed in a less convincing section on 'Rock and Sexual Liberation', which argues that women in rock must appear glamorous, whereas the reality of Siouxsie, Marianne Faithful and Patti Smith at least balances the image of women as disco performers as in Bananarama and Belle Stars. Don't ignore the book, but read it alongside the books of Brake, Melly, McGregor and Hebdige and the output of the Rock press through **Sounds, Melody Maker, New Musical Express** and the **Rolling Stone.** Simon Frith wrote of Chris McGregor's book **Pop Goes the Culture** that music may seize order from the ruins and that "Counter-Culture did matter. Still does." I wish this belief had been more apparent in **Sound Effects.** If you just love rock 'n' roll and ain't no sociologist, ignore the book, it's far too depressing an analysis of rock as a purely repressive force in society.

Meanwhile, **The Sociology of Youth,** because of its simpler language and lack of pretensions is both more accessible and possibly more useful. It's very much a Cook's tour of the subject, but it is also a well informed set of sign-posts to other writings and manages to avoid paternalism and excessive jargon. Remembering back to my student days in the late '60's and grappling with structural functionalism, ethnomethodology, phenomenology and symbolic interactionism I would have welcomed a guide like this. Possibly I just value Simon Frith, the journalist and commentator, rather than Simon Frith as a sociological guru!

Alan Dearling

John Benyon (Editor)
SCARMAN AND AFTER. ESSAYS REFLECTING ON LORD SCARMAN'S REPORT, THE RIOTS AND THEIR AFTERMATH
Pergamon Press, 1984
ISBN 0 08 030217 3 £16.50 hardback
ISBN 0 08 030218 1 £7.50 paperback

There are twenty-two chapters in this book. The first sets up a model of problem identification and response and introduces the perspective of The Lord They Love To Laud as essentially liberal. He is concerned with injustices and inequalities that constitute flaws in society.

Stan Taylor then classifies theories of riots eg. as sociological (functionalist theories of riots triggering needed reforms and conflict theories); as psychological (rioters are people frustrated to the point of irrationality); as economic (its the shops with more expensive and portable goods that get raided); and political theories (agitators/unresponsive state agencies/coercive policing/attempts to redefine the political agenda). Scarman, it transpires, is a bit of a hodge-podge of theories, since he "specified the longer-term causes of the Brixton riots variously in terms of functionalist-type models (systems, particularly the education system, failing to adapt to new demands), a non-structural conflictual theory (loser groups .... attempt to gain resources), a coercion approach (ethnic minorities threatened by allegedly racist policing and a political exclusion model (blacks felt that they had been systematically ignored by a political system within which they were not represented)" Taylor, page 29-30. These circumstance set the scene for riots, which were then precipitated by a rise in police visibility. Taylor suggests how specific criticisms of this view can be formulated from various political positions.

Journalist John Clare describes Scarman's account of the Brixton rioting as 'heavily exaggerated' and as written from the perspective of one for whom an ordinary day on the streets of the inner city would a frightening experience. Scarman shares with romantic Marxists a belief that the riots were widespread and proto-revolutionary, whilst in fact they were localised and essen-

tially defensive. "We want those policemen to move off .... you understand?" as one rioter told Clare.

Michael Nally suggests that feelings may have been similar in Moss Side: "I'm here to see the pigs get theirs .... now they know what its like to get hit back". Many people on the streets concentrated on looting, however, whilst the police were distracted. The general situation was reportedly not improved by police officers in fast-moving vans banging their truncheons on the van walls and shouting "nigger, nigger, nigger, oi, oi, oi!". A similar perspective to Nally's informs George Greaves article, in which he takes issue with Lord Scarman's dismissal of the possibility of institutional racism in British society.

Graham Murdock's chapter on the media notes how Northern Ireland was used as a reference point to 'place' the riots as outbursts of violence requiring a firm response. He shows how the routine newsgathering procedures of press and television contribute to that picture, which then shapes Parliamentary debates, which are reported, etc. Scarman's purple prose itself legitimates the routinisation of previously 'exceptional' police conduct.

Chapters 8-13 of the book describe policing issues and 14-20 unemployment and 'racial disadvantage'. Benyon discusses the take-up of Scarman's recommendations on policing, Kenneth Oxford outlines policing by consent, and Basil Griffiths (ex-Police Federation) likens police accountability to Nazi rule and rejects proposals for dismissal of racially predudiced officers. Writing from Liverpool, Margaret Smiley argues for police accountability in the context of economic justice and Paul Boateng goes into more detail for the GLC. John Rex, a veteran sociologist of race, tries to teach Scarman the difference between social administration and sociology of the inner city. Russell Profitt calls for a new and stronger Race Relations Act and Usha Prashar points out that Scarman's limited suggestions about positive action have been take up very piecemeal if at all.

The book concludes with a response from the then responsible Home Office Minister and an epilogue from Scarman himself: "We are now, as a society, aware of the racial disadvantage under which many of the ethnic minorities labour ...." Quite. Black people's perspectives are not the predominant feature of this book.

Nicholas Dorn

Alfred Davey
LEARNING TO BE PREJUDICED :
Growing Up in a Multi-Ethnic Britain
Arnold, 1983
ISBN 0 7131 6402 6 (paperback)
pp216

This book is not directly about Youth or Policy, and so may seem somewhat marginal to the concerns of present readers. The author and three colleagues obtained funding to".... assess what effects growing up in a multi-racial society had on the ways children perceived themselves in relation to others." (p3)

'Children' were defined as those aged 7 to 10 years in 16 primary schools (plus two 'control' schools) in London and industrial Yorkshire. Over 500 White, Asian and West Indian children and 523 parents were either shown a variety of photographs or interviewed with questionnaires. The results are presented in a clear, academic prose which will be particularly useful to students especially those with a good grounding in social psychology. I am less persuaded that the tables and very full trans-Atlantic literature reviews will form a ".... readily accessible account .... for teachers, social workers, parents ...." (p68). It would have helped (but added to the price) if the all-important black and white photographs could have been included.

In a brief review it may be helpful to note the overall structure and content of the book, the central findings and some personal reservations.

There are really two books stitched together - the first is an introductory text on race, immigration, prejudice, group conflict, equality and social categorization. Chapters 1 to 4 and substantial introductory parts of the empirical study are in this vein. Social psychological material can be 'strongly recommended', but the wider contextual detail is brief, and often frustratingly so. For example, one and two-thirds pages on positive action, and then a final last two pages on group work. We are helped to 'make sense', but the 'what next' remains underdeveloped.

We learn that race is **the** most important social category only seriously challenged by gender in specific contexts with a clear communal task orientation. Size of ethnic minority school population, age, regional location and so on are less statistically significant. The conclusion (surprise, surprise) is therefore that the crucial element ".... is society's categorizing system, as transmitted by the statements and reactions of others ...." (p100). Not surprisingly in a social psychological text, this 'society' is never identified.

Questionnaires provide snap-shots of attitudes - of **what** children have learnt rather than how and why. The possibility of supplementing all this with observations of actual behaviour either from teachers or researchers is brusquely dismissed as ".... one cannot know by observation how children would like to associate." (p132). This is worth more discussion. Youth workers outside the formal educational system need to know why their members, especially as 15 year olds are less likely to submit to those exercises with photographs which allegedly ".... allow them to freely project their preferred skin shade." (p58)

At the end of the day Davey has nothing directly to say about racism either in the wider society or in school. His own initial categorisation of 'white', 'Asian' and 'West Indian' - with the clear racial component - seems lost in the three concluding policy-related strategies of curriculum development, parental participation and co-operative learning.

Perhaps it would have been more helpful if he had included a chapter on why it is unfair to expect a traditional academic social psychologist (whose data collection seems impeccable) to successfully connect with political and policy matters. Then again, if this is true, the same sort of challenge about roles and competence would need to be levelled at those youth-related practitioners who assert their 'wisdoms' without regard to the careful statistical gymnastics of this study.

Duncan Scott

Russell Gibbon and Sylvia Waters
YOUNG PEOPLE IN GWENT
The People and Work Unit, 1984
34-38 Stow Hill, Newport, Gwent NPT 1JE
£1.75 post free
pp28

This is the report of an interview survey of a quota sample of 885 young people aged 15-25 carried out in 13 towns in Gwent between May and September 1983. This meant that although the interviews were mainly carried out in the streets during normal working hours, to ensure sufficient representation of those on training schemes, 90 trainees were interviewed at their training sites.

The report gives a lot of very factual information on the experiences and attitudes of young people in Gwent. There are chapters on employment and unemployment, alternatives to normal employment, work, training schemes, expenditure, use and knowledge of advice and leisure facilities, how time is spent, unions and politics, hopes and expectations of the future both for the individual and for employment generally.

The results are well presented. Each chapter begins with a clear and concise introduction stating its aims and background, and ends with a good summary. Some of the percentages given relate to very small numbers (in some cases only 1 or 2) from which generalisations should not be made. This is ignored in the text, although where significant numbers are involved the absolute number as well as the percentage is given. The appendix gives a numerical breakdown from which numbers can be calculated, but few readers are likely to take this trouble. The appendix also gives some comparative statistics from the 1981 Census to put the sample in context which is useful.

There is little attempt to interpret the facts, draw out the implications, or make recommendations. Nevertheless, there is a wealth of information, for the most part well presented, for those who wish to use it.

Suzanne H. King

Elizabeth J.M. Denham
THE USE OF UNRULY CERTIFICATES
Scottish Office Central Research Unit, 1984
pp106

This paper aims to be a comprehensive, descriptive review of existing policies and practices relating to the use of the Unruly Certificate in Scotland. Under 1975 Criminal Procedure (Scotland) Act, juveniles between 14 and 16 may be remanded in custody pending a further court appearance if a Sheriff is satisfied that the child is of a character so unruly or depraved that he/she cannot be commited safely to the care of the Local Authority. Senior Police Officers also have a power to certify unruly and detail a juvenile in police premises until he/she can be brought before a Sheriff. The controversial nature of this process centres on the fact that juveniles so certified are detained in adult penal establishments ill equipped to accommodate children. Apart from dangers of labelling and stigmatisation inherent in this, there is a wider question as to how far such detention fits into the ostensible welfare objectives of the children's panel system, and whether it is really necessary.

Denham's research falls into three areas. Firstly, she assembles a statistical jigsaw to provide as much information about the extent and nature of unruly certificates as is accessible. Absolute numbers are not large and are declining from 264 certificates made in 1977 to 139 in 1982, of which Strathclyde region unsurprisingly produces over three quarters. More surprising perhaps is that in 1982 73% of juveniles certified unruly were charged with less than 3 offences. As for the offences themselves, the bulk concern housebreaking (76%) with assault, thefts and contraventions of the Road Traffic Act the next most common.

Secondly, there is an outline (with useful flow charts) of the process of certification and a

detailed analysis of 27 cases which discusses the various aspects; age, alleged offences, history of offending/contact with panel, length of time spent on remand and ultimate disposal.

Thirdly, the largest section of the paper consists of an account of the policies and practices of various agencies involved in the process, as revealed through semi-structured interviews, and focussed by attention on the study sample of the second section. In turn, we are presented with the attitudes and views of the police, the Procurator Fiscal, the Sheriff, the Reporter to the Panel, the Social Work Department and the Defence Lawyer. What comes across from the beginning or is a consensus view that Unruly Certificates are a rarely used but essential instrument for use where there is no alternative, either because the offence is so serious (murder, fire-raising), the offender as an absconder is unlikely to re-appear in Court or where the social work department cannot offer sufficiently secure accommodation or were unwilling to accommodate the offender. Much weight is attached to the fact that there was seldom any opposition to Unruly Certificates. Yet as the interview with the Defence Lawyer makes clear, there are many reasons why "the defence agent will not act in the best interests of the child." This lack of opposition does not however imply tacit consent.

Moreover, the 2 agencies placed to divert children away from the system of criminal justice, the Reporter and the Social Work Department appear passively to accept the decisions reached by other agencies and accept their definitions without challenge. What is worrying is the danger that agencies involved collude to strengthen the power of the Crown, and weaken the power of the Defence, and what safeguards exist in theory are rendered irrelevant in practice by the power of the system, which is seen by all concerned to work well and to serve a useful and necessary function.

Unfortunately, although these dangers are pointed out, this otherwise comprehensive study opens itself to the same accusation. For the only party whose views are not represented are the defendants themselves. Although one can see practical difficulties, it would surely have added to this paper to have included some input not only from those involved in making Unruly Certificates but also those receiving them. Given the fact that not all of these are found guilty in the end, let alone ultimately sentenced to custodial or residential care, we are still left asking the question, are unruly Certificates really necessary?

Rob Allen

G. Vorhaus
POLICE IN THE CLASSROOM: A STUDY OF POLICE WORK IN HILLINGDON SECONDARY SCHOOLS
Hillingdon Legal Resource Centre 1984
Available at price £3.50 plus £1.50 postage & packing from HLRC, 12 Harold Avenue, Hayes UB3 4QW. Telephone 01 561 9400
pp129

Police in the Classroom is an investigation by Dr. G. Vorhaus into the effects of police programmes in the Hillingdon area, and of the reaction of school children to stop and search experiences.

Dr. Vorhaus's methodology in this research (sponsored by the Hillingdon Research Council) was to observe the work of 3 Metropolitan Police Teaching Officers and to then issue and questionaire on legal knowledge and attitudes to a random sample of 295 pupils.

Vorhaus criticises the innefficiency of the Metropolitan Police Programme, for, while the programme was able to influence pupils opinion on law and order, and the police, it failed to substantially increase their knowledge. This is hardly suprising as the teaching officers had received less than two weeks preparation. No doubt they were enthusiastic but, as Vorhaus states "enthusiasm is no substitute for teacher training". He goes on the criticise the fact that there is not National Evaluation of the programmes and that the D.E.S. do not take enough interest in them. At a more specific level he complains about the emphasis of the Metropolitan programme on Law and Order and Crime Prevention which, he says, ignores those pupils who are law abiding anyway "they need to know enough ... to cope with normal adult requirements" but "schools don't meet these needs", such topics as civil rights were not included and although what was taught was handled well there was some bias.

A very high proportion of the sample, 52% had been questioned or searched by police and inevitably the reaction to this negated some of the good work done by the programme.

Richard Jenks

Continued from Page 36.

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SMALL GROUP HOLIDAY GUIDE

This 46 page A4 size guide includes useful planning material on how to organise residential trips and plan holiday and study programmes for young people. The main part of the book details over 100 centres in Scotland and the north of England which are willing to take groups of young people from schools, youth clubs and I.T. groups for short residential periods. Each entry includes the contact name, address and telephone number, the nature and size of the accommodation, the facilities available at the centre and the local area, plus any other relevant additional information. If you plan holidays for groups of young people this book is a must. Available from the I.T. Resource Centre, Quarrier's Road, Bridge of Weir, Renfrewshire, Scotland. 0505 614507. Price £1.50 incl. p & p.

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