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# girls and juvenile justice

LORAIN GELSTHORPE

Many of those who have recently turned their attention to the study of females have lamented the fact that the picture of women's crime is distorted and incomplete. Moreover, it has frequently been argued that the subject is grossly neglected. It is undoubtedly surprising that the sex difference in crime has not been more frequently or more ardently pursued and Barbara Wootton's early plea for more research into the sex differences in crime has oft been repeated:

"One of the few established features of criminality, and one which is repeated right round the world is the fact that at all ages many more males than females are convicted. In scale and constancy, the sex difference far outweighs any other factor which we have yet been able to associate with delinquent behaviour. No one seems to have any idea why; but hardly anyone seems to have thought it worth while to try to find out."<sup>(1)</sup>

However, since she wrote that in 1959 there has been a burgeoning of interest in the issue of women and crime, girls and juvenile justice. We have indeed discovered that female offenders have always been thought of in different ways to male offenders, as less delinquent, less dangerous, and less involved in criminal subcultures than males and as a consequence they have less frequently provided a focus for criminological theory. Recent research has extensively illuminated the institutionalised sexism of the criminal justice process, has ruthlessly re-examined the existing theoretical perspectives in the area and has highlighted the patriarchal and sexist ideologies that have hitherto informed our understanding of women's criminality.<sup>(2)</sup>

What I will do in this short article is focus on the implications of the theoretical perspectives that we use to explain girls' 'deviant' or 'difficult' behaviour and comment on the implications of depending upon a 'welfare system' to deal with it. But I will take this further and draw attention to some difficulties in describing accounts of girls' needs as simply 'sexist'.

It is often argued that theories about the female offender rests upon evidence of her comparative rarity in relation to male offenders. As far back as the 17th and 18th centuries records reveal a disparity in the apparent criminality of males and females. Indeed in 1891 it was pronounced:

"According to the judicial statistics of all civilised

peoples, women are less addicted to crime than men, and boys are more addicted to crime than girls."<sup>(3)</sup>

More recent statistics reiterate the point. In England and Wales the figures for 1983 show that the ratio of male to female offenders is 8:1. Indeed, 1,842.4 (thousands) of male offenders were found guilty of offences in our courts in 1983, compared to 253.1 (thousands) of females.<sup>(4)</sup>

One early explanation for this difference was that females are morally superior. This exalted conception of women finds many resonances in the literature of the 19th century. Women were referred to as "the teacher, the natural and therefore divine guide, purifier, inspirer of the man".<sup>(5)</sup> One of the most commonplace answers to this perplexing phenomenon of the differences in the crime rates has been that the sexes act differently in crime because of sex differences which are essentially biological in nature. Such theories were very popular in the 19th century and the lesser criminality of women was seen to be due to the effect of their biological limitation - they were seen to be mentally and physically weak, mediocre and less intelligent. Two of the chief proponents of biological theory, Lombroso and Ferrero, argued that all criminals both male and female, were essentially degenerates but that since females were generally less 'evolved' than males they were, in fact, only capable of a certain degree of degeneration. Thus females were 'saved' from criminality by their primitive nature. Those few females who were identified as criminals, it was obvious, must be like males - at a further stage of evolution and thus capable of being 'criminals'.<sup>(6)</sup>

The biological theme has commanded further audience and debate. Freud contributed to this theme too; since he proceeded from the assumption that women are less prone to criminality than males. He argued that females are by nature, passive and thus by implication those who fail to achieve this state are 'odd', maladjusted and destined to homosexuality and pseudo-male behaviour such as crime. Even in the 1960s textbooks referred to 'markedly masculine traits' amongst girl delinquents.<sup>(7)</sup> In most circles this idea has been discredited but the idea that girls and women who commit crimes are 'abnormal' in some way lives on. They are seen as social isolates, maladjusted or anti-social.

Explanations of female criminality in terms of the social differentiation of gender in social roles has been heralded as

a major advance on biological and physiological theories. Indeed some people thought that recognition of the public roles of males and private roles of females, boys out on the street and girls at home helping mum with the dishes and with younger siblings would provide an adequate answer for the discrepancies in crime rates since it was clear that girls and women had less opportunity to commit crime. There is obviously no sharp delineation in this analysis between opportunity and socialisation. Being at home means closer supervision and more criticism from mum over appropriate and acceptable behaviour. This link between gender/sex role and deviant behaviour has wider implications still. Those females who fail to comply and who break role expectations are variously described as 'under-socialised', 'over-socialised' or frustrated by their role in society.<sup>(8)</sup> Moreover psychoanalytic observers are keen to point out that since girls generally enjoy closer proximity to parents, indeed need the affectional ties of home life, then deviant behaviour is the result of poor relationship in the home - usually with the mother.<sup>(9)</sup>

Of course it is often considered that it is this very difficulty that girls have in relationships, because of their greater capacity for emotion and so on which leads them to child guidance clinics, G.P.s' surgeries and to mental hospitals rather than the juvenile courts. It is as if their troubles wherever exhibited are emotional troubles. Despite the fact that analysis of clinic populations rarely bears this out the idea lives on that girls are 'mad' rather than 'bad'.

Another common assumption is that girls' delinquency tends to be sexual delinquency; that their 'acting out' behaviour is always 'sexual acting out' meaning promiscuity and reckless behaviour in the pursuit of boys. There is an old saying that whilst "boys collect stamps, girls collect boys". On a superficial level there is much evidence to support this claim. Promiscuous behaviour or 'sexual acting out' frequently leads to proceedings which result in girls being taken into care 'for their own protection'. The DHSS local authority statistics for England and Wales do, on one level, suggest that more girls than boys are in 'moral danger' (see Figure 1).

**Figure 1**

|      |                | Boys | Girls | Total   |
|------|----------------|------|-------|---------|
|      |                | %    | %     | (=100%) |
| 1982 | Moral danger   | 22   | 78    | 222     |
|      | Beyond control | 50.2 | 49.8  | 739     |
|      | Offence        | 85.5 | 14.5  | 2,649   |

Children who came into care under 1969 CYP Act sections 1(2)c; 1(2)d; 1(2)f or 7(7) during the 12 months ended 31st March, 1982, expressed as a percentage.

In thinking about young female offenders we are left with a confusing patchwork of images. When they do offend their actions are for the most part perceived as being symptomatic of a 'cry for help' requiring individualised support and understanding. A female offender is seen as 'weak', 'submissive' and 'dependent' and therefore in need of protection. Sometimes her offending is associated with 'uncontrollable sexuality'. Where the rejection of prescribed feminine roles is apparent for instance in exhibitions of aggressive behaviour she is an object of condemnation and contempt. Indeed as has been

mentioned, it has often been said that those few female offenders that there are - must be more like males than females, since they are acting against their true nature. This has led some theorists and commentators to argue that girl offenders are much worse than male offenders. Mary Carpenter, writing in 1863 for example, argued that criminal women and girls

"...exercise the most baneful and polluting influence on society, when they have perverted the high and holy gift bestowed on them by heaven. It has often been said that one woman who is depraved can do more harm to society than a dozen men and this is probably true ... They are, as a class, even more morally degraded than men."<sup>(10)</sup>

In a report on the Prisons of Ireland for 1956 there was a claim that more provision was needed to deal with the 'hardened and evil women' as they proved more difficult to handle than the men.<sup>(11)</sup> These ideas live on. In research I carried out between 1980 and 1982 girl offenders were often described by the police, child care officers, social workers and probation officers alike as much more difficult to deal with than boys.<sup>(12)</sup> However, in all cases there is perhaps a further tendency to perceive the female as a creature of impulse, easily swayed by emotion and in extreme cases, incapable of fully intending her own actions.<sup>(13)</sup>

The impact of all these theories in their turn has been to mark out the female offender as someone very special because she is different to most law-abiding females. As a result of this practitioners, policy makers and law-enforcers have, for scores of years, proceeded to deal with girls on the assumption that they need a different response to delinquent or difficult boys. In other words, a different response for a different kind of trouble.

In terms of sentencing we can see that girls have for years tended to receive proportionately more conditional discharges (signifying lenient treatment). They are likewise in certain cases more likely to be cautioned, to receive supervision orders and probation orders when older. They have traditionally been dealt with in a paternalistic way - as if they need help, not punishment, therapy, not a short, sharp shock. Despite some arguments to suggest that male and female roles and behaviour are now converging this is still a common view amongst practitioners. It is argued quite strongly, that custody of the punitive kind is a wholly inappropriate way of dealing with girls.<sup>(14)</sup>

In contrast to the theoretical trajectory which I have set out in relation to girls, the theories regarding boys' delinquent behaviour quickly moved from biological theories to social and sociological ones, to theories about gang behaviour, peer-group pressures, risk-taking, thrill seeking and the search for excitement rather than material gain. The current emphasis on environmental strategies to deter people from committing crimes with house locks, special car locks and having the police move out of their comfortable panda cars and back onto the streets reflects these very suppositions about male offending. So too, does the emphasis on IT programmes on group behaviour, on peer-group pressure and upon a 'correctional curricula'.

Another way of describing the way in which the criminal justice system and its allied agencies respond to young females is to say agencies are 'chivalrous' or 'paternalistic'.

However this 'chivalry' or 'paternalism' has a double edge to it. Superficially it does imply a more lenient response to girls than to boys but on another level it means that the agencies are involved in the judicial enforcement of the female sex role. Moreover the 'chivalry thesis' is not as clear-cut or direct as it sounds.

Despite considerable evidence to suggest that victims and the police are reluctant to prosecute females, there is also substantial evidence to suggest that this depends on the type of crime committed, for example, and on the value of goods stolen.<sup>(15)</sup> In relation to the notion that females on the whole receive more lenient sentences, research shows that this very often depends on previous record and seriousness of the current offence to account for the apparent difference between the treatment of males and females.<sup>(16)</sup> Race and class distinctions also cut across any broad notions of the treatment of girls being 'chivalrous'. It is only some girls who are perceived to need the 'soft pedal' treatment or to be deserving of it.

Indeed, distinctions are drawn between female offenders. Females whose offence/offender pattern is more consistent with sex role expectations seem to experience less harsh outcomes than females whose offence/offender pattern is less traditional.<sup>(17)</sup> This is interesting in relation to findings on the high arrest rates for women suspected of assault and also in relation to studies of police discretion in other areas.<sup>(18)</sup> Alongside these findings there are research observations that the police take only informal action against females who behave in stereotypically feminine ways.<sup>(19)</sup> In my own research for example, the police in a juvenile bureau proved very willing to caution girls (or indeed 'No Further Action' the cases) when the girls appeared to be very remorseful. Since our socialisation of girls encourages them to express emotion and our socialisation of boys suggests that they are not to we can easily draw from this that girls are more likely to receive a lenient response at this stage. However a lenient response may have little to do with girls' 'lesser criminality' or ability to commit crime.

The concept of 'paternalism' is particularly useful to describe responses to what are generally known as 'status offences'. Whilst current UK legislation does not have status offences, e.g. drinking under age, the most relevant categories here are not technically offences but grounds for the intervention in the interests of the young people where they do not attend school regularly, or where they are thought to be in 'moral danger', for instance. I have already referred to the fact that girls' 'offending behaviour' is likely to be defined in these terms rather than in criminal categories. The double edge of the sword is that these 'status offences' may carry a greater likelihood of removal to institutions than do ordinary criminal offences. For example Maggie Casburn, a researcher and IT officer provided evidence of this when she observed for a time magistrates' decision-making in a North East London juvenile court. 38 girls out of a total of 206 children and young people appeared before the court on non-criminal matters. Truancy predominated, followed by a smattering of care proceedings citing 'beyond control' and 'moral danger' grounds whilst significantly, boys were very rarely before the court on non-criminal matters. Further, whatever the offence, boys were more likely to go free with conditional discharges and fines or exceptionally, 'one or two old lags with long offence tallies' were given the prescribed few months in a detention centre. The girls were taken into care for what can only be

described as an indeterminate sentence. They did not understand the response they received to be 'in their best interests' or 'for their own good'; they perceived it as a sentence and as a punishment.<sup>(20)</sup>

It is not just a question of sexual activity in girls eliciting a different response but it is also possible that other kinds of activity which brings girls into contact with official agencies may be actively given a sexual connotation or may be used as a basis for 'searching out' sexual 'delinquency'.<sup>(21)</sup> We can see that law enforcement agencies positively sexualise female delinquency for example through lines of questioning and by the administration of medical examination of girls to determine virginity and possible infections.

In my own research I found that sentences such as supervision orders were imposed on girls not so much as a result of the criminal offence which they had committed, as in the case of boys but because of how the girls behaved in general; because of their 'moral character'. It is not unusual for magistrates to ask questions concerning the moral welfare of female offenders and indeed, the posing of questions of this kind can only be understood by realising that female delinquency is generally assumed to be synonymous with sexual delinquency. In contrast the sexual behaviour of boys is generally considered to be immaterial by the courts. The figures on girls and boys in care because of status offences reflect not real differences in their behaviour but the differential policing of their behaviour.

In summary it seems that the criminal justice system may treat girls differentially in ways which are oppressive to them and in ways which distort our knowledge of female crime and delinquency. In essence we tend to have juvenile justice systems which judge girls' character and boys' actions, which encourage a particular model of the female sex role and which are thus unjust.

The questions which now arise are how we are to understand and explain this discriminatory treatment. I offer some brief comments here.

I think we must acknowledge that research methodology tends to exaggerate differences between the sexes. Research studies often focus on sex differences in behaviour and neglect the many similarities. This contributes to the differential images of girls' and boys' behaviour and differential perceptions of their needs.

We must also acknowledge that the images we have of girls and their needs are rooted in history and have been shaped in specific social, economic and political contexts.

I think John Stuart Mill got it right when he said "I deny that anyone knows, or can know, the nature of the two sexes, as long as they have only been seen in the present relation to one another". He also made the apposite comment that "Of all the vulgar modes of escaping from the consideration of the effect of social and moral influences on the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversities of conduct and character to inherent natural differences".<sup>(22)</sup>

At this stage I wish to examine the current fashion of dismissing the treatment of girls as being the product of sexism. It is all too easy to do this when we do not really know what form sexism takes, how it works and where it comes from. The last question I take to be less important

than the first two in this context. There are numerous academics, male and female, attempting to document the original moment of male supremacy and of the beginnings of the oppression of women and girls. Our concern should be more with the here and now, what form sexism takes in current practice and how we can change it.

It is sometimes argued that the discriminatory treatment of girls results from the fact that all men are sexists.<sup>(23)</sup> Some have argued that sexism directly reflects the needs and aims of capitalist society as if the criminal justice system and its allied agencies exist simply to promote normal gender development which is useful to keep girls (and women too) in their place to provide the next generation of subservient workers.<sup>(24)</sup> Others are content to refer to a 'free floating' sexist ideology which may infiltrate the policies and practices of all agencies which deal with girls.<sup>(25)</sup>

These are simplistic, reductionist analyses which fail to examine how sexism works in practice. The law and criminal justice agencies are not only 'biased' against girls and women but also against the poor and against racial minorities and these 'biases' are not merely additive but work together. Girls are differentially treated from each other by race and class at the same time as being dealt with differently from boys.

Clearly there are difficulties in arguing that sexist bias in relation to girls is a product of the intervention of male interests as such. Apart from the question of the relationship of sex bias to other biases which cut across gender differences, there is the question of how we can explain breaks in that bias. For example the fact the discriminatory legal provisions have been modified in the courts; the fact that there are anomalies in sentencing.

If law and criminal justice practice is seen as distorted by male interests in ways that disadvantage girls and women there seems to me to be problems in formulating precisely what those interests are, how men recognise them and how they translate them into uniform practices across counties and countries. Some of these problems remain in accounts which attempt to site sexist discrimination as an outcome of the interests of capital rather than of men. Kress, for instance, argues:

"It is not a mystical a historical sexism that permeates the criminal justice apparatus, or for that matter all capitalist institutions. Nor is it men who are the primary enemy. Sexist ideology and practice is rooted in bourgeois morality which defines and controls women - as well as working class men - in ways that mystify the real relations of production, that divide the working class, that defuse class consciousness, that perpetrate the petty bourgeoisie as the upholders and enforcers of morality, and that provide a rationale for the victimisation of women inside and outside the criminal justice system."<sup>(26)</sup>

For Kress the sexist attitudes of judicial personnel flow not from their maleness but from their petty bourgeois class position. Somehow their concern to control women coincides with the economic interests of the bourgeoisie. It is apparently this interest which accounts for the concern of the law with female sexuality in the case of juvenile status offenders. If this is the case it is surprising that the law intervenes in women's lives as little as it does. Indeed it may

be argued that the state intervenes less often and less directly (and not just in the case of criminal law) in women's lives than in men's.<sup>(27)</sup>

There is another problem which arises when we focus on the treatment of girls as 'sexist'. That is in criticising perceptions and the treatment of girls we are by implication, setting up male criminality as the norm as if responses to boys who commit criminal offences or 'status offences' (if we want to retain that concept) are 'just'. To make this assumption is myopic and consequently a hindrance to the promotion of juvenile justice for **people** rather than boys or girls, males or females.

These are very complex issues. I agree that perceptions of girls' problems, criminality and needs have been distorted. I agree that we are all encouraged in different ways to exaggerate what are essential differences between the sexes and that this results in the unjust treatment of girls. What I want to draw attention to is that the concentration on the concept of sexism may obscure any understanding of the criminal process and dealings with women and girls which derives from an incomplete analysis of events. Sexism is not a discrete phenomenon but a mixture of personal views, professional policies and practices which are continually shaped by the exigencies of practice and organizational constraints. We should not dismiss what we do not like as 'sexist ideology', but we should seek to analyse in very precise terms how different aspects of the system disadvantage people. Only then will we see more clearly how to change things. We do have to endeavour to loosen ourselves from the 'perceptual sets' we use in relation to girls. It is not so much a question of why does the whole of law and practice discriminate against girls, as under what conditions are women dealt with in particular ways. Thus, rather than talking about the 'sexualization' of female delinquency, it is perhaps more helpful to ask about the conditions under which female sexual activity comes to be seen as delinquent and requiring intervention by juvenile justice agencies. It seems to me that we actually need to know more about the details of what this process entails and the extent to which it occurs. There is no reason to suppose that all law enforcement officials enforce a monolithic double-standard. Relationships between juvenile justice agents and agencies are often conflicting and militate against the creation of smoothly functioning, coherent control systems. We simply cannot say with integrity, that the **whole** juvenile justice system works against girls. It is riddled with anomalies.

We do have to reform social attitudes towards femininity. We also have to think about ways of limiting the use of discretion in juvenile justice systems where uninhibited discretion proves disadvantageous to young people. Welfare perspectives on juvenile justice contain both good and bad elements. We need to isolate those elements, not dismiss all of them in our anger about the treatment of girls. Anger is justified, but in saying that the whole system is wrong because elements of it are sexist we may be in danger of throwing the baby out with the bathwater.

What we really need to do is to grasp the nettle of creating systems of juvenile justice and systems of youth support which respond to individuals rather than to 'sex-specific' needs. To avoid this task is to deny both girls and boys the experience of justice.

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Further details (including booking arrangements) will be announced in the next issue.

## john alderson

INTERVIEWED BY BOB FRANKLIN

The fly sheet of the recently published book *Law and Disorder* has the following to say of its author; "John Alderson CBE, QPM, LLD, DLitt, Barrister at law is probably Britain's most distinguished policeman." Whilst this is a substantial claim, it is undoubtedly true and not simply because Britain has produced few distinguished police officers. John Alderson achieved prominence as a national figure in the wake of the 1981 riots, when he criticised policing policy, publicly refused to train his officers in the use of C.S. gas and rubber bullets and described the riots as a watershed in British policing. Shortly after the riots in his evidence to the Scarman Inquiry, Alderson reaffirmed his commitment to the principles of community policing which he had set out in his book *Policing Freedom*, published in 1979. His criticisms of policing strategies were judged by fellow officers to be idiosyncratic, coming as they did from a Chief Constable, and attracted some resentment and hostility.

As a Chief Constable he was certainly untypical. Few of his peers would have reviewed a book on feminism for *The Morning Star*, or been the subject of a writ issued by the Central Electricity Generating Board for failing to remove anti nuclear protesters from a test drilling site; even less would have advocated reverse discrimination to enhance the number of black officers serving in the Police. It is not only Alderson's ideas which confound preconceived expectations; in his manner he is informal, non-authoritarian and has more the reflective, thoughtful style of the academic rather than the police officer.

John Alderson was born in Barnsley in 1922 into a family which he describes as 'petty bourgeois'. His grandfather had been a J.P. and Mayor and his mother was active in community work.<sup>(1)</sup> He joined the Police after the Second World War and enjoyed considerable career success in the service until 1982, when he resigned his office of Chief Constable of Devon and Cornwall. He had previously held posts as Assistant Commissioner at New Scotland Yard and Commandant at the Police College Bramshill. In addition, Alderson is a Barrister and consultant on human rights to the Council of Europe. In April 1982 he moved into academic life as a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge and currently, is visiting Professor in Police Studies at Strathclyde University. In the general election of 1983 he contested the new constituency of Teignbridge for the Liberals; he came second having polled 20,000 votes.

In the interview below, John Alderson ranges across a number of themes; community policing, the political role of the police, the 1981 riots, the Scarman report, racism in the police, the problems associated with policing inner city areas, the police and criminal evidence bill and police education and training. Alderson's position on these apparently diverse themes is given an underlying coherence by his commitment to Liberalism. He understands the policing role as one which should attempt to balance or combine the maximum freedom for individuals and their rights with the legitimate claims of society to have its collective interests and rights protected.

He believes this balance is best achieved through the strategy of community policing which rests on two assumptions. First, the community must acknowledge its own responsibilities for policing itself and maintaining law and order within its confines. Second, agencies such as those responsible for housing, education, social welfare, must combine and co-operate to create an environment for the community which is less criminogenic in its tendencies. The role of the police officer becomes that of advisor to the community, an assistant helping the community to police itself. Such a scheme can only work if all individuals feel an intrinsic part of the community and are not alienated by feelings of inequality. This sense of inequality can arise from race and poverty and therefore Alderson has strong recommendations for the eradication of these two obstacles to community cohesion. The community should deplore racism. Among the Police it should become a disciplinary offence. There should be a quota system for preferential hiring of black recruits and young blacks should be encouraged to join the police. So far as material inequality is concerned, every effort should be made to alleviate poverty in the inner city areas but this alone is insufficient: "people have to given the feeling they count". The greatest obstacle to community cohesion can come from within the police service. The police must be seen as part of, not separate from, the community. They must be non-political and non-repressive which in turn requires that the government must generate a political climate which does not encourage cleavage, divisions, alienation and disaffection. Such reasoning leads him to conclude that, "for our problems of crime and disorder to be diminished, the social structure in which people grow up and live out their lives requires adjustment. The idea to be exploited, which is by no means new (though the social context is new) is that an extension of democratic activity and participation



*must be sought and encouraged, since chaos or repression are the unattractive but probable alternatives.*"<sup>(2)</sup>

*Alderson has sought to propagate his ideas concerning the desirability, and in his view, the necessity of community policing over a number of years. If he is a 'distinguished' police officer, his distinction resides in the fact that he is a committed, thoughtful and reflective person, attempting to articulate a progressive policing ethic which eschews force and repression in favour of reasoned argument, persuasion and participation.*

*His response to my final question is typical of him, but I would imagine fairly unusual in the police context. "Do you like being an academic?" I asked "It must be fairly quiet after a life in the police." "It isn't quiet in one sense because ideas are never quiet and ideas are very important, although they are not always easy to live with."*

(1) *The Times Profile; John Alderson. 21st September 1981.*

(2) *Law and Disorder; John Alderson, Hamish Hamilton, London 1984, pp193-4.*

**John Alderson your name is associated in most people's minds with the idea of community policing. What are the basic ideas underlying the notion of community policing?**

The basic ideas underlying the notion of community policing are that a society can police itself and has to police itself, to a large degree, and that has to be understood. The effectiveness of the Police is very limited. They can't by themselves maintain order and prevent and detect the crime that faces them. They have to get other people to activate their own influences in these areas, by solving problems of one kind or another. So first of all its a question of telling that to the community and, having told them, its a question of helping them, if they are interested, to organise themselves in such a way that they produce a more orderly, safe, and a more understanding environment, and the policeman works in that environment.

Community policing also means that other agents and volunteers who work in communities have to understand that it is this interaction of a number of different agencies - police and probation, social workers, youth and community, housing, planning - which affects the environment which, in its turn can predispose people towards crime or against it, or towards disorder or against it.

So far as the police are concerned, there has to be a surrendering of some of their autonomy to the community. There are, of course difficulties. The question of community policing consultative groups raises its head. Who is to serve on them? What are the terms of reference going to be? What are the relationships between the other agencies, particularly the police, likely to be, and so on? So I would say that community policing is at present terribly ill defined. It isn't philosophically explained but there is something there that people should be working on in my view.

**You said right at the beginning that community policing was the acknowledgement by a community that it must police itself, does that mean that you see the police not as something distinct from the community but part of it, because some would be very sceptical about that view?**

Yes, I've always said to my police officers who are working in this field that they belong to the community as much, if not more, at times than to the organisation. They have to lend themselves to the community and see the problems through the eyes of the people who live in a particular locale. This takes a lot of doing especially for modern police officers who have been separated psychologically and physically from communities.

**And in the community's own perception, the police officer is often seen as an outsider rather than as part of the community.**

Police officers are always part of the organisation. They are always officers of the law, always subject to the force's orders and discipline and so they are not free agents in that sense. But nevertheless you can get near to giving officers some sort of autonomy so they become agents and, given the right kind of brief, they can work within the community, with other people and with the people living there to do a number of things. They can give a feeling of security and help people to diminish anti social behaviour; to be a representative of the law and the constitution. Another way of looking at community policing and some do of course, is that this is the police being nousey parkers and trying to spy on the community. There are problems. If you get alienated communities. The most notorious is in Northern Ireland where in the Catholic Republican areas the police often have to go in fear of their lives. That's one extreme of alienation from the police. Another of course in our inner cities, where the Black minorities often feel that the police are against them. Now to expect policemen to develop community policing in those hostile environments is probably asking for the impossible. So there has to be some kind of assumption that there are identifiable objectives, upon which most people can agree. When I started to develop the idea, the most simple objective seemed to me to be the prevention of crime.

**But there are problems here. A community may agree that it wants to prevent crime, but is there agreement about what constitutes a crime? I'm thinking for example about the Miner's strike. There have been some pretty frank and forceful exchanges, shall we say, between the police and pickets. But while some would regard the behaviour of the pickets criminal, others would consider it morally sound, if not almost heroic; in short there would not be agreement that the behaviour of either police or pickets was right or wrong?**

When you get tensions in a community that are likely to split it apart or likely to raise levels of violence or counter violence, the idea of community policing is likely to disappear, at least for a time. Community policing presupposes that all the parties have at least some common ground and, if you get to the stage where people will not invoke the help or presence of the police, when the police cease to function with the approval of communities, then anything the police do would be against the communities. You may have a community split of course where some want the police in some don't and there you have further problems. But when stakes are raised, as we are seeing at the moment, then you have to think very carefully about what you can achieve through community policing. It's a very difficult question. I have tried to extend my thoughts about community, much further than community policing because communities are the primary cells of the body politic and we

know that if the primary cells are healthy and functioning reasonably well, then the body politic itself is going to be reasonably healthy. But if the primary cells of society become diseased or there is a morbidity of crime or alienation, the body politic itself is not going to work as well as it otherwise would. The role of the police begins to change and their place in the social order shifts and becomes more political. I don't mean in a party political sense, but it does become a more political role and therefore in an industrial situation which is politically complicated the police are faced with considerable difficulties. They have to identify the law and stick to that and be careful that they don't interfere with other people's provinces. Equally Governments should be sensitive to the long term damage which can be done to the idea of community policing by expecting the police to maintain a lengthy repressive role in industrial disputes which should be solved by other means. I am afraid that in the miner's dispute the idea of community policing has in some areas been set back for decades.

**You've talked about cooperation between the police and a number of other social, welfare agencies, schools, the probation service, but it seems to me that these agencies are themselves changing; they are themselves becoming more policing as it were. They are, in the face of government cutbacks becoming more concerned with denying the service which it was their original purpose to provide and they are setting up their own police squads to do that, so one has fraud squads in Social Security departments. Isn't there a danger that community policing will exacerbate what I take to be not a good trend - the replacement of a welfare and supportive function with a policing function in what are essentially welfare agencies?**

Yes, there are worries here because there are worries about society at the present time. The policing of the poor is a particular problem. The poor in any numbers have tended, I think, historically, to be seen as a grave threat. If you go back to the 1824 Vagrancy Act and see the early measures to police the poor, arising out of the industrial revolution and after the Napoleonic wars, you can see how you can use the police to police the poor. You can bring that up to date by looking at how the DHSS use the police in Oxford to police the Social Security office there when some 300 people were arrested, 100 of whom were never charged with an offence at all. There had been a big sweep to catch people who were not putting in proper claims and so on. The problem here was one of homelessness, social drifters, later minor fraud and it should never have been allowed to become a policing problem. It was a social problem requiring better service from the DHSS and the Department of the Environment.

**But such incidents do lead to that blurring of function with the police getting involved in matters such as you've mentioned at Oxford. It's not really beneficial to either side is it? Police or Social Service?**

There are two ways of looking at this. One is that the law is being broken and therefore it must be enforced. But if you have created a powerful police organisation and it is unleashed, if I might use that slightly emotive expression, against the minnow offenders, the small fry, that's a pushover. If you release the same police resource against the upper echelons of fraud and abuse of privileges and systems which border on, or do, break the law you would get a very hostile and articulate rejection of the police being used in this area. Simple examples are motoring of course.

Motorists generally regard undue police interference with a certain amount of alarm or disenchantment or dislike. They can articulate themselves. They've got motoring organisations who speak up for them. But the policing of the poor tends to be the policing of inarticulate people, incompetent people, and they are a pushover up to a point. Until they are led of course in an offensive way into riotous situations. But I believe the poor generally are not well organised, they are not able to stand up and fight for themselves. So they don't and they just get pushed further down because they can't help themselves. That's where policing takes on moral dimensions and it raises great questions about the manner in which the police should be used.

**I want to take up some of these points later when we discuss the Scarman Report and the 1981 Riots. But can we finish the discussion of community policing with some criticisms raised in a recent article in *Critical Social Policy*. You've already raised the point that police involvement in schools is often seen to have a sinister implication, it's seen as gathering information, gathering intelligence. The main criticism is that police work in schools is rather cosmetic it does not really affect or reflect policing practice on the street. How do you react to that?**

Well there's something in that. I always resisted the idea of setting up a special unit for public/police relations by policemen. We had press relations and public relations but they were staffed with civilian people. But I've seen throughout the world, police departments where you put up a public relations front, or a community relations front, a small team of officers, and the rest of the force goes merrily on its way doing quite the contrary to what is being preached. So you get a contradiction here. That's why the community involvement scheme that started in Scotland some years ago, which I think affected 1 or 2% of the strength of the force, often found itself out on a limb. The bulk of the force didn't give it credit for what it was doing because it seemed not to be working for the same objectives as they were. I noticed this in the Metropolitan Police when the community relations department was set up in the 1960s. It was set up as a kind of cosmetic operation, but the bulk of the force were not imbibing this message. They were carrying on as before. So you get a contradiction in the minds of the members of the public. On the one hand you're saying these things in school and as soon as the kids go out things are different. Or as soon as their parents hear what is being said in school and what is being actually done, the experience is different. And that's bad for your credibility because you never recover from it easily. So the entire organisation has to be directed towards community relations whether you're in CID, traffic or in the public order squads or on the beat, whatever you're doing, the whole ethos has to be towards this objective.

**So Community policing has to start at the bottom and filter upwards whereas it has tended to be an idea of officers at a higher level?**

That's right usually a Specialist department. You can put up people to say nice things and look nice, and policemen are very good at this sort of thing, but it's not good enough and one has to be careful not to deceive people, because that is quite improper. You have to therefore produce a vocabulary to suit this kind of organisation that I'm talking about. How can you go and arrest young people one minute

and call in for a cup of tea the next. These are big challenges. It can be done. But it's difficult and there will be failures of course. You need to have different vocabularies. There is a word creeping into the vocabulary at the moment about 'enemies'; 'enemies of the state.' We've heard the Prime Minister say 'enemies of the state'. Are police officers therefore to say that in my area there are a number of people who are 'enemies'; my enemies. That's a word that should never enter a police officer's vocabulary. If the word enemy enters his vocabulary his posture changes immediately to those people and that's bad. It divides the people and you will get policed one way if you're in the enemy camp and another way if you're in the ally or friendly part of the community and that's bad vocabulary for police officers.

**Can we move on to a different area, the area of the police and racism because there is a feeling amongst many black people, certainly young black people, that they are regarded as an 'enemy' by the police and they perhaps regard the police in similar fashion. Would you say, based on your experience that racism was widespread in the police force?**

Based on my experience I wouldn't say that racism is very widespread but I would say that there is sufficient of it to cause concern. Whatever kind of racism it is; anti-Semitism, chauvinism, or outright colour prejudice. That is why I've always argued that racial prejudice in the police should be a disciplinary offence. I mean the manifestation of racism in the course of one's duty. I'm not suggesting that what goes on in an officer's mind should be a disciplinary offence but if, in the use of police powers an officer should show prejudice against particular people then that should be a disciplinary offence.

**Would you want that to be dismissal as Scarman suggested?**

No. I think Lord Scarman went too far. I don't agree with him on that although I do agree, and I put in my evidence to Lord Scarman, that it should be a disciplinary offence. I was becoming anxious about racism, about views which I'd heard at the Police Staff College, and the views I heard expressed and what I'd observed in London when I was there. But I think to dismiss somebody, to have a set punishment like that would not be fair. There are different degrees of prejudice. I can see what Scarman was getting at, he wanted to condemn prejudice wholeheartedly and I certainly agree with that. After all it is contrary to the European Convention on Human Rights of which the British Government is a signatory. Article 14 specifically prohibits prejudice or discretion against people for class, colour or religion and the police must be like Caesar's wife in these matters, beyond reproach. The Police must be beyond reproach because they are so powerful. If you get a powerful and identifiable organisation, like the police, who appear to be against you because of your colour, which you can't do anything about, you must immediately become alienated from the police.

**When you talk of racism and the police, do you consider that the police as a force has institutionalised racism or are you saying there are individual police officers who are racist? Because if you were saying that in its procedures and practices the police force is racist and discriminates, that's a much more serious matter.**

I'm not saying that, and Lord Scarman himself, found that there was no evidence that the police as an institution was

racially directed. It's just that racism rears its head in individuals and in groups of individuals in the police and the sooner it's eradicated the better.

**Let me press you on this I'm sure some people would say look at the number of black people who are stopped and searched, especially young blacks compared to young whites, and we know young people as a category tend to get stopped disproportionately. Look at the number of black people in the force. Moreover, everything one hears in the media, the Fernandes Affair, the outburst of the Durham Police Officer about 'Nig nogs', - everything one hears suggests that the police force is a racially prejudiced organisation. How could one dispel, what I think is a widespread view, that the police force is racist?**

It is a very difficult question to deal with. There is evidence that police officers are racist in their attitudes, and speech, although I notice that the Policy Studies Institute report found there was more racism in expression and in feelings and conversation than there was in actual application of police duty. Well at least that's something. There's very little evidence that people are being dealt with outside the law because of their difference in colour or race. It's within the law that the problem arises. You see the police can exercise substantial discretion about which laws they choose to enforce and which they don't, which powers they employ and which they don't. There are a tremendous number of powers which you can use to hassle people. To overpower them; I mean psychologically. To intimidate them. You can do it. You've got the uniform on, you've got the full weight of the law and the power of the organisation behind you and the individual of a racial minority is a powerless person in the face of all this. They can't fight it. That's one reason why it's so immoral because it's the abuse of power. So I would say that in the main the police do not allow racial prejudice and discrimination to influence their decision making to any great extent. But where it does happen in inner city areas it has been on more than a small scale. An attitude has developed, over the years, among some officers that Black people need a different kind of policing from the other people. This applies, to some extent, to the lower social classes generally and because coloured people tend to be a large proportion of these groups they are subject not only to the kind of policing which the white lower classes receive but they get something additional, which is this feeling that because they are coloured they are being stopped more; and the evidence suggests this is true. The counterattack of the police has been that there is more crime here and that has had unfortunate consequences. The publication of separate crime statistics for black people was an indefensible thing to do. It was a counterattack in my view to Scarman's findings; a kind of reflex. I don't think that people now are very proud of it. It was a very damaging thing to do and it did show that the police in that particular case were somehow fighting back. Of course the allegation of racism was denied, but why publish the data in this way? Why not produce special crime statistics for all red haired men, or all Irish, or all Germans? To pick out the blacks like that was appalling but it was a policy decision.

**You suggested to Scarman the notion of a quota system of officer recruitment, so called preferential hiring, do you still support that view?**

Well I still support that but I accept that politically it doesn't carry any weight at all. So if you can't do that, you're to do

the best you can otherwise. One way was through the cadet system which was another thing I mentioned in my evidence to Lord Scarman. You could take on as Cadets - who are not police officers, but a kind of apprentice police officer - more young coloured people and educate them and train them to the levels for entering the force. The argument against reverse discrimination or preferential hiring as you referred to it, is that you would have two systems of entry into the force. My answer to that is have one system of entry but train people up to it so that your police force does represent the minorities. Now we know in Northern Ireland, the problem for the RUC ever since its formation in 1922 was that it could not recruit from the Roman Catholic population. They would give their back teeth to get 30% or 40% Catholics into the RUC because they realise it would give them greater credibility with the minority. But of course, they can't because the Catholic community is alienated and won't join. It is the same with Blacks in the British Police service. Because they feel that the police are not always their police, because the Police seem to be against them as a race. To join the Police would create tremendous personal difficulties for a black person both in the Police and outside it. So one must remember that it takes tremendous courage for a member of a minority in any society to join the police. The Jews for example, have never been well represented in the police in Europe. The police themselves in a way are a bit of a minority and it's a kind of double jeopardy to be a minority in a minority. So any black person who joins the police in this country is very brave.

**Can we move on to a discussion of the Scarman report and the '81 riots. Scarman doesn't seem quite sure about the link between material conditions of poverty, within an inner city area and violence. He says, they are not a cause but they create a predisposition towards violence. What in your view is the link between poverty and civil disobedience?**

I think that people who are poor and live in poor and often squalid circumstances are very demoralised people. It's very difficult to keep up high spirits living in those circumstances. The able people move out and the potential political leaders go elsewhere. So you're left with people who have no, or very little, social ability and in my experience that there is often a stoic acceptance of this situation: a situation that can be created by a kind of benign neglect. They're not going to cause any trouble. There may be crime there but so long as you keep them in those areas the problems can be overlooked until they reach a breaking point and then all hell breaks loose.

#### **Containment?**

Containment yes. In the old days the problem was to keep them in the East End and keep them out of the West End. The Police in London had to stop the poor, the beggars, sturdy beggars, idle and disorderly persons and incorrigible rogues, to use the colourful language of the 1824 Vagrancy Act and keep them out the West End. A constable could arrest people for sleeping in all sorts of places, even in the open air. This has always been a problem. However there comes a point I think when even the most depressed and demoralised people will somehow, for a moment, summon up enough anger and frustration to hit, to strike. It won't last long and it will go down very quickly, like our riots did. It will have been an expression, a complaint, a crier de coeur. But they haven't got the ability to sustain that, because they

are not articulate, they are not organised, they're demoralised and so on. So they'll settle back for sometime. They may blow up again in 10 years time but they can't do it everyday. And so, to get to the point of your question, I think what Lord Scarman was trying to say was there are social circumstances which provide a kind of gunpowder which is not likely to explode unless you put a detonator in it. In this case the detonator was the police. So while the social conditions didn't cause the explosion of the riots they predisposed the area to riotous behaviour. And while the police were not responsible for the poor social conditions they did provide the detonator.

**Doesn't it mean that the policing problem of containing potential civil disobedience is really a political or economic problem? Surely, if you pump enough resources in to alleviate the deprivation of inner city life, the gunpowder goes and with it the risk of further explosion. So the policing problem is really a political problem?**

Just pumping money into an area is not by itself sufficient. People have to be given the feeling that they count. This is what I realised many years ago and why I championed the idea of community policing consultative groups. In the police however it is difficult to argue and speak in public on party political issues. One can go some way to highlighting the political problem but it is risky and attracts considerable criticism as I know.

**I'm sorry to butt in, but if you accept that, aren't the police then committing a political act? It seems to me there are logically, two solutions to inner city problems. You pump money in and alleviate the poverty or you let it run and try and contain it. That containment then becomes political because it has been chosen as one policy choice of two potential ways out of the problem.**

Well that's true up to a point, the alleviation of poverty is not easy. There have got to be resources and unless you can direct the resources in sufficient quantities you are not going to achieve the eradication of poverty. This has been found in America where, to use an expression 'pumping money' into these situations does not necessarily solve the problem. There are difficulties there. The police are still very active, there's still a fair amount of crime, the police haven't changed perhaps, nor have the antisocial attitudes changed. You've still got that conflict in poverty. My own view, and I've just written a book called *Law and Disorder* in which I've tried to explain my dilemma here, is that society has to change. It's society itself that has defects and those defects are likely to manifest themselves as alienation, to begin with, but out of that alienation, less respect for other people and their property and therefore more crime and damage, more attacks on the police, requiring tougher police measures, requiring more equipment and adopting a more repressive style of policing with counter-attacks. This I see, in a society that is in difficulties to put it mildly, as a kind of scenario for the future. I'm quite disturbed about it but I have written this book in order to try to get people to help me to explain this dilemma. Unless people feel they are part of society and society does accept them, it's no good going with your policeman's cap on and saying, 'will you cooperate with me', because police officers won't be seen as the sort of people they want to cooperate with. They represent that other society. There are big, big social problems here. It's not just a question of money it's a question of do you feel this is your

society or not. And when people feel it is not their society, first of all they won't cooperate with the police and second they will commit crime without that same degree of moral guilt they would feel otherwise, and that's the problem.

**What was the impact of the policing strategy immediately before the riots, the infamous Swamp '81? You mentioned a police detonator, was this it?**

Oh certainly. As you know I had been as Assistant Commissioner in London in the '60s and early '70s and tried to understand some of the problems. It occurred to me that if you don't get police objectives right and policies right, you can cause more social damage, than would be caused if you didn't do anything. In other words if, in order to catch street thieves, you stop everybody perpetually in a particular area they can become so fed up that you alienate them - and this is what happened in the Swamp case. One wouldn't have minded so much if these police operations were resulting in muggers being arrested, but the people who were being arrested were often for only small offences, such as obstructing the police, which arose out of the very stop, which wouldn't have happened if they hadn't been stopped. What Sir Kenneth Newman is doing now I think is much more to the point. He's implementing Scarman's proposal and targeting highly suspected street criminals, the hard core of people who get the whole neighbourhood a bad name and their own groups a bad name and getting them prosecuted with the approval of the neighbourhood.

**You spoke out at the time against the reaction to the riot by the Home Office. You said you would never deploy plastic bullets and CS gas or train your officers to use them. But while one may regret that riots get to this sort of head, having got there, how does one police such incidents?**

The point is that if you take Scarman's findings that the cause of the riots was police repression, merely to supply the police with more repressive equipment is immoral. If in the first place it's argued that police activity caused the flare up, to give the police the means to continue to cause another flare up and then use more dehumanising equipment like plastic bullets, which are a deadly force - there's no doubt about that, no one can argue to the contrary. It's deadly - to use deadly force against people you've actually goaded into attacking you, strikes me as being, well, not fair. Also I thought it was bad for the police because this would give hostages to fortune. If in a particular situation the police killed young people with plastic bullets, they would never be allowed to forget that and the whole edifice of policing would have been shaken. However if the police had been sustaining fatal casualties, if police officers were being shot, you have to allow them to shoot back, you have to give them weapons to shoot back. That means firearms. I'm not against the police having firearms because if they have to deal with people who are shooting at them, I'm afraid there are times when there is nothing else but to shoot back. But to use deadly force against non deadly force is not moral and not fair.

**Scarman made a wide range of recommendations, are there any he didn't make which you would like to have seen?**

I have dealt with the recruitment of minorities in an earlier answer. I would be interested if Lord Scarman could have said a little bit more about the London situation, the Police Council for London if you like to call it that, a Community

Police Council of some kind for London. I thought that was important. He did recommend it, but he could have been more detailed, but as he said in his report, he is not a politician, and that is for the politicians. London, it seems to me, cries out for some kind of Metropolitan Council to which the police are, in some form, accountable. I accept the problems of the Metropolitan Police, needing the Home Secretary to deal with national matters, and sometimes the Foreign Secretary in international matters. London is the centre of the diplomatic world and that generates special problems. It houses the criminal records office and many other national services which could require decisions that wouldn't be acceptable to a London Committee. But day to day policing and law enforcement could lend themselves to more accountability than exists and I thought that could have been pressed a little bit harder. But generally speaking I agree almost totally with everything Lord Scarman said.

**Can we move on then to discuss the Police and Criminal Evidence Bill. You said in your book *The Police We Deserve*, that 'wise societies bridle police powers', but it seems to me, and to many others, that the new police bill enhances police powers. Is society wise to proceed in this way?**

This Bill arises out of the report of the Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure, which was appointed by a Labour government when Merlyn Rees was the Home Secretary, when there was a lot of disquiet following the Confait case and the trial, conviction and incarceration of innocent young people who were not given the proper benefits and safeguards. There were other reasons of course. There had been disquiet about various aspects of police and criminal procedure and so the Royal Commission was set up. When it actually came before the Conservative Government, whose political policies on law and order are somewhat different from Labour and the Centre views, the Bill assumed a flavour of the new mood; what I might call a Right wing approach to law and order. Now to be fair one must say that there are safeguards in this Bill and there are new statutory requirements for police to follow. But I have always been against the stop, search, detain on reasonable suspicion generally that a person may be in possession of unlawfully obtained goods. I have been against it because I've seen the abuses of it in London. You can virtually disrupt anybody's passage in the street if you want to at particular times and in particular places. You can find a reasonable excuse particularly with young people.

**But doesn't this Bill, go very much against the individual and their liberties? As a liberal doesn't that worry you?**

Well of course the Bill still has to go before Parliament in this next session and there will be further amendments, I have no doubt. Lord Scarman already has an amendment in the House of Lords that evidence which has been improperly obtained may be excluded by the discretion of the judge. He's actually changing the Common Law. So there are amendments taking place at the present time. However there are one or two areas which concern me. I think the Police should have power to stop people they suspect of committing particular offences. If I'm a police officer on duty and I know that a fur coat has been stolen from a shop and I see somebody walking down the road shortly afterwards in a similar fur coat, I may be wrong, but I may be forgiven for stopping them. But if I say 'I don't like the look of that chap, or that woman or that young man, well I'll just turn him over. That is not acceptable to me. The

price for police efficiency is too high. You may have a suspicion that a person is carrying an offensive weapon, well I'm all for the police stopping people in these particular circumstances but not the general power. You see the police outside London and one or two other cities have got by very well without this power for one hundred years and I believe that there is enough power around if the good police officers want to do their job properly and that includes arresting people committing crime.

**Do you think there are any additional powers which police officers need?**

No, I think there's plenty of power around for police officers. What is required and what the Bill tries to do in part, is to make individual police officers more accountable for the way they use their powers to diminish the use of arrest in favour of summons and to diminish the incarceration of people unless they have to be kept in custody. The Bill attempts to do a lot of that, but at the same time I find one or two things offensive. I find fingerprinting ten year old children offensive. If we can't detect ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen year olds without fingerprinting, then I don't think we should fingerprint them.

**The Bill does seem to enhance powers which are already deployed discriminately against young people. I'm thinking of stop and search, you've mentioned the extension of powers for fingerprinting and there's also the new powers for intimate search.**

Intimate search is appalling. It seems to me that its against the European Convention on Human Rights. It's degrading. To have a police officer search your orifices in the body, either female or male, is a nightmarish, Orwellian idea I think. Its appalling. I heard someone trying to justify this by saying 'well suppose a woman has in her vagina some kind of electronic instrument that's going to blow us up!' The answer of course is obvious. You show me the first woman with an electronic device in the vagina and I might think about it. No. I think this is going too far and so do the medical profession who won't have anything to do with it unless the person is agreeable to having their orifices searched. If a doctor does it that's fine. But where a person feels it's an appalling, offensive, inhuman and degrading thing to have done, then the doctor won't do it. But the Act then says a police officer can do it.

**You've mentioned a number of things in connection with this Bill. You've said that in your view you don't feel police officers need these additional powers. You've mentioned that the Bill has its origins in a Labour Government, but that it has been co-opted by the new right. Many people on the left and perhaps centre, will see it as a political Bill and a Bill which brings the police more and more into the political sphere. Are there not dangers that the police will come to be seen, even more so than they currently are, as being associated with the political right?**

Many police officers are more comfortable with the political right and the Police Federation has manifested this on a number of occasions in recent times. I've a feeling that the prevailing political climate, at least the prevailing politics in the ascendancy at the moment, is likely to cause cleavages, fissures, in society. Divisions in society, are likely to cause some alienation, some disaffection. If in order to achieve your reforms, your radicalisation of society you're going to

create, on the fringes of it at least, disorder and crime, then you've really got to have a powerful police force to govern like that. If you govern in a certain way, if your policies come out in a certain way, you are going to need the police more than if perhaps policies had different outcomes.

**Are you saying that you feel there is more policing to be done under the present government? And a more unpalatable form of policing?**

Yes I think where a society is going through trauma, as our society is in parts, there's likely to be disruption and, if benign neglect operates, then the police are going to have to do more work. They are going to have to be more geared up to a repressive role. They are going to become alienated from some sections of society. There will be other areas of course where these problems are not so acute. Therefore you must have your police well paid, well equipped, very mobile and very organised in order to carry out their duties in that particular political climate or social climate or historical moment. But to look back to the Police Bill. It was recommended in the Royal Commission's Report, that a balance should be struck and part of that balance was that criminal prosecution should be taken away from the police altogether and put into the hands of crown prosecutors. That wasn't done when the Bill first appeared so that hugely important element of balance was lost and as a result of pressure of one kind or another the Government have now said they're going to create this system but it seems at the moment, likely to be a centralised system. So the criminal prosecutions of England and Wales are now probably for the first time in history going to be at the centre of government activity and, if that's to be the Attorney General, a cabinet minister of a particular government who is going to be the head of criminal prosecutions, then that automatically opens the whole system up to prospects of political manipulation or at least influence in the future. I would have preferred a system accountable to local democratic institutions. I do believe that criminal prosecutions should be separated from the Police.

**Much of what you've said today, about racism in the police and the need for officers to police a difficult, diverse, multiracial, multicultural community seems to suggest that one key to improving police/community relations lies in the education and training which police receive.**

I think education is a very, very important element in producing a police force to fit society. But if the police are cast in a certain role then perhaps all the education in the world won't alter that. If the police are cast in a repressive role, that's a repressive role, and although education may help them to understand that, it wouldn't necessarily help them to make it non repressive. I believe that studies of police are terribly important for bureaucrats at large, for politicians and for the police as well, but to study the police in a kind of vacuum is unrealistic. You can only study the police in a social order at a particular point in time and you can come up with certain ideas that are axiomatic. Given social turbulence arising out of politics, or arising out of disintegration you are going to get some kind of repressive police force and the sooner that's realised the better. As I said right at the beginning of our talk community policing can't exist where the police and the community are at war. So if we want a tranquil social order we've got to start thinking about police education in a different way.

Policing is a much wider idea than merely policemen and policewomen enforcing laws or preventing crime. It has to do with things like social justice and the social climate at any particular point in time and what sort of society it is. Is it a fair society? If it is, then its chances of being tranquil are greater, if unfair in parts then the chances of being less tranquil are increased. If one part of society is prospering while another part of society goes further down and the gaps open up then you need more courts, more police officers and more prisons to deal with the outcome of that kind of society. This is what's happening at the moment. We have more police officers than ever, more courts are being built and the Home Secretary has announced more prisons are being built and more people are going to be kept in for serious offences for longer. Already more young people are being sent to prison under youth custody. There is no short answer to the issue of police education. Higher police studies should be broad rather than narrow because if we want to understand policing we have to understand the many ramifications. One of the problems in Britain has been in that various government departments whose influence could affect behaviour, social attitudes and even crime, don't even know each other. There is the Home Office with its responsibility for the police, probation service, and prisons, the DHSS responsible for social security dealing with the poor and needy, the Department of the Environment responsible for housing, planning and creating the environment, and we know there is a link between environment and behaviour, finally there is the Department of Employment and we know that people given employment and occupied are more likely to conform to social norms than those who are not. All of these departments are in a way law and order departments and so there should be cross fertilisation of the function of these departments in this area so we understand what we mean by a orderly society arising out of adequate housing, adequate working and so on.

**What about training rather than education? Scarman had some proposals here. He suggested for instance that officers who are to work in inner city areas should not go as raw recruits to that area and should know something about inner city life.**

There is a considerable culture shock for many young men and women who go from the Shires into the inner cities and find themselves at 18½ with a bundle of powers to exercise and an environment which is almost alien or hostile towards them. Oh yes tremendous culture shocks. I used to put it in its simplest terms that a policeman or woman should be trained and educated to understand the environment in which they will work and what that environment will do to people in it. They cannot expect necessarily the same behaviour from people in Hampstead Heath and in Hackney. By that I don't mean the environment is different and if you drop rubbish in Hackney nobody is going to say anything at all. If you drop rubbish in Hampstead you're going to have people coming out and complaining to the police. What I'm really saying is police officers should be educated to understand their society in general, (and this is a tall order) and particular communities as well. The macro and the micro if you like. They must understand this before they ever walk out to do anything. If you don't understand your immediate environment you cannot function well as a police officer in a democracy, or so it seems to me.

Teaching police officers about the law is rather like teaching surgeons to operate on people by teaching them what the

surgical instruments are but not saying that this body they are operating on has a nervous system, brain and other key parts. It's the same with people, both as individuals and groups. If you don't understand what you're doing to people then you won't be as good at policing them as you could be. If you don't understand what makes them behave in a certain way, you won't be able to fit your policing to their norms of behaviour. I'm not trying to excuse crime here. I'm talking about behaviour because it's in the regulation of behaviour that a lot of police work takes place. Its not to do with thieving or crime, its to do with things like noise, litter, things like standing on street corners. If you've nowhere else to stand you've got to stand on a street corner. If you've been kicked out by your mother and father, where do you stand if you've nowhere to go? You stand on street corners and you get arrested for obstructing the pavement or obstructing the police. They must understand all this before they begin to police the community.

**Can we end on a personal note. I suppose like a number of people I'm interested to know why you retired when you did. It seems to me that there are a number of potential explanations. You tried to enter Parliament as a forum where perhaps you could propagate your ideas about community policing more effectively than from within the force. It also occurred to me that after the riots there were a number of your colleagues who were critical of some of your remarks. So perhaps there was pressure from inside the force. Then speaking to you this afternoon you raised a third possibility when you said you realised that in a certain sense the solution to some policing problems were political. Was it one of these? All of these?**

Well clearly I found it very difficult to stay as a policeman because my mind was making it difficult. I think I'd almost gone as far as I could in the police trying to influence attitudes by writing and lecturing and developing policies that might be helpful and, as you've just said and has emerged this afternoon in our conversation, I realised that there's nothing much left to say about policing in the police, it all has to be said outside in politics. So one could do things outside the police with greater freedom and say things with greater freedom. That was a great attraction. I really was very sincerely interested in these things and I think they're very important to the country and although I don't see myself as any great reformer one can hope to influence views and I just wanted to express them more freely. If I could have got into Parliament that would have been marvellous because that would have been a great platform for me but I didn't quite make it. So now I can write and I can talk and that's really why. There was also the fact that I'm sure some of my colleagues were finding me a little difficult to live with.

**Colleagues in your own area or fellow Chief Constables?**

Yes, some Chief Constables. They found me a bit difficult, I think. I was quite horrified after the riots by the reflex of the Home Office and I thought the issue of plastic bullets and things of that kind was a great water-shed and I didn't like that at all. I could see the consequences for the police and the communities such as we've seen in Northern Ireland and I thought this all highly dangerous. It needed to be said and in saying it, I offended some people. The way I said it was also I suppose, quite dramatic I admit that, but then to get attention one has to sometimes be dramatic, I just wanted my freedom to engage in the debate but it's also partly what

you say. I wasn't fitting in the police service very well anymore. Once you begin to take on particular political - with a small p - views, its difficult. People don't like it.

**Is that because its hard to be a Liberal - with a small l although you're also Liberal with a large L - and a policeman.**

It is hard to espouse more liberal answers to some of our policing problems and be a police officer, but it is not impossible and many of my policies were based on a more liberal outlook. One always has to be prepared to deal with the critics of course. Some smearing goes on like, 'soft policing'. Well I had probably one of the best firearms outfits in the country. I had men trained to perform riot duty at Toxteth and at Bristol. We could be quite tough if we had to be. Although I'd spent a large part of my time in South Yorkshire (I'm a native of South Yorkshire) and some of my time in London, people would constantly say well in Devon and Cornwall you don't have the same problems. That used to annoy me quite a lot. We did have our terrorist movement in Cornwall that blew up a magistrates court but that didn't make headlines; we had our nuclear protesters, we had our policing problems, including difficult public order issues.

**Again as a Liberal you would obviously support the principle of freedom of speech, but would you as Chief Constable ever have banned a political march? For example the National Front which often brings with it the fear of civil disobedience?**

I remember during the General Election of 1979 being pressed to ban a National Front meeting in Plymouth which I didn't do but I allowed in members of the public in large numbers which overwhelmed and annoyed the National Front. I think I was criticised for that by some people on the right.

**That sounds like a strategically clever way to diffuse a potentially dangerous situation but if you couldn't have diffused it?**

I did seek a ban on the National Front march in Plymouth on a Saturday afternoon where people were getting agitated. It got so bad that people said they weren't going in shopping, shop-keepers were going to put boards up on their windows, members of the local authority were nervous, so I did seek and got a ban. I did offer to the National Front a meeting place and prescribed the route for them. There was somebody prosecuted I remember because of language and racist remarks, but we got it banned from the particular route it wanted to go. We got it out of the city, it became a meeting and it didn't do very well. In other words we didn't do away with freedom of speech, the press were there, police were there to protect the National Front against anyone that might attack them, but what it did deprive them of was the marching through the centre with drums and banners likely to terrify the good citizens of Plymouth. So there was no denial of freedom of speech but there was denial of procession of that kind on a particular day.

**Finally, do you like being an academic, you've worked at Cambridge and now Strathclyde? It must seem fairly quiet after a life in the police?**

It isn't quiet in one sense because ideas are never quiet and ideas are very important, although they are not always easy to live with. The trouble with academics for men like myself

is that they constantly ask difficult questions. It's so often difficult to give good answers. What I like about academics is that they do test one all the time and that's good. If you get the best of the academic, to come together with police officers with practical experience and knowledge of the world and people in the raw, if they can actually get together and combine, its a pretty powerful mixture, both in writing and in influencing policymaking. I must confess that a lot of my policies I made as a policeman were heavily influenced by people in the academic world, writers and commentators, sociologists, psychologists - so there is a gold mine for police officers in the academic world if they want to go out and find it.

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# housing policy and young people

PETER MALPASS

## Housing Policy and Young People

Housing policy in Britain is currently dominated by one objective above all others: the further expansion of home ownership. The owner occupied sector which has been increasing steadily for many years has forged ahead since the Conservatives gained power in 1979, rising from about 59% to over 64% in England and Wales. Survey evidence all suggests that this growth is consistent with a strong and growing consumer preference and that the desire for home ownership is stronger among younger rather than older age groups.<sup>(1)</sup> On the face of it, then, the Thatcher Government is pursuing a housing policy that is both effective and popular.

However closer examination soon reveals that the situation is neither so simple nor so rosy, especially for the large numbers of young people forming new households and seeking to establish independent homes of their own in the next few years. After the complacency of the 1970s, best exemplified in the Labour Government's Green Paper on housing in 1977,<sup>(2)</sup> it now seems that a new housing crisis is gathering which will affect some groups, including young people (broadly in the age range 16 to 25) more severely than others. And it is arguable that the present Government's policies are contributing to the crisis rather than alleviating it. The single minded determination to expand home ownership has been accompanied by a massive reduction in council house building, which has declined year by year, from 75,500 in 1979 to just 32,806 in the whole of Great Britain in 1983.<sup>(3)</sup> This represents the lowest peacetime figure since the mid-1920s. At the same time, private sector building has remained well below the capacity of the industry and below the production achieved in the mid 1970s, although there has been a slight recovery from the low point of 1981. As early as 1980 reports from the House of Commons Select Committee on the Environment<sup>(4)</sup> and from the Association of Metropolitan Authorities (AMA)<sup>(5)</sup> warned of a growing housing shortage by the middle of the decade. A more recent report from the AMA<sup>(6)</sup> repeats the warning and calls for more investment in housing. The need for investment in existing housing was demonstrated by the English House Condition Survey<sup>(7)</sup> of 1981 which showed a big increase in the number of dwellings in need of substantial and expensive repair.

Meanwhile, mortgage interest rates have reached record levels (in both real and nominal terms) and have remained stubbornly high throughout the decade so far, with no

prospect of sustained reductions.<sup>(8)</sup> The supply of cheap privately rented housing has continued to decline and the rents of council houses and flats have increased far faster than prices generally since 1979 as a deliberate policy of government.<sup>(9)</sup> To make matters worse, the housing benefit scheme, introduced in 1982-3 with the intention of protecting low income householders from the full impact of rising costs, has been widely criticised and condemned.<sup>(10)</sup>

In other words, there is a reason for concern about the supply, quality and cost of housing especially in relation to the needs of the least well off.

In this situation the Thatcher Government's reliance on market provision causes serious difficulties for young people setting up new households and seeking to establish independent homes. Young people also tend to be more mobile than older households and are therefore likely to encounter problems of access to decent housing repeatedly in a relatively short period as they enter and re-enter the market. In the search for suitable accommodation young people are at a disadvantage when compared with older groups because not only do they move often but they tend to have more limited resources in terms of both savings and disposable regular income which restricts their freedom of choice in the housing market.

Access to council housing can be just as problematic, though for different reasons. Here the question is one of housing need as measured by the various sets of criteria used by individual authorities and it is important to remember that councils are under no obligation to give priority to young people as such. In the past council housing was seen very much as family housing, with the emphasis in allocation schemes heavily on couples with children. Childless couples were expected to find accommodation in the private sector and the continuation of this tradition can be seen in the way that single people and childless couples are excluded from the priority groups for rehousing under the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act of 1977.

The question of access is of particular importance for young people and can be seen as the basis for regarding young people as a group with a distinct housing problem. This is particularly relevant at the present time because of the way in which current policies are making access to housing more difficult for a growing proportion of young people. However access is only part of the problem and once housed young

people, especially if they have small children, may encounter difficulties in meeting the running costs of their accommodation. This is a problem shared with low income people of all ages and it is important at the outset of a discussion which focuses on the housing problems of young people to establish that there are clear links with other groups. It is a mistake to see the housing problems of young people in isolation.

What links the various groups most at risk is low income and in many cases the associated difficulty of raising loans for house purchase or repair. The point has been made before but it is worth repeating that, "Most housing problems are really problems of unemployment, poverty and inequality."<sup>(1)</sup> Like unemployment the housing problem mainly affects the working class and in particular groups within the working class, such as those with low levels of skill in relation to the contemporary labour market and those who are excluded from the labour force, including the elderly, disabled, many school leavers and women with young children. Once it is appreciated that class and labour market positions are the key connections with other age groups this also draws attention to the fact that young people are not a homogeneous group. Just as class links people across age groups in their common experience of housing and other problems so it also divides people within age groups. It is analytically essential to recognise that young people are not all in the same degree of difficulty in obtaining decent housing. For young people with secure, well paid jobs and inherited wealth,<sup>(2)</sup> there is effectively no housing crisis.

However fewer young people are likely to be in this personally happy position in the next few years. A combination of demographic, economic and policy trends is set to exacerbate the housing problems of young people. It is convenient to present these as two pairs of conflicting factors. First, the number of young people in the age range 20 to 24 is certain to increase until the end of the decade, reflecting the peaking of the birth rate in the mid 1960s. It is during their early twenties that most people embark upon the formation of separate households, although in recent years more people below the age of twenty have been setting up on their own, and if this continues it will only add to the demand for housing. The official expectation is that by 1991 there will be over 700,000 more households in England and Wales than in 1986.<sup>(3)</sup> Associated with the growth in the number of young households is an anticipated increase in the birth rate until the early 1990s.<sup>(4)</sup> More new households, with more of them containing young children, seems certain to lead to increasing desire for separate accommodation and reduced willingness to continue sharing with relatives. But this may not be met because of the low rates of building over the past few years and the problems involved in expanding output in the short term. There is, then, a conflict between growing need for housing amongst young people and the low level of investment at the present time.

Second, the economic recession has hit young people particularly hard, in the form of low wages, job insecurity and widespread unemployment. There is no immediate prospect of a sustained decline in the level of unemployment amongst young people, and it may even increase further. This means that many young people find themselves in a very weak position in the housing market and totally unable to share in the general aspiration for home ownership. The economic weakness of so many young people as consumers

in the housing market is of course directly at odds with government policy which emphasises market provision, especially home ownership and minimises public sector provision.

### **Restructuring the Housing Market**

To understand the predicament in which young people find themselves in the housing market today a historical perspective is required. The point of this is to show that long term changes in the housing market, quite unrelated to the particular policies of the Conservative Governments since 1979 have made it more difficult for young people, and others on low incomes to obtain access to private housing at a price they can afford.

Widespread home ownership is an invention of the twentieth century and only since the late 1960s have more than half of all households in Britain been owner occupiers (in Scotland owner occupation remains below 40% even now). In 1914 about 90% of households were private tenants and only 10% were owner occupiers; council housing was barely measurable in percentage terms until the 1920s. Since the First World War private renting has been in almost continuous decline and now constitutes only about 12% of the total stock, a figure from which it is unlikely to fall much further, while owner occupation has expanded to embrace almost two thirds of all households. As far as the private housing market is concerned, then, the last sixty five years represent a period of transition from renting to owning. This transformation of the market has been encouraged by successive governments, both Conservative and Labour, since the early 1950s, but it would be a mistake to attribute the change entirely to the influence of housing policy.

Home ownership expanded first and fastest amongst the better off, including better paid skilled workers. The less well off remained in the still dominant private rented sector because it was much cheaper to rent than to buy. For many years after the start of the restructuring of the housing market private rented housing continued to provide a large pool of cheap accommodation for the less well off, although much of it was also old and of poor quality. Council housing was, by contrast, newer, of better quality and more expensive on the whole, though still cheaper than owner occupation. It is only relatively recently, within the last twenty five years, that owner occupation has drawn in more and more working class families, and the growth of low income home ownership represents an important recent development in the housing system.

The significance of this from the point of view of low income households, and also governments such as the present one which seeks to build its housing policy around the further expansion of home ownership, is that the transition from a predominantly rented market to a predominantly owned market represents a shift towards higher entry costs. The costs involved in becoming a home owner are inherently higher than those of becoming a tenant, and therefore, unless policies can be devised to deal with the problem, home ownership is an expensive, inappropriate and even unattainable form of tenure for low income families. Whatever the long term advantages claimed for home ownership, if young people cannot afford the entry costs then it offers them nothing but frustrated ambitions.

### **Home Ownership and the Entry Costs Barrier**

Ideally young people require housing with low entry costs,

partly because of the difficulty of saving a large deposit and partly because mobility increases the burden by multiplying transaction costs (i.e. legal fees). Whereas rented housing is cheap to enter and leave because there are no legal fees and no deposits (or deposits which are relatively small), owner occupation is much more expensive. Despite the growing availability of high percentage mortgages most first time buyers find it necessary to save a substantial deposit; in 1984 the average deposit was about 18% of the purchase price, or in cash terms an average of £4,840<sup>(15)</sup> It is important to stress that these are averages and obviously there are many dwellings on the market at below average price, closer to the purchasing power of lower income households. However, as will be discussed below, down market purchasing has its own potential drawbacks.

Saving a deposit equivalent to perhaps a year's net income in order to purchase a house is a daunting task, and is much more difficult where the income leaves little scope for regular saving. However, saving the deposit is only the first hurdle, and even if it can be avoided by obtaining a 100% mortgage the second hurdle is only made higher, for it is the problem of repaying the loan. The higher the percentage of the purchase price covered by the mortgage the higher is the monthly repayment. Borrowing money is much easier than repaying it and young first time buyers who take on the maximum mortgage offered by their building society can find themselves paying out a very high proportion of their take home pay, especially if the interest rate rises sharply soon after they make their purchase. People on higher incomes are better placed to cope with these problems because it is easier to pay a higher proportion of a high income on housing and still have enough left for other needs.

In inflationary conditions such as have prevailed in Britain throughout the period since 1945 owner occupiers face the maximum burden in repaying their mortgages in the early years of the loan. This is because, apart from changes in the interest rate from time to time, the repayments are pegged to the money value of the mortgage. Over time, therefore, assuming that wages rise in line with prices, the mortgage repayment constitutes a diminishing proportion of take home pay. The prospect of long-run advantage is, unfortunately, small comfort to young people who often find that the period of maximum housing costs co-incides with the reduced earning power and extra costs of family building.

Owner occupation is, then, relatively very expensive to enter and mortgage repayments can be highly burdensome in the first few years. Just when the burden begins to be reduced depends on the rate of inflation which raises the interesting point that while would-be owners have an interest in a low rate of inflation, recent purchasers have a strong interest in the continuation of inflation, the faster the better in terms of the erosion of mortgage repayments. Now the present Government has made much of both its determination to reduce inflation and the promotion of owner occupation. To the extent that it succeeds in the first it reduces the appeal of the second.

Finally in this section, home ownership entry costs are rising over time in real terms.<sup>(16)</sup> This again shows the different positions of owners and aspirant owners, because owner occupation has been promoted on the basis that housing is an appreciating asset which throughout much of the post-

war period has increased in value faster than other goods; to the extent that this occurs it increases the cost to first time buyers, who are mostly young people. It has been calculated that in 1975 the first year costs in real terms, for a first time buyer, were nearly four times the level in 1938<sup>(17)</sup> The irony of this is, of course, that in 1938 there was a relatively plentiful supply of private rented housing (about 60% of the total stock) to which the less well off could turn. In the 1980s when more low income households are being drawn into owner occupation the costs are much higher.

All this points to the conclusion that the transformation of the housing market has made access to housing for young people at a price within their means more difficult and the trend is increasing.

### **The Contemporary Housing Market**

It is common for young people to start their housing careers in private rented accommodation, often furnished. Households under the age of 25 are much more likely to be private tenants than older people; in 1980 38% of household heads under 25 were living in private rented housing, compared with only 9% in the 30-44 age group.<sup>(18)</sup> Although the majority of private rented housing is let unfurnished this is mostly occupied by long standing elderly tenants who represent the vestiges of the old style private sector. Young people are much more likely to be found in furnished accommodation which, though suitable in the short term, is expensive, unsuitable and not what the great majority of young people desire for themselves in the long term. The furnished sector is characterised by very high mobility compared with other tenures and can be seen as a tenure of transition through which young people pass on their way to more permanent homes. The role of the private rented sector thus remains important as a launching pad for housing careers in other tenures but it no longer offers young people housing for a lifetime.

In the long run the majority of young people aspire to owner occupation, but as the previous section has shown the system of financing imposes substantial entry costs. There are various responses to the problem. First, in order to maintain a demand for new housing builders, building societies and local authorities have devised ways of reducing the cost to first time buyers. It is not intended to describe these in detail but merely to refer to the fact that in principle there are two categories of approach. The cost can be reduced by financial mechanisms or by physical means, or some combination of the two. Financial mechanisms include low start mortgages, interest free periods, free conveyancing, provision of carpets and fittings - all designed to ease the burden of entry costs. Physical means simply refer to reductions in the size of houses offered for sale, the paring down of the quality of materials and finishes, and the omission of things like garages and central heating. There is clear evidence that since the mid 1970s and more especially since 1981, builders are producing a much higher proportion of dwellings with four rooms or fewer.<sup>(19)</sup> Builders can also reduce plot sizes and increase the density of development in order to keep prices down. What this means, of course, is that the rising real cost of home ownership is leading to young first time buyers having to tolerate lower standards.

And yet even when standards are reduced prices are still high in relation to the capacity to pay amongst a large proportion of young people. This can be illustrated by looking at two examples both of which were featured in a

recent Nationwide Building Society newsletter.<sup>(20)</sup> First, a scheme in Oxfordshire, which was presented as helping first time buyers, involved a site developed jointly by the building society, a builder and the local council. The deal was for 63 one and two bedroomed houses to be sold on a 'cost-sale' basis which was claimed to be 10% below market price. However, the prices ranged from £16,049 to £21,305. Second, another scheme involving the building society, the same builder and Bristol City Council in which 126 dwellings, out of a total of 272 in the development, were offered for sale on the cost-sale basis. This time the prices ranged from £16,500 for a bedsitter to £39,000 for a 3 bedroomed house. Part of the deal involved the provision of 30 flats for renting, to be let by the city council to **old** people. The remainder of the dwellings were sold at full market price.

What these illustrations show is that even the schemes specially designed to reduce costs and help first time buyers result in the production of dwellings that are either too expensive or too small for the needs of young people particularly if they have children. In the first year a person buying a bedsitter in the Bristol scheme for £16,500 would pay £28 per week (after tax relief) in interest alone (assuming 100% mortgage and 12.75% interest rate). This is almost twice the average net rent for a council house.

Obviously there is a market for this kind of housing, but it does show the pressure that suppliers are under to maintain sales, and also the financial pressure that young first time buyers are under, even at income levels well above the minimum. Many young people are inevitably excluded from new housing, but they are sometimes able to buy in the second hand market. Here it is possible to find cheaper houses, usually pre-1914 dwellings, in inner urban neighbourhoods. However there is an important trade-off involved in going down market: the cheaper the house the more repair and modernisation it is likely to need. Young people on low incomes who can just afford the purchase price for a house at the lowest end of the market run the risk of being unable to afford unforeseen maintenance even if modernisation has been budgeted for. Such marginal and inexperienced purchases are also perhaps more likely to economise on the entry costs by not paying for a full structural survey and old houses that appear cosy and dry when presented for sale can easily conceal serious problems for example of dampness, dry rot and woodworm.

The point here is that the comfortable, secure and financially rewarding suburban image of home ownership that is promoted before the public does not apply to marginal purchasers in the inner city. Young people seduced by the marketing, or forced into home ownership by the lack of any alternative, may find themselves financially overstretched and caught in a situation where to maintain the resale value of the house they have to carry out modernisation or repair which they cannot afford. Falling expenditure and rising value cannot be so readily guaranteed at this end of the market.

In terms of housing policy it is important to recognise that these problems exist for marginal purchasers and that for the less well off home ownership is not an unequivocally satisfying or suitable tenure. At present young people who would in earlier times have gone into rented housing are being drawn into buying houses that would now be condemned if previous policies had continued. This

represents a serious redistribution of the burden of old and obsolete housing from the state onto people who are least able to deal with it. In this sense, then, young people who are drawn into home ownership at the bottom end of the market are victims rather than beneficiaries of the policy of expanding owner occupation. It is essential in any assessment of housing policy and its impact on particular groups in the population to remember that home ownership is now a highly varied tenure, with very different patterns of costs and benefits at different levels of the market.

In order to respond to this situation and to sustain the market amongst low income households it is necessary to provide substantial financial assistance towards repair and modernisation. In April 1982 the Government announced an important development in the form of higher percentage grants for repair. For a limited period grants were raised to 90% of expenditure up to £5,000, and as a result there was an enormous increase in grant expenditure. The availability of the higher level grants was extended to March 1984, but in 1984-85 grants, even at the lower level, are very hard to obtain in most areas as resources for local authority capital spending have been reduced by central government.<sup>(21)</sup> A further blow to young people and others on low incomes was the introduction of VAT on building improvements with effect from Jun 1984. So after a promising move towards additional assistance for marginal owners the Government has put its policy into reverse.

Apart from the grants episode (which was not aimed at easing the route into owner occupation) the Government has introduced a series of low cost home ownership initiatives.<sup>(22)</sup> By far the most important of these, both in terms of the prominence given to it by the Government and the number of houses involved, is the sale of council houses at discount under the 1980 Housing Act. The introduction of the 'right to buy' gave council tenants of three years' standing entitlement to 33% discount from the market price and the right to a 100% mortgage on the sale price. After twenty years tenants were entitled to 50% discounts. In the three years 1981-83 over 429,000 dwellings were sold under the right to buy scheme in England and Wales.<sup>(23)</sup> The 1984 Housing and Building Control Act has now increased the maximum discount to 60% and reduced the qualifying period for the right to buy to two years. It also introduces the right to buy 50% of the house with the option to acquire the remainder in 12½% stages. This last measure is designed to appeal to low income tenants who cannot afford to buy the whole of the house at once. However, the importance of the right to buy is that it is most advantageous to tenants in middle age because they are much more likely to be entitled to the maximum discount. The sliding scale of discounts according to length of tenancy obviously biases the system against younger tenants and research on sales under the right to buy confirms that, "the middle aged, skilled manual worker with a grown up family has been shown to be the typical council house purchaser."<sup>(24)</sup> The right to buy is really of very little value to young people but it does not represent an unrepeatably bargain for older people in the public sector and in this sense is very unfair in its treatment of different age groups.

There are six other initiatives intended to promote low cost home ownership and they can be dealt with quite briefly since, so far, they have made little impact and most of them are reworked ideas already in operation either locally or nationally. The first is what are called starter homes,

conceived as a minimal dwelling that provides a first rung on the ladder of home ownership. The schemes referred to earlier in Oxfordshire and Bristol fall into this category, as do much more limited schemes modelled on third world projects in which the purchaser is provided with a site with basic services laid on and is left to build their own house. Second, improvement for sale, which means that local authorities can acquire old houses and carry out modernisation pending resale for owner occupation. Third, homesteading, where the local authority sells unimproved houses to be modernised within a specified time by the new owners. Fourth, shared ownership or equity sharing in which the occupier owns part of the equity in the house and rents the rest from the local authority. Fifth, local authority guarantee powers, which enable local authorities to guarantee building society mortgages, the idea being to persuade societies to lend on properties that otherwise they would refuse. Finally, housing associations have been encouraged to embrace the expansion of home ownership in addition to their traditional role in rented housing.

It has been said, that "Collectively these policies represent a varied and enterprising expression of concern to persuade both public agencies and individual households to recognise the advantages of home ownership. They represent a considerable investment of policy innovation and ingenuity."<sup>(25)</sup> However, they have made a minimal impact on the housing market and have been virtually irrelevant to the needs of most young people seeking entry to home ownership. Just how irrelevant these measures are can be appreciated by remembering that whereas perhaps a few thousand dwellings have been provided for young people, all prospective and recent purchasers are affected by interest rate changes. A reduction in the mortgage interest rate of 2 or 3% would make much more difference to many more people than all these various initiatives. However, under the present Government mortgage interest rates have been driven higher than ever before, reaching 15% in 1979-80 and again in 1981. The impact of interest rate increases was such that the ratio of initial repayments to average earnings which stood at 22.1% in June 1978 rose to 35.8% by November 1979 as the interest rate rose from 9.75% to 15%.<sup>(26)</sup> This hike in the interest rate had a crippling impact on new and recent buyers and demonstrated the need for lower, more stable interest rates if home ownership is to continue to expand amongst the less well off and young people.

### The Collapse of Council Housing

Since 1979 the demand for owner occupation amongst young people has been artificially amplified not just by the initiatives described above but by an attack of almost frenzied severity on council housing. There are three main components of this attack. First, as mentioned at the beginning, new building has been cut to the lowest levels since the 1920s as local authorities have faced a succession of substantial cuts in their permitted capital spending. This has had the effect of reducing the supply of dwellings for young people who cannot afford to buy. To make matters worse for the young the Government has encouraged local authorities to concentrate on building sheltered housing for the elderly (although this may release some family sized dwellings for reallocation to young people), and other 'special needs'. This is fully consistent with the Government's view that council housing should be confined to a residual role, catering for people who are unable to provide a profit for the private housing market.

Second, the introduction of the right to buy has led to a situation in which sales exceed new building, and after sixty years of growth the council sector is now in decline, both numerically and proportionately. This represents a historic turning point in the development of public housing. In the past sales were always outnumbered by new additions, usually heavily outnumbered, but no longer:

|      | Dwellings completed by<br>Local Authorities<br>(England and Wales) | 'Right to buy' sales in<br>England and Wales |
|------|--|--|
| 1981 | 49,411   | 97,055                                       |
| 1982 | 29,859   | 196,680                                      |
| 1983 | 30,024   | 135,895                                      |

The sale of council houses adversely affects people on the waiting list because it reduces the number of relets, especially in the longer term. It also means that, because houses with gardens are sold in much greater numbers than flats, and because sales are more frequent on the more popular estates, people on the waiting list have a more restricted choice of dwellings and areas. It means, too, that young people entering council housing now have less chance of securing the sort of dwelling that might encourage them to exercise their right to buy. It is important to remember that the right to buy is only a right worth having for tenants who can afford to exercise it and who live in dwellings that are worth buying. As the asset stripping of the public sector continues so young people entering council housing will find it harder to satisfy the second of these conditions.

Meanwhile as opportunities to enter council housing diminish, waiting lists are bound to grow unless new young households can be absorbed by owner occupation. The Government is clearly pursuing a deterrent policy; by reducing the supply of council housing it hopes to deflect demand into owner occupation. There are currently about 1,200,000 households on council waiting lists in England alone,<sup>(27)</sup> and recorded homelessness has risen every year since 1979.<sup>(28)</sup> Some hard pressed authorities have found that the homeless, for whom they have a statutory responsibility to provide, are absorbing a very high proportion of available accommodation, to the virtual exclusion of normal waiting list cases. In these circumstances young people without children have no chance of being housed, unless they are prepared to accept the least popular dwellings and the least popular estates. Inevitably the most desperate end up in the worst estates and people with the weakest position in the market find themselves discriminated against in council housing too.

The third part of the attack on council housing has been the massive increase in rents since 1979. Between 1979 and 1982 rents were increased, on average, by 111%, mainly as a result of the withdrawal of subsidy. The 1980 Housing Act introduced a new subsidy mechanism for local authority housing which enabled the Secretary of State to withdraw subsidy in accordance with rent increases that he determined. In 1981 Michael Heseltine set a rent increase of £2.95 per week and followed up with £2.50 in the next year. As a result most local authorities in England and Wales now receive no general housing subsidy at all. But what they do get is housing benefit. Essentially what has happened in the last five years is that there has been the completion of a process which began much earlier, of shifting away from general subsidies in the public sector to means tested assistance based on the incomes of individual tenants.<sup>(29)</sup> This

is sometimes referred to as subsidising people rather than houses, but the importance of the change is that council tenants, on the whole, now receive assistance with housing costs as a form of means tested social security. Whereas the value of tax relief on mortgage interest increases with rising income, housing benefit tapers away as income rises. Coupled with big rent increases this is intended to dislodge the better off tenants, who have thoughtfully been provided with a convenient loophole, the right to buy. It is also designed to deter potential tenants and encourage them into house purchase.

In considering the present onslaught on the public sector it is instructive to compare the different treatment of young and elderly people. The elderly continue to be the top priority group in the sense that not only is new building targeted on them but also the quality of new sheltered housing is very high. By contrast the needs of young people are not even recognised in public sector policy, unless they have children, and, as has been argued above, there is an increasing likelihood that young entrants will be allocated to the least desirable parts of the stock. In its almost obsessive promotion of owner occupation the Government has completely failed to make provision for the substantial numbers of young people who will require rented housing in the public sector. The underlying assumption seems to be that there are certain special needs for which the local authorities should provide and everyone else who falls into the category of general need should be provided for in the private sector. A policy of less eligibility applies to those general needs households who find their way into council housing: nothing should be done to make access easy for them and they should be given every incentive to leave.

### Conclusion

The dominant theme running through this discussion is that there is a deepening housing crisis in Britain, affecting certain groups, including young people, more than others and that the housing policies pursued by the Government are making matters worse rather than better. At just the time when the numbers of young people seeking accommodation are increasing, and when more of these new households require rented housing because of the recession and high unemployment, the Government has ruthlessly cut back the supply of council housing by reducing new building and promoting the right to buy. Although the right to buy has been of great benefit to established council tenants old enough to take advantage of the highest discounts, it has offered little to young people, especially those queuing up for council housing. At the same time, the Government's wider economic policies have made entry to home ownership prohibitively expensive for an increasing proportion of young people. The use of high interest rates and unemployment as tools of economic management combined to squeeze young people out of the housing market. In this sense the Government has pursued not just an anti-council housing policy but an anti-housing policy.

Doctrinaire commitment to more and more home ownership has prevented consideration of changing housing needs and the inappropriateness of owner occupation for those on low incomes, particularly at the present time. In the 1950s and 1960s, when inflation, interest rates and unemployment were all low and economic growth seemed guaranteed, mortgaged home ownership was clearly attractive. The irony is that as this tenure has spread to a wider section of the less well off changing economic

conditions have made it much less certainly rewarding for such purchasers. At present, changes in the savings market, including the breaking of the building societies' interest rate cartel, are tipping the balance of advantage towards the investor and away from the borrower. Proposed legislation to widen the scope of building society activity, making them more like banks, seems likely to exacerbate this trend, further reinforcing the view that the 1950s and '60s were a golden age for home owners and providing little comfort for young people embarking on their housing careers in the 1980s.

Housing policy is failing young people today because of a failure to recognise their needs, and also a polarisation between home ownership which is 'good' and council housing which is 'bad'. It is important to break out of this policy straitjacket and recognise that on the one hand home ownership has major drawbacks, and that the widespread preference for this tenure is not innate but a rational response to the prospect of financial advantage in the long run. At the same time, council housing, on the other hand, has been manipulated into a position where it is seen as less desirable than owner occupation, especially for people on higher incomes, but nevertheless it does have certain inherent advantages to offer.

It has been argued above that young people need housing with low entry costs, which is exactly what council housing offers. The great strength of council housing now and in the future (which helps to explain the virulence of the current attack on it) is that the accumulated stock of houses built at much lower prices over the period since 1919 enables rents for new houses to be kept well below levels reflecting current building costs. Council housing is financed collectively and tenants in new expensive houses are effectively subsidised by tenants in older houses. This characteristic enables council housing to offer lower entry costs than the individually financed system of home ownership. In addition the size of the stock and its cost structure is such that low rents can be achieved without subsidy.

But, council housing does not offer the possibility of capital accumulation - tenants have nothing to show for their years of rent paying, nothing to leave to their children. A way round this might be to continue with a right for tenants to buy their houses but to introduce an obligation to sell back to the council when the owners wish to move. This would enable owners to acquire a capital sum and also preserve the stock of houses available for letting at rents within the reach of new young households.

Essentially what is being proposed here is a dissolution of the importance of housing tenure divisions. It should be recognised that council housing has a unique capacity to play an important role in housing young people and new building should be expanded considerably to provide for their needs. At a time in their life cycle when tenants feel that they can cope with the higher cost of home ownership it should be available in the form of a right to buy. Still later, in old age, such owners may prefer to become tenants again, to realise their capital or to avoid the worry of repair and maintenance responsibilities, and a right to sell back to the council should be established. This right to sell could also be extended to owner occupiers in the conventional housing market; it would be of great benefit to the elderly and to young people

who for whatever reason found themselves unable to continue as home owners.

The point of this proposal is that home ownership and renting are most appropriate at different stages in the life cycle, with renting being best suited to young and elderly households. There are great benefits to be obtained by developing a housing policy which permits people to move back and forth between tenures as their needs indicate. Unfortunately, such flexibility seems remote at the present time.

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# vocation, profession or job: the state of residential care

BARRY METEYARD

It is doubtful whether the morale of workers in residential childrens' homes has ever been lower than it was at the beginning of 1984. A failed industrial dispute has strained and some cases split staff teams into strikers and non-strikers, picketers and picket-crossers, militants and scabs. Homes have been closed, often with only an hour or so's notice to the children living there, by managers exhibiting all the callous disregard for the residents of which they accused the strikers. All that has emerged from the dispute is "A message from the National Employers" entitled "Residential Staffs - The Way Forward". This promises a review of the role, function, pay and conditions of residential staffs in time for the July 1984 general pay settlement, similar to the exercise conducted in 1979.

This, I believe is because the identity and function of residential care for children has been steadily eroded over a period of years by internal changes in the nature of the work and external developments in services of an alternative kind for children and young people experiencing difficulty. Because of these changes it is now very difficult to make a coherent statement about the place of residential care in the spectrum of services available which will at the same time enhance the feelings of workers about their relative status and importance. Residential child care now seems to be a residual provision for difficult adolescents who cannot be accommodated by other forms of assistance. It is perhaps this generalised feeling of loss which contributed to the acrimony of the dispute. For it represents a recognition, albeit often unconscious and unworked out, of a lost opportunity, a failure on the grand scale.

Certainly, since this article was first drafted, rumblings of discontent have continued and the issues of the dispute have not been resolved. In some cases, the divisions between strikers and "scabs" have made work relations difficult to the point of people resigning or moving to other jobs. Feelings of trust and mutual support have been seriously shaken in some establishments by the dispute, especially perhaps those places which the local union chose to focus upon. At the time of writing, NALGO is stuck in negotiations with the annual across-the-board pay claim and the residential workers dispute has become a rather small example of defeat in the contemporary industrial relations scene.

Some authorities have acted upon the Employers side proposal to review conditions of service. These reviews have

in a few cases taken the opportunity to conduct a wide-ranging assessment of child care practice and policy. This may have been encouraged by Rene Short's Select Committee report on child care law which received considerable favourable coverage and comment. In my own Authority, there are encouraging signs that some of the disparate and problematic concerns are at least being addressed. Working parties, discussion papers and meetings are necessarily slow, perhaps too slow to prevent another spillage of feeling into action by frustrated workers. However the latter should take some credit for provoking such reviews by the force they demonstrated a year ago. It remains to be seen whether the residential workers will like or accept the conclusions these reviews may present in the next few months.

## Coming clean - some personal credentials

The industrial action only threw into relief the splits and contradictions already extant in the child care services. This attempt at a critical analysis was prompted by several within me. Whilst the action continued, I tried to support the cause of fellow trades unionists although disagreeing with the claim, feeling quite alienated from actions such as walk-outs and pickets at children's homes. From friends, colleagues, the trade magazines (**Social Work Today**, **Community Care**) the press and television, came stories of appalling horror, for example closures, instant walk-outs, pickets at the door, distressed children moved at an hour's notice and senior managers and other unfamiliar and untrained people covering in establishments.

One immediate problem in sorting the issues in disputes involving powerless or dependent people (hospital patients, children in children's homes) is the emotional turmoil created. I realised that although I might agree with a claim for shorter hours and additional payment for shifts, weekend and public holiday work I would not be able to strike and walk out on children in my care. Hence the dilemma familiar to many workers in 'caring' occupations: what action can be taken to press a case without falling into the trap set by management and populist opinion - that one does not 'care'?

Between 1969 and 1983 I worked in three children's homes, an Intermediate Treatment Centre and an inner-city Social Work Patch team. The analysis I wish to attempt on the state of residential child care is based on that experience.



Since I doubt that this article would be popularly received by residential idealists, I ought to say that in a way I am one. Sensitively and carefully done, the residential experience can be enhancing and enabling for those bereft of our culturally typical nuclear family life. Unfortunately it is too often a disabling experience, even more so than the claustrophobic and conflicted lives of so many families. It sets up arrangements of personal relationship which have to be resisted in just those ways which as adolescents, we were all perhaps variously skilled at in our own families.

### **The Rise and Fall of the Residential Worker**

The decline of the residential worker's job to a 'rump' service is recent but accelerating. There are quite large disparities between the 133 Social Services Departments in the UK in their proportions of children in residential care. These reflect local differences in demography or policy initiatives but in general, fewer children are accommodated in children's homes of any kind year by year. Overall this is not a planned strategy. This Government's eagerness for 'Care in the Community' when applied to child care only reinforces a trend. I shall discuss this trend by extracting eight issues which are not presented in any order of priority.

Firstly, there is the historical swing away from institutions. This is an inconsistent phenomenon where children are concerned. Professional, political and public opinion varies depending upon the labels attached to potential inmates. Thus fears for the institutionalised personality seem only to apply to residential homes and not to schools (especially private boarding schools) or to the juvenile penal system. Notional ideas about 'normal' and 'family' life seem to have as much influence as critiques based on efficiency or effectiveness.

Secondly, the community care bandwagon which is at least as old as the arguments about indoor and outdoor relief, has pushed fostering, family rehabilitation centres and Intermediate Treatment into the mainstream of child care. These are the areas where risk and initiative are being encouraged rather than in children's homes.

Third, and perhaps as a consequence of this, there has grown up a set of conventional wisdoms in residential child care which are disabling to workers and children alike and can lead to quite horrible consequences. The increasing criminalisation of the young person exposed to care systems and the disenfranchisement of parents seem to be two such products of this intellectual process.

The search for professional status and the confusion of this with the unionisation of residential child care workers is a fourth area which I feel has contributed to the problems of working in children's homes. Both together may be seen as a flight from vocation.

The location of statutory child care in large, bureaucratised Social Services Departments has brought with it all the disadvantages of bigness to an essentially intimate and private form of work and experience, with few apparent advantages. This is a fifth strand which I shall briefly expand upon.

Six, there is the thorny area of social work training and education. This is partly another look at the theoretical confusion which has contributed to the conventional

wisdoms of workers. As one now engaged in training people for caring roles, I realise the problem is not so much making useful theory comprehensible but in offering connections between ideas and detailed practice. The 'praxis' currently on offer is, I suggest, of little use to anyone.

As a development of this topic, and seven, child care represents a philosophical desert where contradictions abound wherein the consumerist demands of organisations such as NAYPIC are seen as subversive and extensions into democratic practice are seen as permissive. It is in the latter that residential homes have a clear opportunity to develop new and relevant ways of practising care for young people who may well have to fend for themselves from their 18th birthdays.

Finally, to make this point more clearly, I suggest that solutions should not be sought amongst the traditional managers of the political economy. Since residential life is about intimate personal transactions, the power arrangements directly impact upon the experience of care for resident and worker in contrasting ways. The feminist concept of 'the personal is political' is of far greater value to the understanding of residential workers than for example, agitating in the dominant political party on the local council.

### **Institutions**

The professional disenchantment and public disquiet about institutions is a fairly recent and inconsistent phenomenon. The economies of scale still dictate large enterprises for the care of the sick, the education of the young and the imprisonment of the criminal. Yet in the provision of residential accommodation and care for certain categories of people especially children, the elderly, the mentally ill and the mentally handicapped, big residential institutions are now generally thought to be dysfunctional. Their per capita costs are high in relation to other forms of accommodation, they lock up enormous sums in inflexible capital buildings, the running costs are more akin to industrial enterprises than 'homes' and they represent an investment often clearly out of step with both the circumstances of residents and the relative seriousness of their predicament. In short, they are inefficient. Yet this alone is not sufficient to lead to their demolition and replacement by cheaper alternatives, despite successive years of cutting back and trimming the growth of Social Services Departments since 1976.

Since the 1950s there has grown the idea that people categorised above should not live in such places. The concern is now to avoid the creation of the 'Institutionalised Personality' unable to function without the routines and external discipline of the institution. The revulsion with the structures and inhumanities of our Victorian ancestors is now reserved for the criminal alone. The medieval idea of the asylum, the refuge from the world, the sanctuary, is now only recognised for the terminally ill in the Hospice movement. (As an aside, it is curious that prisons are still used by or for the homeless itinerant in winter in this way, albeit by way of 'an offence', and that staff in Secure Units for young people in care often report how quickly many children accept and adjust to the regime when the world is so 'shut out'). For all others, defined as dependent and having a legal right to help from the State non-institutional care is though appropriate. So for children and teenagers a 'continuum of care' has been devised, designed to maintain

the child at home with its natural family or to replicate this in foster homes or to group similar children in small discrete homes in residential neighbourhoods. If this is still inadequate, Approved Schools have been reworked in the supposed 'therapeutic regimes' of Community Homes with Education on the Premises, usually located at some distance from centres of population and bearing a remarkable resemblance to the more expensive Public Schools. These CHEs are on the way out for at least three distinct reasons. The average cost per child per year is between £10,000 and £15,000; unlike Approved Schools, they are not required to keep records of their 'success' in terms of later offending by ex-inmates; and the penal system is now more readily available for young people: Detention Centre at 14, Borstal (sorry, Youth Custody since the 1983 Criminal Justice Act) at 15 years of age. Six times as many boys go to Detention Centre in the 1980s as did in the late 1970s, nearly three times as many to Youth Custody, and the number of girls has also significantly increased.

The 1969 Childrens and Young Persons Act although not fully enacted and perhaps born from the flowery optimism of the Sixties, did offer an opportunity to the child care services to put its money where its mouth was, to offer supervision in care in non-punitive ways, to decriminalise juvenile delinquency. It has not. It has in fact contributed directly to the increased use of the penal system and is the first major factor in the decline of residential child care. It presents a lost opportunity on a massive scale which has led to the feelings of impotence and helplessness and even irrelevance experienced by staff in children's homes. Children's homes were never alternatives to imprisonment of the young in the past and have failed to become that alternative when the chance was offered. That initiative has passed elsewhere.

### Community Care

Reception into residential care for reasons of offending was an intention of the 1969 CYP Act. It has not worked either in terms of containing delinquency or in helping most children so labelled and sentenced. The confused assumptions of politicians, magistrates, social workers and parents have led to a situation where care is seen as a sentence, a punishment supposed to help and deter at the same time. As a sentence it exists in the tariff of disposals available to magistrates somewhere between Supervision Orders and Custody. It is peculiar in that it is indeterminate and disenfranchises parents from certain legal rights. It assumes parental inadequacy and professional competence in coping with delinquent youngsters. Being part of a tariff it can be imposed not for serious offences or clear indications of parental failure but as the next available, more strenuous sentence for the persistent offender. David Thorpe and others have shown that Care Orders can be made for trivial offences and sometimes quite early in a (supposed) delinquent career.<sup>(1)</sup> The child is supposed to stop offending with reception into care. That many do not, that going into care is actually one of the more reliable predictors for future offending has further undermined the confidence of residential workers and has led I believe, to the emphasis on control and sanction in residential homes; the creation of small but routinised regimes to do with moving compliant youngsters through a daily pattern about which they have little say and which bears little relevance to their future (adult) needs.

The enthusiasm and vigour of residential work has gone and is now more easily found in alternative social work methods such as Intermediate Treatment. Despite the reluctance of Social Workers to recommend or seek Supervision Orders, Social Services Departments have committed time, money and personnel to IT and have often as a result been able to further reduce the number and scale of their residential provision.

The distaste for institutional care has seen a growing development of fostering and attempts to stabilise and enhance the status and competence of foster parents. Although fostering arrangements break down still with awful predictability (between 50% and 60% if short and long term are included together) some authorities have been able to prescribe residential care for under tens.

Here and there have grown up so called 'preventative strategies' for families deemed 'at risk': nursery and day care social work services of different kinds, which just as with IT seem further to erode the need for children's homes. The latter have increasingly and quite rapidly, become the residual service for teenagers unmanageable in the community by virtue of their delinquency, family circumstances or personal behavioural unacceptability. It is to this role that residential homes staff have to address themselves despite their nostalgia for the recent past and the apparent hopelessness of the task.

### Conventional Wisdoms

This process of decarceration has further encouraged the notion that residence in a State Home defines and describes the residents as different. The feeling that such places are of last resort quickly induces in staff narrow views of child and adolescent behaviour. I have been told repeatedly in several different children's homes that **all** their residents are 'disturbed' for example, despite the absence of either a firm definition of that word or objective measures of behaviour. The language of child care is littered with these 'Big D' words: material Deprivation, emotionally Damaging experiences, Delinquency, Deviant behaviour, all covered by the global epithet Disturbed and all apparently felt to be connected in self-evident ways. In part of course this attributable to a system which requires a probing of individual biography for indications of pathology. It is then easy to make connections between past events and present behaviour. Curiously training actually seems to make this worse; new or untrained or part-time staff are in my experience, less likely to make such judgemental jumps and often have a wider notion of normal behaviour. However training and/or experience in the job erodes this broad view into a shallower 'professional' way of describing those in care, an inversion of what one might expect of an educative process.

Why should this be so? Why should a model of individual pathology have come to hold such sway? In part this must be because prediction from purely social factors such as large families, divorce and unemployment only works in statistical terms: you cannot say **which** family, **which** children experiencing such deprivations will necessitate intervention and care. The explanations for entry into care are reflective and can be turned up from investigation of biography. It is not pure chance or random selection, rather a matter of some children becoming 'visible' via the system of referral. The latter can involve all manner of people.

# 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 'Monitor' feature will be regularly included. Pages are numbered, but separate categories can be removed and filed. 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.

## benefits

'Benefits' is a regular feature on current levels of benefit and prospective changes in rate or procedure. It is compiled by Rod Crawford, Welfare Rights Worker at the East End Citizens Rights Centre, Moor Terrace, Sunderland, Tyne & Wear, to whom suggestions or enquiries should be made.

Once again Uprating day sees the Government using the general up-rating of benefit levels as a smokescreen for further cuts, hitting the most vulnerable. Claimants who have recently received an award of F.I.S. will now have this increased in November. In this way claimants applying for F.I.S. in September this year will not get the increase until they renew their claim the following September. Another cut follows the change in the way Additional Requirements to Supplementary Benefit are to be calculated. This means a rise in the deductions made from weekly additions for claimants on the long-term rate. The deduction which used to be 50p. has been raised to £1.00. Heating additions, once exempt from the deduction, are now included. This means, e.g. if a pensioner gets a heating addition, they will effectively be suffering a benefit cut of £1.00 from 26th. November. The new benefit rates as shown below are available in a handy, pocket sized edition, titled "Quick Welfare Benefit Guide" (price 10p. + P.&P.) from the above address.

## new benefit rates

### Supplementary Benefit

| Normal Requirements                    | Ordinary Rates | Long Term Rates |                                   |               |
|--|----------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|---------------|
| Couple                                 | £45.55         | £57.10          | Baths (Each bath over 1 per week) | £0.25         |
| Single Householder                     | £28.05         | £35.70          | Blindness                         | £1.24         |
| Non-householder over 18 years          | £22.45         | £28.55          | Over 80                           | £0.25         |
| 16 - 17 years                          | £17.30         | £21.90          | Attendance Requirements up to     | £19.10        |
| 11 - 15 years                          | £14.35         | -               | Laundry weekly cost minus         | £0.50         |
| Under 11 years                         | £9.60          | -               | Wear & Tear on clothing           | - weekly cost |
| <b>Savings Limit for Claims £3,000</b> |                |                 | Hospital Fares                    | - weekly cost |
|  |                |                 | H.P. (Essential items)            | - weekly cost |
|  |                |                 | Furniture Storage                 | - weekly cost |
|  |                |                 | Domestic Assistance               | - weekly cost |

### Additional Requirements

|   | Lower Rates | Higher Rates |
|---|-------------|--------------|
| Heating   | £2.10       | £2.50        |
| Central Heating                                       |             |              |
| 1 - 4 rooms   | £2.10       | -            |
| 5 rooms or more                                       | -           | £4.20        |
| Estate Rate Heating                                   | £4.20       | £8.40        |
| Diet  | £1.55       | £3.60        |
| For those on Kidney Machines (or actual cost if more) | -           | £10.35       |
| Maintenance & Repairs                                 | £1.80       |              |
| Available Scale Margin for those on long term S.B.    | £1.00       |              |

### Single Payments (Grants)

#### Savings Limit £500

Grants may be available to those entitled to S. Ben for various items including household goods, clothing maternity items, removal expenses, redecoration, funeral costs, bedding and other items.

### Family Income Supplement

| No. of children | Gross Income below which FIS is payable | Maximum Payment of F.I.S. |
|-----------------|---|---------------------------|
| 1               | 90.00                                   | 23.00                     |
| 2               | 110.00                                  | 25.00                     |
| 3               | 110.00                                  | 27.00                     |
| 4               | 120.00                                  | 29.00                     |

## Free School Meals

| Family Size | No. of Children entitled to free meals |        |        |        |        |        |
|-------------|--|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
|             | 1                                      | 2      | 3      | 4      | 5      | 6      |
|             | Net Weekly Income Less than            |        |        |        |        |        |
| 1           | 64.99                                  |        |        |        |        |        |
| 2           | 79.42                                  | 77.17  |        |        |        |        |
| 3           | 93.85                                  | 91.60  | 89.35  |        |        |        |
| 4           | 108.28                                 | 106.03 | 103.78 | 101.53 |        |        |
| 5           | 122.71                                 | 120.46 | 118.21 | 115.96 | 113.71 |        |
| 6           | 137.14                                 | 134.89 | 134.64 | 130.39 | 128.14 | 125.89 |

## Housing Benefit Needs allowance

|   |       |                           |       |
|---|-------|---------------------------|-------|
| Single Person                                       | 45.10 | Couple/Single Parent      | 66.50 |
| Each Child  | 12.85 |                           |       |
| Single (Handicapped)                                | 50.30 | Couple (Both Handicapped) | 74.15 |
| Couple (1 Handicapped) or Single Handicapped Parent |       |                           | 71.40 |

## Non-Dependant Deductions

| Non-Depend.<br>Income Type  | Age   |       |                                   |                        |
|---|---|-------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|
|   | 16-17   | 18-20 | 21-Pen Age                        | Over Pen Age           |
| 1. Supp. Ben  | Nil   | Nil   | 2.35 rent<br>(3.30)<br>0.95 rates | 2.35<br>(3.30)<br>0.95 |
| 2. Youth Tra.<br>Scheme   | Nil   | Nil   | N/A                               | N/A                    |
| 3. Sev. Dis. Allow.   | For SDA recipients on S.B. see (1)<br>Nil<br>For SDA recipients not on S.B. see (5) |       |                                   |                        |
| 4. Un. Ben/Sickness/Stat. Sickness/Mat Allow After 56 days. (for before see (5)). |   |       |                                   |                        |
| rent  | 2.35  |       | 2.35                              |                        |
|   |   | 2.35  |                                   |                        |
| rates   | 0.95  | 3.30  | 3.30                              | 3.30 N/A               |
|   |   | 0.95  | 0.95                              |                        |
| 5. Others   | 2.35 rent   | 6.60  | 6.60                              | 2.35                   |
|   |   | 8.80  | 8.80                              | 3.30                   |
|   | 0.95 rates  | 2.20  | 2.20                              | 0.95                   |

Nil Deductions apply for 'relevant students' or if the claimant/partner is blind.

## CONTRIBUTORY BENEFITS

|                               | Self  | Spouse | Each child |
|-------------------------------|-------|--------|------------|
| Unemployment Benefit          | 28.45 | 17.55  | -          |
| Sickness Benefit              | 27.25 | 16.80  | -          |
| Maternity Allowance           | 27.25 | 16.80  | -          |
| Retirement Pension            | 35.80 | 21.50  | 7.65       |
| Widows Allowance (1st-26 wks) | 50.10 | -      | 7.65       |

|  |       |       |      |
|--|-------|-------|------|
| Widows Pension (after 26 wks)  | 35.80 | -     | 7.65 |
| Widowed Mothers Allowance  | 35.80 | -     | 7.65 |
| Invalidity Pension   | 34.25 | 20.55 | 7.65 |
| Age related increases with Invalidity or Industrial Injury Unemployability Supplement. |       |       |      |

## Where Incapacity Began

|               |   |      |
|---------------|---|------|
| Before Age 40 | - | 7.50 |
| 40-49         | - | 4.80 |
| 50-59 (men)   | - | 2.40 |
| 50-54 (women) | - | 2.40 |

## Statutory Sick Pay (Non Contributory)

| Earnings | Before Tax | S.S.P. |
|----------|------------|--------|
| 32.50    | -          | 48.50  |
| 48.50    | -          | 65.00  |
| 65.00+   |            | 40.25  |

## Lump Sum Grants

|                 |       |
|-----------------|-------|
| Maternity Grant | 25.00 |
| Death Grant     | 30.00 |

## NON CONTRIBUTORY BENEFITS

|                                    | Self  | Spouse | Each child |
|------------------------------------|-------|--------|------------|
| Severe Disablement Allowance       | 21.50 | 12.85  | 7.65       |
| Invalid Care Allowance             | 21.50 | 12.85  | 7.65       |
| Wife or Adult Dep.                 |       |        |            |
| Attendance Allowance - Higher Rate |       |        | 28.60      |
| - Lower Rate                       |       |        | 19.10      |
| Mobility Allowance                 |       |        | 20.00      |
| Guardians Allowance                |       |        |            |
| Childs Special Allowance           |       |        | 7.65       |
| Child Benefit                      |       |        | 6.85       |
| One Parent Benefit                 |       |        | 4.25       |

## NCIP & HNCIP

Same rate as Severe Disablement Allowance

## INDUSTRIAL INJURIES

|   |       |
|---|-------|
| Disablement Benefit (100% assessment)                               | 58.40 |
| Unemployability Supplement  | 34.25 |
| Special Hardship Allowance (maximum)                                | 23.36 |
| Constant Attendance Allowance & Exceptionally Disablement Allowance | 23.40 |

## INDUSTRIAL DEATH BENEFIT

|                               |       |
|-------------------------------|-------|
| Widows Pension (1st - 26 wks) | 50.10 |
| Widows Pension (higher rate)  | 36.35 |
| Widows Pension (lower rate)   | 10.74 |

### 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** amendment 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

### V38 N73

#### Pupil-Teacher Ratio OA

Mr. Knox asked the Sec State Wales what was the pupil-teacher ratio in primary schools in Wales at the most recent count; and how this compares with the ratio in 1978 Mr. Stradling Thomas: The ratio was 21.9:1 in January 1982 compared with 22.6:1 in 1978. Cont: Youth Training Scheme OA

Mr. Barry Jones asked the Sec State Wales if he will make a statement regarding the application of the youth training scheme to Wales. Mr. Nicholas Edwards: I understand that the Manpower Services Commission in Wales will be seeking to provide around 25,000 YTS places in 1983-84. Cont:

#### Unification Church WA

Mr. Charles Morrison asked the Attorney-General what action he is now taking expedite a decision by the Charity Commissioners in their consideration of the charitable status of the Unification Church. The Attorney-General: I have twice written to the Charity Commissioners asking them to hold an inquiry under section 6 of the Charities Act 1960 into the affairs of the two charitable trusts associated with the Unification Church. They have twice declined to hold such an inquiry.

#### Teachers WA

Mr. Jim Callaghan asked the Sec State for Education and Science how many student teachers qualifying in 1979, 1980, 1981 and 1982 have not yet found jobs in the teaching profession. Dr. Boyson: This information is not readily available. However, surveys carried out in the autumns of 1979, 1980, 1981 and 1982 indicated that, respectively, 7,000, 6,000, 6,000 and 5,000 teachers who had successfully completed training in the previous summer, had not obtained teaching posts in the United Kingdom.

#### Urban Aid (Liverpool) WA

Mr. Steen asked the Sec State Environment what is the total amount of urban aid under the urban aid programme made available to the city of Liverpool in each of the last three years; Mr. King: The total amount of urban programme resources made available to the Liverpool partnership was as follows:

|         | £ million |
|---------|-----------|
| 1980-81 | 18.026    |
| 1981-82 | 17.935    |
| 1982-83 | 27.485    |

The amount paid in grants to voluntary organisations from the Liverpool inner city partnership resources was detailed below:

|         | £ million | Percentage of allocation<br>Per Cent |
|---------|-----------|--------------------------------------|
| 1980-81 | 1.578     | 8¾                                   |
| 1981-82 | 2.501     | 14                                   |
| 1982-83 | *2.470    | 9                                    |

\*Estimated.

#### Young Persons WA

Mr. Hill asked the Sec State Employment if he will list the measures regulating the engagement of young people, nominally self-employed persons, but recruited by commercial selling agents, particularly in the fields of doorstep selling of showers, double glazing, burglar alarms and insurance. Mr. Gummer: There are no measures regulating the engagement of people, including young people, in the field of doorstep selling.

#### Youth Training Scheme WA

Mrs. Shirley Williams asked the Sec State Employment how many firm youth training scheme places have now been offered by (a) private sector firms, (b) public sector firms and (c) national and local government.

Mr. Peter Morrison: I am afraid that the precise information is not available.

#### Youth Opportunities Programme WA

Mr. Harold Walker asked the Sec State Employment if he will study the statements made in the week beginning 28 February by the Sheffield coroner calling for tighter safety precautions for young people taking part in the youth opportunities programme; and if he will make a statement. Mr. Peter Morrison: The Manpower Services Commission has studied the coroner's remarks carefully. As the right hon. Member will be aware, commission officials are closely in touch with the Health and Safety Executive to ensure the safety of young people on training schemes. Mr. Harold Walker asked the Sec State Employment how many persons participating in the youth opportunities programme have been injured during the most recent two year period for which figures are available; how many have

died; how many have lost limbs. Mr. Peter Morrison: The Health and Safety Executive does not compile separate accident statistics for employed young people in this age group. The information requested about accidents on the youth opportunities programme is supplied in the following table, which includes all accidents involving an absence from work of one day or more. The Chief Inspector of Factories's report for 1981 shows that in general employment there were 20 notified accidents per 1,000 employees (all ages and industries); but these figures cover only those accidents resulting in three or more days' absence.

|  | April 1980-<br>March 1981 | April 1981-<br>March 1982 |
|--|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Number of YOP entrants   | 360,000                   | 553,000                   |
| Number of notified accidents                                     | 1,719                     | 3,251                     |
| Fatalities   | 4                         | 6                         |
| Loss of limb   | 0                         | 0                         |
| Loss of hand or foot   | 1                         | 1                         |
| Loss of finger(s) or toe(s)                                      | 22                        | 42                        |
| Accident rate per 1,000 trainees                                 | 4.8                       | 5.8                       |
| Minor injuries (mainly cuts, bruises, sprains) (including above) | 1.539                     | 2.974                     |

### V38 N74.

#### School Leavers (Jobs and Training Places) OA

1. Mr. Hooley asked the Sec State Employment how many boys and girls who left school in the summer of 1982 were still without a job or training by 31 December 1982. The Secretary of State for Employment (Mr. Norman Tebbit): By 31 December 1982 fewer than 8,000 of the 600,000 1982 school leavers were without a job or the offer of a place on the youth opportunities programme. Mr. Hooley: What will happen to the thousands of boys and girls on the youth training programme. Mr. Tebbit: As for the youngsters who will be going on the youth training scheme in September of this year. More than half the youngsters will be accommodated in either jobs or further training as they leave the YTS.

#### Youth Training Scheme OA

Miss Joan Lester asked sec state employment whether girls will have access to equal opportunities on the Y.T.S. there is great concern that most members of the MSC boards both regionally and nationally are male as are the lecturers in the youth opportunities programme? Is the right hon. Gentleman further aware that traditional skills that are rapidly drying out - are being offered to girls? Many of those young girls are likely to be discouraged from participating in the courses because they feel that they do not have any link with what they are likely to be offered later in life. Mr. Alison: there will be no prejudice against girls or women because the majority of the members of the commission are male. The youth training board has issued a statement requesting all parties involved in preparing and delivering the scheme to accept the principle of equality of opportunity. Mr. Myles: there is an alarming lack of employment for girls in the countryside? Will he introduce training so that girls can obtain jobs in the countryside and so stop the drift away from rural areas? Mr. Alison: there will be equality of opportunity in the YTS. However, girls must be allowed to choose the courses that they wish to pursue.

#### Youth Opportunities Programme (Statistics) OA

Mrs. Shirley Williams asked th Sec State Employment what proportion of young people who completed youth opportunities programme courses between one year and six months previously entered (a) full-time employment and (b) further education. Mr. Gummer: Information is not yet available on this particular group. The most recent national survey of those who joined youth opportunities programme schemes between April and June 1981 shows that about 40 per cent. of young people subsequently found employment and a further 10 per cent. went into further education or training.

#### Employment OA

Mr. Beith: What hope will the unemployed get from the hon. Gentleman's Department if he persists with his plans to close, or cut down the hours of jobcentres in some of the smaller communities where unemployment is highest? Does the Minister realise that some of the jobcentre closures afford savings of only £200 or £300 a year, and that many local authorities in the area would be happy to help with those minimal costs to see that a service of job finding is still available to people. Mr. Gummer: we are seeking to make the system as efficient as possible, and it is only sensible to look at some of the jobcentres that are of small use and to which a small number of people go, and make them as economic as possible. If the hon. Gentleman has a particular case in mind we shall look at it carefully.

#### Community Enterprise Programme WA

Mr. Foulkes asked Sec State Employment what response there has been from voluntary organisations to the community enterprise programme in the United Kingdom. Mr. Alison: By 31 January voluntary organisations had signed agreements to provide 32,184 community programme places in Great Britain.

#### Community Programme WA

Mr. Forman asked the Secretary of State for Employment how many people were on the community

programme at the latest available date; and if he is satisfied with its operation. **Mr. Allison:** At 31 January 1983 the number of places which had been approved on the community programme, including the community enterprise programme, was 53,005. Of these a total of 34,199 places had been filled. I am satisfied with the operation of the programme.

**Sir David Price** asked the Secretary of State for Employment how many unemployed people he hopes to help during 1983 through the community programme; and what the programme has achieved so far. **Mr. Allison:** The programme will provide up to 130,000 places both full and part time for those people who have been out of work for some time. At 31 January 1983 over 53,000 places have been approved on the programme, including the community enterprise programme.

#### Youth Training Scheme WA

**Mr. Michael McNair-Wilson** asked the Secretary of State for Employment what sum he is setting aside for funding the new youth training scheme. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** The youth scheme will come into operation in September. We have allocated about £1 billion to the scheme in 1983-84 and £1.1 billion in 1984-85.

**Mr. Latham** asked the Sec of State for Employment what progress is being made with finding sponsors for the yts. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** 100,000 new training places under the youth opportunities programme will be converted to training places under the yts. We are in discussion with a large number of employers about the provision of further places and some 65,000 have so far been promised by large firms. The MSC has recently undertaken a major campaign to attract support for the scheme and this has had an encouraging response.

**Mr. Foster** asked the Sec State Employment what plans he has for obtaining places on the youth training scheme for young people leaving school at Easter 1983.

**Mr. Peter Morrison:** We have guaranteed an early offer of a place on the youth training scheme to all unemployed 16-year-old school leavers, including those who leave school at Easter. **Mr. John Evans** asked the Sec State Employment how the MSC will ascertain a company's normal intake when seeking its 3:2 ratio of unemployed to employed.

**Mr. Peter Morrison:** A company's normal intake will be assessed from its recent recruitment of 16-year-olds. In most cases the number recruited in 1982 will be the base figure.

**Mr. Barry Jones** asked the Sec of State Employment how many yts places he expects to be located in (a) the British Steel Corporation, (b) British Aerospace and (c) other nationalised industries. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** I expect the nationalised industries to play a significant part in the youth training scheme and the MSC is currently discussing with them the number of places they will provide.

#### Youth Opportunities Programme WA

**Mr. Whitney** asked the State Employment whether the target of 100,000 new training places on the youth opportunities programme has been achieved. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** The target has been substantially achieved. By the end of 1982 about 93,000 places were approved and available for occupation.

#### Youth Opportunities Programme WA

**Mr. Craigen** asked the Sec State Employment if he will provide a breakdown of the main types of place of employment of those young people currently engaged in the 100,000 good-quality year-long youth opportunities programmes. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** No industrial analysis is available. However, provisional information on the approximate number of entrants to new training places between April 1982 and January 1983 is:

|  | Numbers |
|--|---------|
| Work Skills Courses                    | 59,000  |
| High quality Community Projects        | 9,000   |
| High quality Training Workshops        | 2,500   |
| Information Technology Centres (ITeCs) | 1,000   |
| Others                                 | 1,500   |
| Total                                  | 73,000  |

### V38 N75

#### Harmondsworth Detention Centre WA

**Mr. Soley** asked a Sec State Home Department how many people absconded from Harmondsworth detention centre during 1981 and 1982. **Mr. Waddington:** Seventeen detainees absconded from Harmondsworth in 1981, and 21 in 1982.

#### Drug Addiction WA

**Mr. Kilroy-Silk** asked Sec State for the Home Department what was the percentage increase between 31 December 1982 in the total number of people notified to his Department as receiving narcotic drugs from doctors in treatment of their addiction. **Mr. Mellor:** The provisional total number of narcotic drug addicts known to the Home Office at 31 December 1982 was given in Home Office statistical bulletin, issue 2/83, published on 22 February 1983. It is estimated that the number of addicts known to the Home Office nearly trebled between 31 December 1972 and 31 December 1982.

#### Youth Opportunities Programme WA

**Mr. Gordon Wilson** asked Sec State Scotland how much has been spent in Scotland in the MSC youth opportunities programme for each financial year since 1978-79; how many youngsters in total have been involved in each year; and what is his best estimate of the number of youngsters who move into employment following a period of youth opportunities programmes. **Mr. Alexander Fletcher:**

*Youth Opportunities Programme - Scotland  
Amount Spent and Number of Entrants*

| Year    | £ millions | Entrants |
|---------|------------|----------|
| 1978-79 | 7.75       | 23,600   |
| 1979-80 | 17.17      | 36,300   |
| 1980-81 | 32.67      | 49,300   |
| 1981-82 | 48.48      | 70,000   |

Information from the most recent survey for Scotland, undertaken in August 1982, shows that 51 per cent. of the sample of young people who had entered work experience schemes under the youth opportunities programme a year earlier were in employment shortly after leaving the programme.

### V38 N76

#### Detained Children

**Mr. Kilroy** asked Sec State Social Services how many (a) boys and (b) girls were held in (i) secure accommodation; (ii) local authority community homes and (iii) youth treatment centres on the latest available date; and how many had been held for (1) over two years, (2) 18 months to two years, (3) one year to 18 months, (4) nine months to one year, (5) six months to nine months and (6) three months to six months. **Mr. Newton:** (i) *Secure accommodation.* Statistics on secure accommodation are not routinely collected centrally. However, local authorities' records for 1980 have been the subject of a special study. The study does not provide figures for length of stay in the form requested, but as follows:

| Length of stay in secure units in community homes in 1980 | Boys | Girls | Total |
|---|------|-------|-------|
| Over 1 year   | 71   | 14    | 85    |
| 6 months-1 year   | 23   | 16    | 39    |
| 3-6 months  | 25   | 22    | 47    |
| 2-3 months  | 45   | 40    | 85    |
| 1-2 months  | 84   | 40    | 124   |
| 1 week-1 month  | 162  | 106   | 268   |
| 48 hours-1 week   | 158  | 142   | 300   |
| Total   | 568  | 380   | 948   |

(ii) *Local authority community homes.* The information requested is not collected centrally. At 31 March 1981 16,900 boys and 9,600 girls were resident in all types of community homes.

(iii) *Youth treatment centres.* The position at 31 December 1982 were as follows:

| Length of stay in secure units in at 31.12.82 | Boys | Girls | Total |
|---|------|-------|-------|
| Over 2 years                                  | 8    | 3     | 11    |
| 18 months-2 years                             | 7    | 1     | 8     |
| 1 year-18 months                              | 8    | 5     | 13    |

### V38 N77

#### Racial Equality WA

**Mr. Proctor** asked Sec State Employment what representations he has received from interested parties with regard to the Commission for Racial Equality's code of practice in employment; list the organisations from which he has received representations on this subject; and whether he plans to have any further discussion with C I R E in light of these representations.

**Mr. Allison:** In addition to the report received from the Employment Committee on the CRE's draft code of practice - published on 26 May 1982 as HC 273 - and the associated minutes of evidence, representations have been received from the following:

- The Association of British Chambers of Commerce
- The Association of County Councils
- The Association of Independent Businesses
- The Afro-Caribbean Development Society Ltd
- The Confederation of British Industry
- The Confederation of Indian Organisations
- The Greater London Council
- The Institute of Personnel Management
- The London Borough of Lewisham
- The National Chamber of Trade
- The Scottish Council for Racial Equality
- The Teeside Small Business Club Ltd
- The Trades Union Congress
- The National Association of Community Relations Councils and local Community Relations Councils in, Bolton, Charnwood, Dudley, Hounslow, Ipswich, Lewisham, Northampton and Redbridge.

No further discussions with the Commission for Racial Equality are planned at present.

#### Young Persons WA

**Mr. Lyell** asked the State Employment whether employers are continuing to employ young people after their period of under the young workers scheme.

**Mr. Tebbit:** The scheme has been in operation for only just over a year. However, the evidence available so far suggests that the great majority of young people are continuing with the same employer even after the subsidy has been exhausted.

#### Youth Training Programme WA

**Mr. Haynes** asked S State N Ireland how many people are currently engaged on the youth training programme in Northern Ireland. **Mr. Adam Butler:** At the end of January 1983, there were 8,091 young people in full-time training under the youth training programme. There were also 670 apprentices at Government training centres and 2,972 apprentices in training with employers who were receiving financial assistance from the Government.

#### European Award for Non-violence WA

**Mr. David Atkinson** asked the Sec State Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs whether Her Majesty's Government support recommendation 964 on a European award for non-violence, adopted by the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe on 28 January. **Mr. Rifkind:** We are at present examining the terms of recommendation 964 with a view to its forthcoming consideration by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe.

#### Benefits WA

**Mr. William Ross** asked Sec State for S Services for how many children benefit is now being paid, what is the total cost in the present financial year. **Mr. Newton:** On 15 February 1983, the latest date for which figures are available, child benefit was being paid for 12,736,350 children. The cost of child benefit in 1982-83 is estimated at £3,700 million.

#### Benefits (Cost)

**Mr. Austin Mitchell** asked the Sec State S Services what is the current cost per week of benefits of all kinds, including supplementary benefit, paid to the unemployed and their dependents. **Mr. Newton:** The estimated expenditure during the week ending 4 March 1983 on benefits paid as a direct consequence of unemployment - unemployment benefit and supplementary benefit - was some £90 million. Unemployed persons may also receive other benefits, or receive supplementary benefit for other reasons, but the cost of such payments cannot be identified separately.

### V39 N80

#### High Education WA

**Mr. Deakins** asked th Sec State for Education and Science what proportions of the age groups 22,23 and 24 years are studying for a second or higher degree.

**Mr. Waldegrave:** In the academic year 1981-82, 1.1 per cent. of 22-year-olds, 1.0 per cent. of 23-year-olds and 0.8 per cent. of 24-year-olds in Great Britain were on full-time study for postgraduate qualifications.

#### Medical Students WA

**Mrs. Dunwoody** asked the Sec State Education whether, in view of the fact that they study for a greater proportion of the year than other students, he will raise grants to medical students.

**Mr. Waldegrave:** Medical students are one group, among many, who have to attend their courses for longer than that allowed for in the main rates of mandatory award. The Education (Mandatory Awards) Regulations already provide for payment of an extra week's allowance to such students. My right hon. Friend announced on 8 November 1982 that the main rates of grant will be increased by 4 per cent. for the academic year 1983-84; the rates for extra weeks allowance are still being considered.

#### University Grants WA

**Mr. Ernie Ross** asked the Sec State for Education if he will make funds available to the University

Grants Committee to enable the financial penalties imposed on those universities which exceeded student numbers set by the University Grants Committee to be lifted.

**Mr. Waldegrave:** The decision involves a redistribution of the funds available for the universities. It does not alter their total.

**Schools (Admissions and Appeals) WA**

**Mr. Waller** asked the Sec State for Education if he will make a statement on the first year's experience of the school admission and appeal provisions of the Education Act 1980.

**Sir Keith Joseph:** Inquires of local education authorities by the Department indicate that in general the new arrangements for admission to schools, parental appeals and the publication of information about schools introduced under the 1980 Education Act have worked well. The role of parents and their rights in relation to school admissions have been enhanced. Some 9,000 parents dissatisfied with school admission decisions for the autumn of 1982 had recourse to the new local appeal committees where some 3,000, about one in three, were successful. There has also been a significant extension in the quality and range of information made available to parents about schools and about local authority policies and arrangements for education in their areas. In the light of their experience last year local education authorities will, I believe, be in a position further to improve the operation of their arrangements in the interests of parents.

**Teachers (Unemployment) WA**

**Mr. Ray Powell** asked the Sec State Wales what is the present number of qualified teachers registered as unemployed in Wales in aggregate and in the various categories such as secondary, primary, pre-primary and special education teachers and the numbers unemployed in aggregate and in the same categories in March 1975 and March 1979, respectively.

**Mr. John Stradling Thomas:** The latest available information relates to September 1982 and is as follows:

*Numbers of Qualified Teachers Registered as Unemployed*

|                            | Sept. 1982   | March 1979 | March 1975 |
|----------------------------|--------------|------------|------------|
| Secondary                  | 1,108        | 466        | 54         |
| Primary                    | 1,164        | 419        | 54         |
| Pre-Primary                | 15           | 3          | 9          |
| Special education teachers | 37           | 18         | 4          |
| <b>Total</b>               | <b>2,324</b> | <b>906</b> | <b>121</b> |

**Benefits WA**

**Mr. William Ross** asked the Sec State Social Services if he will publish a table in the *Official Report* showing for (a) England, (b) Scotland and (c) Wales the number of children in respect of which supplementary benefit is being paid in each part of the United Kingdom in each of the age bands, under 11 years, 11 years to 15 years, 16 years to 17 years and those over 18 years, indicating for each band and area the total sums estimated for the current financial year and the sums required for the last financial year.

**Mr. Newton:** The numbers of dependent children in families receiving supplementary benefit at December 1981, the latest date for which information is available, were as follows:

|                | England<br>thousands | Scotland<br>thousands | Wales<br>thousands |
|----------------|----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Under 11 years | 870                  | 103                   | 69                 |
| 11-15 years    | 374                  | 51                    | 26                 |
| 16-17 years    | 45                   | 4                     | 31                 |
| 18-19 years    | 4                    | *                     | *                  |

\* Less than 500.

Supplementary benefit for dependent children is paid as part of the total supplementary benefit award to their parents and the cost cannot be separately identified. The current scale rates are £8.75 for children under 11, £13.15 for children aged 11 to 15, £15.80 for children aged 16 to 17, and £20.55 for a dependent aged 18 to 19.

**Mr. William Ross** asked the Sec State for Social Services how many single householders in (a) England, (b) Scotland and (c) Wales, respectively, are receiving supplementary benefit at the latest available date; what were the figures in March 1982; and what is the estimated cost in the current financial year.

**Mr. Newton:** The numbers at December 1981, the latest date for which information is available, and the approximate costs for the year 1981-82 were as follows:

|                              | England | Scotland | Wales |
|------------------------------|---------|----------|-------|
| Number (thousands)           | 1,747   | 188      | 114   |
| Approximate cost (£ million) | 2,030   | 210      | 125   |

Information for the current financial year is not available.

*Source:* Annual statistical inquiry and expenditure in 1981-82 - regular weekly payments of supplementary benefit only.

**Family Planning Clinics WA**

**Mr. Pawsey** asked the Secretary of State for Social Services whether he will require family planning clinics as to (a) whether the general practitioner was informed, (b) whether advice was received as well as contraception, (c) whether the patient feared she was pregnant, (d) whether the parents were aware that the patient was attending the clinic, (e) whether the patient agreed that the parents should be told, (f) what the reasons were if the parents were not told, and (g) whether the patient subsequently became pregnant.

**Mr. Kenneth Clarke:** The Department's existing guidance stresses the need not to undermine parental responsibility and family stability in the provision of contraceptive advice to young people, and the consequential importance of involving parents as closely as possible. I do not consider that further guidance is necessary.

**V39 N81**

**Students Grants WA**

**Mr. Foulkes** asked the Sec of State Education and Science what the level of student grants would be now if they had kept up fully with the increase in the retail prices index since May 1979.

**Mr. Waldegrave:** The level of the maintenance grant for (i) students living away from home in London and (ii) students living away from home other than in London based on the rates applicable in May 1979 and increased to take account of the change in the retail prices index are as follows:

London  
£

Elsewhere  
£

|              |       |       |
|--------------|-------|-------|
| May 1979     | 1,315 | 1,100 |
| January 1983 | 1,984 | 1,660 |

**EDUCATION AND SCIENCE**

**Higher Education WA**

**Mr. Ernie Ross** asked the Sec State Education if he will make a statement on the policy of Her Majesty's Government towards the Robbins principle in higher education. **Mr. Waldegrave:** The Robbins principle is a desirable objective, but its continued attainment depends on the capacity of the economy to afford the cost. The proportion of qualified young people entering higher education in the past three years has been higher than for the previous decade. The numbers of students that can be accepted in future years consistent with the Government's expenditure plans are under discussion with the bodies concerned.

**Rural Schools (Closures) WA**

**Q27. Mr. Beith** asked the PM what consideration she has given to the problem of rural school closures. **The Prime Minister:** We recognise the value of rural schools to their communities. This is reflected in the calculations underlying rate support grant to take account of the additional costs of provision in sparsely populated areas, in the advice of my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Education and Science to local education authorities about falling school rolls, and in his detailed consideration of all closure proposals that fall to him to decide, which takes account in each case of local circumstances, the views of the local community, and the educational needs of the children concerned.

**Solvent Abuse WA**

**Mr. Haynes** asked the Sec State Social Services if his Department is financing any local community schemes to combat solvent abuse.

**Mr. Kenneth Clarke:** No, but many local community groups are tackling solvent abuse without the need for funding from the Department and we have offered to fund small studies of service responses to the problem. Consideration will be given to what further Government initiatives may be needed in the light of replies to consultation letters which we have sent to statutory, voluntary professional and retailers' organisations concerned.

**Mr. Haynes** asked the Secretary of State for Social Services how many deaths in 1981 and 1982 can be attributed to solvent abuse.

**Mr. Kenneth Clarke:** Exact figures of deaths associated with solvent abuse are not available, but 45 such deaths are known to have occurred in the United Kingdom in 1981 and 47 in 1982, with eight further reports still under investigation.

**V39 N82**

**Vandalism WA**

**Mr. Banks** asked the Sec State Home Department if he will publish the number of prosecutions for acts of vandalism, the average cost of each case, the average fine imposed and the average cost of the offending damage for the last year for which figures are available.

**Mr. Mayhew:** The number of persons proceeded against for criminal or malicious damage is published annually in "Criminal Statistics, England and Wales" under offence classification numbers 56-59. Information on the costs of court cases is not collected centrally, but the average fine imposed in 1981 for offences of criminal or malicious damage is estimated to have been about £40. Comprehensive information is not collected centrally on the value of property damage, but almost half of the offences of criminal damage recorded by the police in 1981 involved property valued at £20 or under.

**V39 N83**

**EDUCATION AND SCIENCE WA**

**Pressure Groups (Literature Distribution)**

**Mr. Greenway** asked the Sec State for Education what guidance is given by his Department concerning the distribution of pressure groups' literature in schools; and if he will make a statement.

**Sir Keith Joseph:** The Department has issued no guidance on this matter, though I understand that some local education authorities have done so. Pupils wishing to distribute leaflets are subjected to the disciplinary requirements of the school concerned.

**Universities (Income) WA**

**Mr. Canavan** asked the Sec State Education what proportion of the income of universities is met directly or indirectly by the Government. **Mr. Waldegrave:** It is estimated approaching 90 per cent. of universities' recurrent income comes from public funds. Most of this will come directly or indirectly from monies voted by Parliament.

**P.M. O**

**Mr. Neubert:** Has my right hon. Friend had an opportunity today to study the Young Socialists' conference agenda, which calls for Army officers to be elected by their troops, for the abolition of the monarchy and the police force, and for the conferring of political status on the so-called IRA prisoners of war? Is this not evidence of increasing extremism within the Labour party and will my right hon. Friend take the earliest opportunity to condemn views that are repugnant to the great majority of British people?

**Mr. Whitlaw:** If the Young Socialists spoke for the majority of the Labour party, it would be a serious matter, but, as I am a very kindly person, I still hope that they do not.

**V39 N84**

**Higher Education (Statistics) WA**

**Mr. Sheerman** asked the Sec State for Education if he will provide figures for the number of people entering higher education as a percentage of the population for the years 1978-79, 1979-80, 1980-81 and 1981-82, respectively, and what percentage of these were mature students.

**Mr. Waldegrave:** The information requested is given in rows (d) and (g) of the following table. However it is customary to quote age participation rates for entry to higher education which express home entrants to higher education aged under 21 as a percentage of 18-year-olds in the population and so exclude mature students—those aged 21 or more. These rates are given in row (h)

Thousands

|   | 1978-79       | 1979-80       | 1980-81       | 1981-82       |
|---|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| <b>Home initial entrants to higher education in Great Britain</b> |               |               |               |               |
| (a) - aged under 21   | 105.3         | 108.7         | 113.9         | 120.7         |
| (b) - aged 21 and over  | 32.4          | 34.3          | 33.7          | 36.2          |
| (c) total   | 137.7         | 143.0         | 147.6         | 156.9         |
| (d) Percentage mature ((b) as percentage of (c))                  | 23.5per cent. | 24.0per cent. | 22.8per cent. | 23.1per cent. |
| (e) Total population in Great Britain                             | 54,296        | 54,338        | 54,397        | 54,743        |
| (f) 18-year-old population in Great Britain                       | 850           | 875           | 896           | 913           |
| (g) Entrants as percentage population ((c) as percentage of (e))  | 0.3per cent.  | 0.3per cent.  | 0.3per cent.  | 0.3per cent.  |
| (h) Age participation rate ((a) as percentage of (f))             | 12.4per cent. | 12.4per cent. | 12.7per cent. | 13.2per cent. |

**V39 N85****Inner Cities (Ethnic Minorities) OA**

**Mr. Proctor:** Does my hon. Friend agree that the millions of pounds of taxpayers' money that has been poured by his Department into inner city areas is a waste of money. Would not those resources be better utilised by transferring them to the Home Office for the better protection and policing of Greater London, so that black and white alike can be better protected?

**Sir George Young:** I do not agree with that for one moment. There has been a welcome improvement in the atmosphere in our inner cities since the publication of the Scarman report and the following activities of several Government Departments, including the Home Office and mine, in building up a better dialogue in our inner cities and in backing a range of worthwhile projects with both public and private money. I cannot agree that a transfer of funds from the urban programme to the Home Office would tackle some of the deep social and economic problems that remain in our inner cities.

**Job Vacancies WA**

**Mr. Wigley** asked the Sec State for Employment if he will publish a table showing the proportionate increase or decrease in the numbers of vacancies for jobs notified to (a) employment offices and (b) careers offices between February 1982 and February 1983. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** Following

|                 | Percentage |
|-----------------|------------|
| Jobcentres      | 11.2       |
| Careers offices | 1.4        |

**Unemployment Statistics WA**

**Mr. Wigley** asked the Sec State for Employment if he will publish a table indicating the proportionate increase or decrease of the absolute non-seasonally adjusted unemployed total in England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, respectively, between February 1982 and February 1983. **Mr. Gummer:** The figures used in the calculations include school leavers and are not seasonally adjusted.

|                  | Percentage |
|------------------|------------|
| England          | 12.2       |
| Wales            | 7.8        |
| Scotland         | 8.7        |
| Northern Ireland | 9.6        |

**Technology Training WA**

**Mr. McCrindle** asked the Sec State Employment if he will take steps to remedy the gap which exists in the provision of training courses in new technology for those who have left full-time education, but have not been out of it for two years or more

**Mr. Peter Morrison:** A wide range of training courses is available in new technology in further and higher education, with private training providers and, for young people, in information technology centres which are currently increasing their scale of operations. There is no general rule which prevents anyone who has been away from full-time education for less than two years from embarking on such courses. This restriction scheme which is directed at meeting the needs of those who have already had a significant period of employment.

**Training Opportunities Scheme WA**

**Mr. McCrindle** asked the Sec State Employment if he is satisfied that training opportunities scheme courses are available principally to those who missed out on a chance of training for one type of career.

**Mr. Peter Morrison:** The Training opportunities scheme is designed to cater both for those who received no initial skill training and for those who require retraining.

**Mr. McCrindle** asked the Sec State Employment how many training opportunities scheme courses have been taken up by those who have just left full-time education and have been unable to find work.

**Mr. Peter Morrison:** People who have been out of full-time education for less than two years are not in general eligible for a place under the training opportunities scheme. However, to meet a specific shortage, some 140 graduates have exceptionally undertaken experimental conversion courses in electronics since 1981.

**Youth Training Scheme WA**

**Mr. Hannam** asked the Sec State Employment if he will extend the youth training scheme to include over 18-year-old handicapped youngsters who because of the extra time required for their schooling, generally stay on at school until the age of 20.

**Mr. Peter Morrison:** The chairman of the Manpower Services Commission has recently written to the

Secretary of State suggesting that the age limit for the entry of disabled youngster to the youth training scheme be raised from 18 to 21 years. My right hon. Friend is currently considering this suggestion.

**Unemployed Voluntary Action Fund WA**

**Mr. Corrie** asked the Sec State for Scotland if he will increase the resources allocated to the unemployed voluntary action fund.

**Mr. Younger:** I had already announced that £300,000 would be allocated to the fund in 1983-84. In the light of representations received from the trustees, I have now decided to increase that figure to £500,000 in the present financial year. I hope that this increase in the level of funding will enable many more worthwhile projects to get under way.

**Unemployment Statistics WA**

**Mr. Strang** asked the Sec of State for Employment what was the percentage increase in (a) total and (b) male unemployment in the United Kingdom between January 1982 and January 1983.

**Mr. Allison:** Between January 1982 and January 1983 there was an increase of 10.9 per cent. in the number of male unemployed claimants and 11.4 per cent. in the total number of unemployed claimants in the United Kingdom. The figures include school leavers and are not seasonally adjusted.

**V39 N87****Technical and Vocational Education WA**

**Mr. Hal Miller** asked the Sec State Employment what proposals have been put to him by local education authorities for support under the new technical and vocational education initiative; and what decisions have been reached upon them.

**Mr. Peter Morrison:** Sixty-six local education authorities submitted to the Manpower Services Commission proposals for the support under this initiative. With the valuable assistance of an expert steering group the Commission has examined the proposals and has recommended that 14 of them should, subject to a satisfactory outcome of detailed negotiations in each case, be supported within the resources allocated to the initiative. These 14 proposals are from:

Barnsley  
Bedfordshire  
Birmingham  
Bradford  
Clwyd  
Devon  
Enfield  
Hereford and Worcester  
Hertfordshire  
Leicestershire  
Sandwell  
Staffordshire  
Wigan  
Wirral

The Government have accepted the Commission's recommendations and have asked the Commission to enter into urgent discussions with authorities concerned so that schemes can be launched in September.

**N40 N88****Youth Service WA**

**Mr. Foster** asked the Sec State Education whether he takes into account rising youth unemployment, crime and homelessness in allocating funds to local education authorities for the youth service.

**Mr. William Shelton:** The distribution of block grant (which is paid in support of local authorities' expenditure in all services, including the youth service) is based upon an assessment of local authorities' spending needs. In the case of the youth service, although the assessment does not take direct account of measure of youth unemployment, crime and homelessness, it does incorporate various social and economic factors, such as low income and poor housing.

**Mr. Foster** asked the Sec State for Education how much has been spent on youth service projects by local education authorities at constant prices for each year since 1975.

**Mr. William Shelton:** Measured from the base of the 1981-82 outturn of expenditure, the local education authorities (England) capital expenditure, at constant prices, on the Youth Service since 1975 is as follows:

|         | Constant prices (1981-82 prices) (£ million) |
|---------|--|
| 1975-76 | 8.1  |
| 1976-77 | 8.8  |
| 1977-78 | 4.0  |
| 1978-79 | 5.8  |
| 1979-80 | 7.0  |
| 1980-81 | 5.2  |
| 1981-82 | 2.9  |

**Mr Foster** asked the Sec State Education and Science how much has been spent on the youth service by local education authorities at constant prices for each year since 1975.

**Mr. William Shelton:** Local authority recurrent expenditure on the youth service since 1975-76, expressed at 1981-82 outturn prices, has been as follows:

|         | £ million (1981-82 outturn prices) |
|---------|------------------------------------|
| 1975-76 | 76                                 |
| 1976-77 | 79                                 |
| 1977-78 | 80                                 |
| 1978-79 | 87                                 |
| 1979-80 | 87                                 |
| 1980-81 | 85                                 |
| 1981-82 | 87                                 |

**V40 N89****Youth Training Schemes WA**

**Mr. Cryer** asked the Sec State for Employment what procedures are followed by the Manpower Services Commission before persons on training schemes such as the youth opportunities programme are allowed on industrial premises to ensure that such premises and any machinery used are safe.



**Mr. Peter Morrison** Employers have a statutory responsibility under the Health and Safety at Work etc. Act 1974 to ensure that premises and machinery are safe, in respect of both employees and others on their premises, including trainees. The Manpower Services Commission requires officials in checking scheme applications to submit a written report on all aspects of the proposals, including health and safety.

**Mr. Cryer** asked the Sec State for Employment what safeguards are required to ensure that Manpower Services Commission trainees are given full instructions in all safety aspects before using machinery of any sort. **Mr. Peter Morrison** The Manpower Services Commission issues a booklet to all sponsors which contains detailed advice on their responsibilities for giving health and safety training to trainees. The contents of the booklet are discussed in detail with sponsors. Practical advice on health and safety at work is also contained in a leaflet which is issued to all trainees.

#### V40 N90

##### Truancy OA

**Mr. Heddle**: As 12,000 school children between the ages of 11 and 15 were convicted of criminal offences in the west midlands alone last year, and as 15 out of every 100 secondary school children are known to have a history of hard core truancy, does my hon. Friend accept that there is a direct link between hard core truancy, and teenage crime? If so, what steps does he propose to take to make parents more responsible, teachers more accountable and the courts more effective?

**Dr. Boyson**: That is a wide question. I read the article that my hon. Friend recently wrote on this issue. From the research that I have seen, it would seem that there is undoubtedly a connection between hard core truancy and criminal activity. We are having informal discussions with local authority bodies because we are concerned about the figures. Indeed, a recent survey in inner London showed that about 10 per cent. of pupils aged 11 were absent from school and that about 25 per cent. were absent by the age of 15. That is very serious.

**Mr. Greenway**: Does my hon. Friend agree that pupils play truant from school when the school courses are not up to the proper standard? What is my hon. Friend's view of the practice of the French Socialist Government of withholding family benefit from the parents of children who persistently play truant?

**Dr. Boyson**: It is no doubt true that if pupils do not consider that their school courses bear any direct relationship to the life that they will lead outside school, they are more likely to play truant. The idea of the new technical and vocational education initiative is to make school more relevant to all our pupils. I believe that my hon. Friend has recently been to France, and I look forward to the Department of Education and Science and the Department of Health and Social Security having consultations with him.

**Mr. Marks**: Will the Minister agree not to take the line that has been suggested? I know that the Government like to punish the worst off families, but that would hit them very hard. Will the hon. Gentleman take into consideration not only hard core truancy but the fact that much juvenile delinquency occurs when children occasionally play truant, perhaps because they do not like a teacher or because there are troubles at home? Does he agree that checking up in the schools can act as a form of protection against that?

**Dr. Boyson**: The hon. Gentleman has considerable experience of schools, I agree that the education and welfare officer—who was once called the school attendance officer and who at least knew what he was doing—has an essential part to play in getting children to school. We are concerned that all children should have a genuine feeling for life and a good education. That is why we want them all to be in school.

##### Full-time Education (16-plus) OA

**5. Mr. James Lamond** asked the Sec State Education if he will arrange for an allowance to be paid to those young people who remain in full-time education after 16 years of age.

**The Under-Secretary of State for Education (Mr. William Shelton)**: I have nothing to add to the reply the Prime Minister gave to a question to the hon. Member for Stockport, North (Mr. Bennett) on 22 February 1983.

**Mr. Lamond**: Is the Minister aware of the concern being expressed by local education committees, in towns such as Oldham that the economic pressure on 17 and 18-year-olds will be intensified by the introduction of the youth training scheme? It will cost parents, who may be unemployed £25 per week to keep a child at school.

**Mr. Shelton**: Perhaps I can reassure the hon. Gentleman by saying that the staying-on rate in full-time education for those over 16 years is higher than it has been since the raising of the school leaving age. It is extraordinary that it should be the Labour party's official policy to pay perhaps £500 million in dead weight to youngsters who are already staying on.

**Mr. Arthur Lewis**: Is the Minister aware that the democratically elected London borough of Newham has decided to pay the £25 per week to students who stay on at school? May I take it that the hon. Gentleman or his Department, will ensure that at least part, if not all, of that will be paid for out of the Exchequer's funds because it will keep those young people off the streets and save a great amount of money spent to make good the effects of vandalism and so on? Is it not worth giving a little towards that, thus probably saving on the large amounts given to the police to deal with crime and vandalism?

**Mr. Shelton**: I remind the hon. Gentleman that local education authorities can already give education allowances or discretionary grants. More than £20 million was given in that way last year. I have seen the press notice in the local press. We have no details yet, but I saw in the press notice that £500,000 is being reserved for that purpose. No doubt the ratepayers will realise that the money is being paid to youngsters, most of whom would stay on anyway. **6. Mrs. Renée Short** asked the Sec State Education if he will take steps to encourage more 16-year-olds to stay in full-time education.

**Mr. William Shelton**: My right hon. Friend is already doing so, by providing expenditure plans.

##### Assisted Places Scheme WA

**46. Mr. Flannery** asked the Sec State for Education and Science how many pupils at the latest count are using the assisted places scheme.

**Dr. Boyson**: The total number of pupils in England who are now receiving education under the assisted places scheme is estimated to be 8,616.

##### School Meals Service WA

**47. Mr. Race** asked the Sec State Education which local authorities have made decisions under the powers granted to them in the Education Act 1980, to abolish the school meals service for primary or secondary school pupils.

**Dr. Boyson**: Dorset, Hereford and Worcester, and Lincolnshire no longer provide meals on payment in primary schools. The London borough of Merton decided recently to cease to provide a paid service in its primary and secondary schools with effect from September.

##### Physics (Girl Students) WA

**49. Miss Fookes** asked the Sec State for Education what assessment he has made of the recommendations of the girls and physics report aimed at securing that greater numbers of girls study physics.

**Dr. Boyson**: We welcome this valuable report, which has been prepared by the Royal Society and the Institute of Physics. The Government have made it clear that every school should aim to provide a broad science programme for all its pupils, which would entail a substantial increase in the number of girls studying the physical sciences.

#### V40 N93

##### Youth Training Initiative

**11. Mr. Haselhurst** asked the Sec State Employment how many places under the youth training scheme have now been guaranteed by sponsors.

**Mr. Peter Morrison**: Major employers nationally have so far promised 65,000 places on the scheme, and 100,000 new training places under the youth opportunities programme are now ready for conversion. At local level, discussions about the scheme are taking place with thousands of potential sponsors and I am confident that the target of 460,000 entrants to the scheme this year will be met.

**Mr. Lee**: I am sure that my hon. Friend will be as encouraged as I am from the inquiries that I have made.

##### Overseas Students OA

**Mr. Deakins** asked the Sec State Education what is the annual amount of public funds forgone by virtue of reduced-rate fees for European Community students studying in the United Kingdom as compared with full-rate fees.

**Mr. Waldergrave**: In 1981-82, the latest year for which complete information is available, it is estimated that European Community students paid £5.2 million in home fees and that they would have paid £17.6 million if charged full overseas rates.

##### Alcoholism WA

**Mr. Kilroy-Silk** asked the Sec State for Social Services how many young persons were admitted to hospitals in each of the last five years with alcoholism or alcoholic psychosis.

**Mr. Kenneth Clarke**: The information which is readily available is shown in the following table.

*Number of admissions of 15-19 year olds to mental illness hospitals and units for alcohol misuse, 1977 to 1981: England*

| <i>Year of admission</i> | <i>Number of Admissions*</i> |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1977                     | 79                           |
| 1978                     | 90                           |
| 1979                     | 88                           |
| 1980                     | 133                          |
| 1981                     | 100                          |

\*Admissions with primary diagnosis of alcoholism or alcoholic psychosis (1977, 1978) or main diagnosis of alcohol dependence syndrome, alcohol psychosis or non-dependent abuse of alcohol (1979-1981).

*Note*: Figures for 1979-1981 are not fully comparable with those for 1977-1978 because of changes in the definition of primary/main diagnosis and in the classification of the diseases.

##### Part-time Employment WA

**Mr. Nicholas Winterton** asked the Sec State for Employment what was the number of (a) men and (b) women employed in part-time jobs in each of the last 10 years. **Mr. Alison**: The following table gives the available information for Great Britain from 1973 to 1982. Separate figures for males and females are available at June each year from 1973 to 1978 and at September 1981. Figures for male in part-time employment were not collected in 1979, 1980 and 1982. The figures in the table are not adjusted for seasonal variations and they exclude employees in private domestic service.

*Employees in Part-time Employment*

*(Thousand)*

|                            | <i>Males</i> | <i>Females</i> |
|----------------------------|--------------|----------------|
| <i>June each year</i>      |              |                |
| 1973                       | 665          | 3,163          |
| 1974                       | 689          | 3,421          |
| 1975                       | 697          | 3,551          |
| 1976                       | 699          | 3,585          |
| 1977                       | 681          | 3,617          |
| 1978                       | 704          | 3,679          |
| 1979                       | NA           | 3,863          |
| 1980                       | NA           | 3,929          |
| <i>September each year</i> |              |                |
| 1981                       | 709          | 3,759          |
| 1982 (latest available)    | NA           | 3,722*         |

\* Provisional

##### Youth Training Scheme WA

**Mr. John Townend** asked the Minister for Civil Service what are the Government's plans for Civil Service participation in the youth training scheme; and whether he will make a statement.

**Mr. Hayhoe**: The following organisations are considering offering places under the youth training scheme:

Royal Mint  
MOD Civilian Establishments (including Royal Dockyards, Royal Ordnance Factories and Procurement Executive).  
Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO).  
Ordnance Survey.  
Export Credit Guarantee Department  
Ministry of Agriculture, Commodities Division.  
Off Shore Supplies Office, Glasgow.  
Forestry Commission  
Customs and Excise (particularly at Southend).  
Some Office/common services areas (including computers).  
Government research activities.  
MSC  
Museums and Galleries.

##### Manpower Services Commission (Staff) WA

**Mr. Les Huckfield** asked the Sec State for Employment if he will increase the size of the Manpower Services Commission's staff who supervise the various youth training schemes that it operates.

**Mr. Peter Morrison**: I am confident that the Manpower Services Commission has sufficient staff to operate the Youth Training Scheme.

#### The Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984

On 31 st. October 1984, the much-publicised and much-criticised Police and Criminal Evidence Bill received the Royal Assent, and duly became the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984. Its birth was described by one journalist as, 'after a three year battle...in its final form, a points victory to its promoters in the police and the Tory Party'. Some might see it as a clear knockout.

Most of the Act won't come into effect for at least a year. It seems that the Home Office believes that the Police need a lengthy period in which to be trained in its various provisions. This delay in implementation will also give defence lawyers and others the time to become acquainted with what has finally got onto the statute books. Clearly in view of the extent of police/young person contact, it is essential that youth workers have a working knowledge of those parts of the Act (and the accompanying Code of Practice) of particular relevance to young people e.g. the extent of the powers of the police on the street and in the police station. We suspect that despite all the publicity about the Bill and the Parliamentary debates about it (and its predecessor which died with the calling of the 1983 General Election), many youth workers remain somewhat baffled about the complex areas of the law to which the Act relates - a complexity which is perhaps confirmed by the fact that two publishers (there are probably more) have announced the imminent publication of two 'Guides' to the Act, both at prices which indicate books of some substance. In future editions, both in this column and elsewhere in the journal, 'Youth and Policy' intends to focus on some of the Act, with the aim of assisting youth workers deal with its practical application.

#### Abuse of police powers

According to newspaper reports, (3) one part of the Act is to be implemented by Spring 1985. This is Part 1X, which overhauls the present provisions for dealing with complaints about the police, and discipline. It therefore seemed appropriate that this edition's column should concentrate on the means by which abuses by the police of their powers can be challenged, to heavily against the complainant, and that to file a complaint is to acknowledge the fairness of the system. On the other hand with a mass boycott of the system a fantasy (there were in excess of 17000 complaints reported to the Police Complaints Board in 1982), a failure to complain can be seen as a statistic 'for' the Home Office, and it certainly means the offending officer doesn't even get one sleepless night. Despite its ineffectiveness, it surely makes sense both to register a protest within the present system whilst at the same time to campaign with others for a truly independent system and greater local control of the police. The decision to complain ultimately lies with the young person concerned, but in many instances the views of a youth worker can be a major influence. Likewise it is easier to complain with support, than alone. Whether or not the individual chooses to pursue his/her complaint further, there is surely a duty incumbent on youth workers, social workers, defence lawyers and others to expose (without breaching confidentiality) the abuses that are all too common.

#### The Police Complaints system

If someone does wish to challenge police behaviour in a particular instance, a complaint needs to be lodged in writing with the relevant Chief Constable. Before taking such a step, it would obviously be beneficial to seek some prior advice from a sympathetic solicitor about what occurred. One may be involved already because a criminal charge may have arisen against the potential complainant as a result of the incident (if this is so, advice should be obtained from the solicitor on the timing of the lodging of the complaint). Green Form legal aid is available to cover the advice, provided the means test is satisfied. The solicitor may lodge the complaint him/herself, but this does not negate a supporting role for the youth worker in the months ahead.

The purpose of filing a complaint is to ask the Chief Constable to investigate the possibility that an officer within his force has committed a criminal offence, warranting prosecution by the Director of Public Prosecutions, or laid himself open to disciplinary charges. The Police Act 1976 established the Police Complaints Board with the duty to receive reports of complaints after they had been investigated and decided upon by the Chief Constable, and the power to recommend disciplinary action in cases where no such action had been considered appropriate. Intervention by the P.C.B. has been rare.

That there is frequent and widespread abuse can no longer be open to question, particularly in the light of the miners' experiences on the picket lines and the contents of the Policy Studies Institute Report on the Metropolitan Police published just over a year ago. This Report, the results of an in-depth study into the Metropolitan Police commissioned by the police themselves, highlighted for example the extent of the misuse of existing stop-and-search powers by London Police, and in so doing lent academic respectability and credence to the numerous anecdotes that young people had been telling about their own experiences for some time. Neither would there seem to be any reason for believing that the extent of power-abuse will diminish with the implementation of the Act, despite the fact that (a) some of the existing abuses are 'legalised' by the Act; (b) there are some limited safeguards in the Act; (c) the police are undergoing the training referred to above.

The dilemma that faces a youth worker when informed of an incident of apparent unlawful or unacceptable behaviour by a police officer in dealing with a young person, is whether or not to encourage the young person to take the matter further. Amongst many young people, there is an understandable and justifiable cynicism about complaining. Just as a common response to information about the increased police powers brought in by the Act, is 'so what?...they do already', so there is an accompanying attitude of '...and there is no point in complaining'. The reasons for this are numerous, but in particular, (a) there is a genuine fear of retribution against the complainant from officers aware of the complaint; (b) there is an awareness of the likelihood that the complaint will get nowhere - in the words of Lord Scarman, 'a widespread and dangerous lack of confidence in the existing complaints system' (a justifiable lack of confidence e.g. the Metropolitan Police statistics for 1983 indicate that only 268 of 7711 complaints were substantiated); (c) there is a deeply-held mistrust about the police investigating themselves, a situation which despite tireless campaigning by N.C.C.L. and others is not changed by the Act.

When confronted with this reluctance to complaining, it is not surprising if youth workers are apprehensive about urging the pursuit of the grievance. There is strength in the argument that the odds are weighted. The 1984 Act abolishes the Police Complaints Board. Eighteen sections of the Act set out the new complaints system, but at this stage there seems to be no reason to disagree with the N.C.C.L. whose response to the proposal in the Bill was 'although new structures are to be created, from the viewpoint of the public, the system would be very little different'.

The initial complaint will still be made to the Chief Constable. In most instances, he will appoint a senior officer to investigate whether or not the complaint can be 'informally resolved'. Interviews with the complainant and possible witnesses will follow. It is not clear what 'informally resolved' means, but presumably it is some form of weeding-out process such as happens at present leading to a number of complaints being withdrawn (approximately 47% of all recorded complaints), or left on the file not to be proceeded with. However section 85 (10) does state that 'A complaint is not suitable for informal resolution unless (a) the member of the public concerned gives his consent; and (b) the chief officer is satisfied that the conduct complained of, even if proved, would not justify a criminal or disciplinary charge'.

If the complaint is not withdrawn or 'informally resolved', another senior officer will be appointed to carry out a 'formal investigation'. Some formal investigations will have to be carried out under the supervision of the Police Complaints Authority, a newly created body whose members shall be appointed by the Home Secretary (but who shall not include any person who is or has been a constable in any part of the United Kingdom). The P.C.A. shall supervise (N.B. not investigate) the investigation of all complaints involving allegations of death or serious injury, and certain other complaints referred to it if considered desirable in the public interest, and other types of complaint to be specified in regulations to be issued by the Secretary of State. These regulations when issued will spell out other powers and duties of the P.C.A., but in the meantime supervision would appear to include the right to approve/disapprove the appointment of the investigating officer, the right to impose requirements on the investigation, the right to receive a final report from the investigating officer, the duty to reply indicating whether or not the investigation was carried out satisfactorily (and if not why not).

Section 90 sets out in considerable detail what steps should be taken following a formal investigation (whether P.C.A. supervised or not). Suffice it to say that the Chief Officer is, just as at present, given considerable discretion in deciding whether or not to forward the investigating officer's report to the Director of Public Prosecution for consideration of criminal charges, or to institute disciplinary charges himself. A duty is imposed on him to forward details of all cases to the P.C.A., since the P.C.A. (like the existing P.C.B.) has the right to overrule the Chief Officer's decision to do nothing, and to direct otherwise. It will obviously be interesting to observe to what extent this power is used by the P.C.A.

It should be clear from the above briefest of outlines of the complaints system, both existing and planned, that a youth worker can play a valuable role in unravelling and explaining to a young complainant where his complaint has got to in the system. Likewise if it ends up having 'got nowhere', the youth worker can perhaps encourage the pursuit of the complaint through the less official channels of the Local Police Authority. Some Police Authorities are relatively independent of their Chief Constable, and some even have sub-committees established to consider the whole question of police complaints. Even if no result ensues, the raising of consciousness amongst members must surely be worthwhile.

#### Civil Proceedings

Whether or not a complaint is successful, serious consideration ought to be given to the instituting of civil proceedings against the police where the facts warrant it. Clearly a solicitor's advice should be sought on whether or not there exists a prima facie case of wrongful arrest, false imprisonment, assault, malicious prosecution or whatever. If the means test is satisfied, Green Form legal aid is available for this advice, and if there is a reasonable prospect of success, full legal aid should be available for the proceedings (subject of course to a further means enquiry). An acquittal of the complainant in criminal proceedings arising out of the same incident, does not of course guarantee success in civil proceedings.

Errol Madden's well-publicised out-of-court settlement in October 1983 for damages of £1680.00 for false imprisonment and malicious prosecution, is just one of many cases in which civil proceedings against the police have succeeded despite the police complaint not having been upheld. There is considerable truth in the statement that 'suing for damages in the civil courts may be a more effective remedy than the complaints system itself, even though it can take several years and result in no action against the individual police officers'.

A young person pursuing a complaint alone and without support, could soon feel demoralised. Pressure to withdraw a complaint, or to arrive at an 'informal resolution' should not be underestimated. Police Authority members will do nothing if not pushed. Solicitors are notoriously nervous about civil litigation against the police. A youth worker has a valuable role to play in supporting a young person's efforts (and those of his/her parents) to secure a just result.

#### REFERENCES AND NOTES

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3. e.g. The Guardian. 2/11/84.
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7. Report of the Police Complaints Board 1982.
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9. N.C.C.L. Briefing on The Police and Criminal Evidence Bill 1983. November 1983.
10. Section 85.
11. Second Triennial Review of the Police Complaints Board 1983.
12. Section 85 (5).
13. Section 83 (1).
14. Schedule 4 (4).
15. Section 89.
16. Section 92 & 93.
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18. 'Policing by Coercion'. Louise Christian. G.L.C. Police Committee Support Unit.

Police, teachers and neighbours all of whom have particular interests or duties to exercise may decide to refer to Social Services. It is very often parents themselves who are advised or decide to seek help. In terms of the conventional wisdoms this is a very dangerous thing to do: the inexorable grind of the machine begins with the creation of a file.

It is interesting to speculate about the social trends which result in particular pieces of legislation. Some can dismiss new laws and changes in policy and emphasis as 'fashion' but that is altogether naive. The 1984 Childrens Act and the 1969 Act illustrate quite different philosophies. The voluntary care policy of the 1948 Act (now subsumed in the 'tidying up' 1980 Childrens Act) contained two very important ideas reflecting the immediate history of the times. World War Two had seen large movements of children evacuated from the cities. The cohesion that only war seems able to produce in populations meant that the Labour Administration of 1945 was able to introduce a very radical broad programme of social re-organisation. As part of that programme the 1948 Act reflected the new legal rights of the citizen to demand help from the state in times of personal difficulty. Sharing the task of child care and making that care as near to family life as possible in Family Group Homes was a new duty on local communities.

By the late 50s however the British could be told that they had never had it so good. As the War faded into history and the 60s dawned to divert us with novel forms of hedonism and materialism, the professionalising social workers could revert to psychological models of behavioural explanation. It became increasingly difficult to believe that families should not be able to rear their children in a Welfare State without resorting to the Children's Department. Sociology has always had a tenuous hold on social work practice, psychological and especially psychiatric/medical models have always been more accessible to the individual case work style of social work. The critiques of Goffman,<sup>(2)</sup> Tizard<sup>(3)</sup> and others of institutions helped create a desire to **change** those places, not to dismantle them. The idea of the (psychologically 'therapeutic environment' began to take hold and could result in the 1969 Act where Care Orders, dispossessing parents of their children, would put them in the care of the Local Authority for assessment and **treatment**. The Assessment was in terms of 'need', the care was to follow 'treatment plans'. Separation from family for this expert care and therapy is quite a different idea to helping out parents on odd occasions or sharing child care for a long period because of personal predicament. The latter has quite disappeared from the thinking of social workers, care staff or Social Services Departments. To take an example, the single parent faced with poverty, illness, mental breakdown or whatever, may be allowed one or two periods of voluntary care but will soon be met with the offer or fact of permanent care via care proceedings. Those one or two episodes of voluntary care will be seen as signs of personal inadequacy and the care experience itself, because it is episodic, will be regarded as psychologically damaging to the child.

Permanence and consistency for the child are now more important than the rights or needs of the parents. This is why going to the Social Services and requesting help with one's children is so dangerous.

The contradiction of course is stark: care is both damaging and therapeutic. Parents have described this to me as being

'put away for his own good'. Perhaps working class parents can cope with contradictions better than I can?

This section, in trying to grasp the conventional wisdoms of child care, has had to sketch some very broad and deep trends in forty years of social history. The contrast between the underlying informing philosophy of the two main pieces of legislation does reflect I think, changes in the wider society. The therapeutic environment where theoretical models are genuinely and coherently practised can be found only in very few places. These places tend to be specialised, separate, expensive and rather precious. They also adhere to **either** a Learning Theory behaviour modification model epitomised in the 'token economy' or a post-Freudian emotional deprivation model. The domination (and incompatibility) of these models amounts almost to an intellectual hegemony, diluted versions of both being found in most children's homes in the equation 'emotional deprivation is what is wrong with you, structure and sanctions will help you to learn'. The rise of this intellectual hegemony needs to be looked at under a different heading.

### Unionism and Professionalisation

The industrial dispute with the employers arose from a claim for a reduced working week and payments for shift, holiday and weekend work in residential homes. This is a recognisable claim and clearly defines residential workers as people who perceive themselves as workers and unionised. Although the claim was generally popular amongst all kinds of staffs, industrial action was not. It is possible to see this as a tussle between those who see themselves as in some way having a vocation and those who see themselves primarily as workers like any other industrial group. The antagonisms and mistrust now present in many staff teams has been provoked by the dispute but also only reflects a change which has occurred over the past ten to fifteen years in the employment conditions of staff.

The vocational person can be criticised for being subjectively motivated, inexperienced and prone to exploitation by unscrupulous managers not encumbered by similar ideas of calling. Satisfactions other than pay are felt to play a larger part in the person's attitude to their work.

To stand against this a child care **worker** has to offer qualities as strong as the faith, love and altruism of the vocational person. Typically the worker can point to the comparable difficulty or importance of the job he or she is employed to do (cf miners, trawlermen) and then claim special skill or competence. To both of these commodities - an arduous job skilfully executed - residential child care staffs have laid special claim in the past few years. By and large more child care staff joined unions and underwent training than residential staffs caring for other client groups in the past decade.

As a social group professions will move to monopolise a speciality, control entry and discipline and maximise members' conditions, status and remuneration. The monopoly and autonomy of such groups are essential features. Professionalising an occupation has therefore distinct advantages. The appeal to special, expert or even mysterious knowledge and skill is usually the way such groups achieve their position. They do this by claiming that this knowledge is needed by society, that in some way it is an essential part of the social fabric. Rigorous training of recruits ensures a cultural capitalism whereby members of

the professional group can dictate the terms on which the service they offer can be obtained. In this way doctors 'own' medicine, lawyers the law and so on.

Child care is the most professionalised area of social work: the latter is not yet a true profession, but give it time. 'Difficult' cases will only be handled by the most qualified or experienced social workers; childrens' homes staff tend to be more often trained or qualified and enjoy better salaries and conditions than their counterparts caring for the old or handicapped. This situation has been achieved by the search for, acquisition and incorporation of post-Freudian and Learning Theory psychology as the body of knowledge of child care. Educational psychologists and child psychiatrists are the two main outside specialists to whom reference is made. Assessed deprivation and difficulty in a child would indicate degrees of skill required in staff. The RCA Castle Priory Report of 1973 for example laid out minimum staffing levels in establishments according to difficulty of resident. With these ideas of knowledge and skill demands for appropriate conditions and remuneration come very quickly. For the professionalised social worker therefore, there is little room for sharing the care of children with inadequate, inexperienced (working class) parents.

### **Social Services Department**

The unionisation and professionalisation of child care workers seems to have been largely due to the priority arrangements which quickly characterised the new Social Services Departments. Between 1971 and 1976 these new branches of local government grew at an extraordinary rate until they stood second only to Education Departments in size of expenditure and number of staff. Due to legislative emphasis, exacerbated by the twin alarms over rising delinquency and child abuse, child care became the first priority for Social Services. The Castle Priory Report of 1973 which set staff level guidelines according to assumed relative difficulty and training for the staff of children's homes became a concomitant requirement. Officers in Charge and senior staff had to have professional qualifications and pay differentials were extended into a stretched hierarchy of graded staff.

In large organisations bureaucratised systems of communication and control are necessary and in local government the notion of public accountability adds a dimension to social work and child care in this case which cannot be ignored. Whereas I recall the Home Office Inspector being formidable because he had standards below which one's establishment would not be allowed to fall, the visits of rota Social Services committee members are altogether more vague. Similarly the Director or Homes Officer whilst responsible for implementing the Community Home Regulations may be both unclear and inexpertly informed of the standards or expectations to have in terms of child care. Their own whims and personal style may be more important and assumptions about these on the part of staff add to the confusion. Briefly, Officers in Charge and thereby their staff can have very thin notions of what is expected of them except that there is a general sense that it has something to do with control: control of the money, control of the staff, control of the building but above all control of the inmates. Chasing this chimera of control of turbulent adolescents whom nobody else can manage, about whom one is supposed to be expertly informed and with whom one is therefore supposed to be skilfully adroit is a demoralising task. what it has led to is a major failing in child

care. A child who is actually 'disturbed' and exhibiting erratic behaviour including running away and offending can have a very speedy passage through the care system. From Reception, through Assessment Centre, first placement, re-assessment, second and subsequent placements to the awaiting Detention Centres and Youth Custody Centres can occupy no more than a year or so in extreme cases. Where control is clearly difficult (and perhaps irrelevant) the professionalised worker can hardly plead inability: rather the child and his/her problems are deflected by calling on the Great Myth of the Correct Placement. What this means is that in the great scheme of things there is a place for this child where his/her needs may be met. But it is not here. This version of the green grass on the other side of the hill is a coming together of some of the above themes: large organisations with several establishments, trained semi-professionalised staff with access to a specialised language of individual pathology, persisting conventional wisdoms about the usefulness of penal sanctions and the assumed demands for institutional control of inmates in childrens homes.

### **Social Work Education**

Child care is informed by a confusing mix of diluted post-Freudian psychiatry and quasi-Behaviourism. In part this is because social work generally has no coherent 'body of knowledge' but borrows from the broadest range of social science wherein everything is somehow thought to be relevant to the problems of the client as citizen and as person in trouble. Therefore everything is offered in the education of social workers. Marx, Weber, Freud, Skinner et al ad infinitum sit side by side on students bookcases. I wouldn't quarrel with this. I found my own training fascinating. The difficulty is that most staff in my experience are often disabled by the range and sweep of theory, are not helped to make connections and either abandon the attempt or adopt a short-hand version of contradictory content. Post-Freudian explanations give us the quick reasons why the child is disturbed. Behaviourism the way of notionally dealing with them via sanction and reward. The conflict is at a theoretical, ethical and practicable level. By taking on board the explanatory framework of mental and emotional trauma to explain connections between disrupted family life and the child's behaviour, feeling and attitudes, one assumes that psycho-therapeutic interventions are required and relevant. This is either the province of specialists or it suggests that staff should acquire those skills (as is possible). However by blandly assuming that all children are so scarred, de facto, by being placed in a residential home, the prospect for subtle and discrete differences in treatment disappears, especially when the assumed agency expectation of control is added to the task. Although there are laudable exceptions, most children's homes revert to a dull and unimaginative regime of petty sanctions, ritualised routine through which compliant youngsters are required to be moved from day to day. Resistance consolidates opinions about the child's 'disturbance' and attracts increasing sanction to the point of removal and replacement somewhere else.

As NAYPIC has voiced for those young people in care who have not been totally disabled by their personal tragedies or reverted to delinquent solutions, care is an experience to survive since it does not address the practical issues of life at 18+ of accommodation, money, self-catering and personal relationships. For those who are disturbed by their life experience (ie. gloomily pessimistic about themselves and

the world or volatile and amoral in their relations with others) care as an enhancing and enabling period of stability and growth to maturity is a rare commodity.

### **Philosophical Desert**

Many people who work in children's homes are aware of this. They don't appear to know what to do about it. The fault is partly with their managers, partly with their trainers. The Social Care Association in the pages of **Social Work Today** can still discuss corporal punishment in terms of **efficiency** (they don't rate it) rather than morality. Officers in Charge can tell students that their establishment is the **home** of the teenagers who live there but then proceed to lock them out between 9 and 5 each weekday and deny them any say in the running of the place. Legal rights to pocket money and access to their natural family homes are infringed by using them as sanctions for minor transgressions, good behaviour for example earning the full allowance or weekend at home. With such vivid contradictions present in the intimate details of daily life it is perhaps unsurprising to learn that NAYPIC and the National Children's Bureau's "Who Cares" initiative were seen as subversive and threatening by many Departments and staff.

The philosophy of residential child care, given the more confined role it will have from now on could be made more sensible. The children and the staff could work it out together, as the better establishments do. At the moment it has more to do with a pathological model of deviant youth culture as characterised by the populist press: mindless thuggery, the disabled products of inadequate parental discipline and the casual indifference of authoritarian bureaucracy.

### **Political Economy**

In writing this overview, I would not want it assumed that political solutions can be sought, except in terms of the personal politics of the relationships which characterise social work generally. Traditional political party views cross and merge on some of the issues I have touched upon here. Politicians at local and national level are usually inexperienced and fall into predictable patterns of response to such questions.

The radicalism of the 'New Right' insists on discriminating between the 'deprived' and the 'depraved' in both ways which are impossible to unravel professionally but which allows both IT and 'Short Sharp Shock' DCs to coexist. The distaste for public expenditure means that large expensive children's homes can be closed and alternative provision sought and funded more easily than with traditional Labour or Conservative councils. Both of the latter tend to prefer institutional provision either for reasons of Municipal Pride or Patrician concern for the poor. The 'New Left' may distrust the segregation and expert domination of such expensive institutional services but sometimes runs the risk of raising the inmates to the position of revolutionary heroes: yet the 'lumpen' nature of the very deprived and needy can be a disappointing experience to politically motivated staff. Deference to professional expertise is probably greater in traditional Labour and Conservative politicians, their pragmatism being in sharp contrast to the radical idealism of Left and Right. Figuring out and manipulating the political configuration on local services is a required skill in Social Services management. At the level of senior management/council committee, changes can only be

induced by crisis (for example financial or a local scandal) or ideology: few senior managers or councillors in my experience have been seized by theories about the nature of residential child care.

### **'The Way Forward'**

Although I have indicated the reasons why I feel residential child care is in a sorry state, I am not entirely pessimistic. There are still children's homes and staff within them in which I could tolerate my children living, but these are a small minority. Since I would have no choice in the placement, I have to demur.

Plans for child care services are easy to devise. A non-too radical model for a local authority (some have done at least one or two of these already) would include the following. A target date for the closure of all Community Homes with Education on the premises (CHEs) or, as is more likely to be the case since the majority of such establishments are run by charities or voluntary societies, withdrawing the funding and authorities' children from these places. CHEs are anachronisms in social and economic terms. Vastly expensive and often at a considerable distance from the child's home, they do nothing which could not be achieved in the neighbourhood and often augment the problems of the children sent to them. This policy would be similar to that for the closure of Mental Handicap hospitals and the development of innovative local service.

Abandon Residential Assessment Centres. The 'Assessment' usually produced is unscientific, subjectively descriptive and judgemental in extremis. The role these places do perform in non-custodial remand and holding children in crisis such as family breakdown is important and should be recognised as valuable in itself. Unfortunately the prestige attached to the 'assessment' task tends to devalue these other roles. Community based assessment would involve those who presently contribute without necessarily removing the child from home which might also allow parents to contribute more directly. At present, parental (and least of all the child's) views are minimally considered.

Review the typical 16 to 18 year old age group hostel. Very often these approximate to a form of bed-and-breakfast with their emphasis on the assumed normal working life. If one does not have a job, one must be out looking for one. Reworking these houses into semi-autonomous young people centres staffed by youth counsellors with an ability in social skills training might make them more relevant to the expressed needs of young people who will, on their 18th birthday receive the gift of 'independence'. It should be remembered that young people brought up in care are 13 times more likely to join the ranks of the single homeless before they are twenty five than those from ordinary homes.

IT, where it is presently confined to groupwork with delinquents can be imaginatively expanded into a variety of programmes which could for example assist children at home or suffering difficulties at school. Alternative school projects, 'Big Brother/Sister' 'Aunt and Uncle' befriending schemes, peer-supervision (eg. by students as in the Massachusetts 'Tracker' scheme) social and leisure skills courses and holiday programmes could be added to a coherent assessment system for those children deemed or identified as 'at risk'. This I appreciate runs against the arguments of those who would want IT to limit itself to

convicted delinquents in an attempt to humanise the juvenile justice system but there are convincing arguments on both sides. Perhaps one solution would be for local agencies to divide responsibilities so that these alternative programmes do not have to come under 'child care' or 'IT' banners. If this sounds like an expanded Youth Service then I know some Education Directors who would sniff at such a suggestion. Perhaps it might be a case for joint funding as in other areas of social provision.

Lastly, I would include a serious look at fostering. Despite committed work by many fostering officers the breakdown figures for long term foster care are high. In some cases a placement has only a one in two chance of succeeding beyond a year. The distress to child and foster parents alike can be severe. Yet because foster care is cheaper than residential care and because it is *felt* to be better, managers and professionals alike continue to accept such poor odds in seeking to board out children in long-term care. An unacceptable aspect of this is that the separation and alienation of children from their natural parents is often accelerated or made permanent. With few exceptions I have felt that **good** residential care was preferable to the risks of fostering. If residential workers could make their practice more relevant to the needs of adolescents in care and start **believing** in the value of their job then fostering might be seen in a more objective light.

As for the role of residential staff if as they say the teenagers now populating their establishments are as deprived, disturbed and difficult as they maintain, then they must learn and practice a therapeutic style and method which is appropriate. This will involve a much more coherent understanding of the nature of those children's needs and a resulting subtlety and refinement in their responses. Most importantly their managers must adopt a more democratic style of support for that role. Just as the staff have to engage the child at the level of the child's perceived need so the managers have to **decide** to engage that population of children and not prefer to allow the penal system to take them away, or to pass them on to the hostels for the homeless or await their return as adult clients unable to care for their children. For in such ways are our present children's homes part of a self-fulfilling prophecy.

If they try to do this, then perhaps residential staff may have a proper claim to expertise and skill which will be worthy of higher pay and better conditions. They might then be able to say why we should not close them all down.

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# RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION IN BRITAIN

A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY 1970-83

Paul Gordon & Francesca Klug

This *Bibliography* is the only guide to the extensive literature now available on racism and discrimination in Britain. It covers material published between 1970 and 1983 and includes books, pamphlets and official reports, as well as articles from the main journals.

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# the pre-employment curriculum: a right of passage

MADELEINE J ATKINS

Pre-employment courses or schemes have been one of the fastest growing curriculum areas of the last decade. Preparation for employment can now be observed as the basis of the fourth and fifth year of compulsory schooling for some pupils in secondary schools, as the 'answer' to the problem of the 'New Sixth' or the 'New FE' in tertiary institutions of all kinds, and as the rationale for the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) currently offered by the Manpower Services Commission (MSC). In spite of the varied contexts in which the pre-employment curricula operate, and in spite of the many different bodies responsible for the design and assessment of these courses and schemes, certain common features have emerged.

## **Common characteristics of the pre-employment curriculum**

First among these common characteristics is a curricular core of teaching in the basic competencies of number and communication, including most recently computer literacy. For example, the City and Guilds Foundation Courses included the following as some of their objectives for communication studies: accept, understand and relay oral messages, write a simple formal letter, read and comprehend appropriate technical data, understand the principles of costing and be able to apply them to specific jobs, appreciate the use of computers, understand the four rules of number. Such work on the 'basic' core can take up to 60% of the course time.

The second common characteristic of these courses is the opportunity they provide to develop the generic skills associated with a particular type or family of occupations. Thus in the Science Industries Foundation Course which aimed to prepare students to work in laboratories, students acquired experience of certain science skills and procedures including basic maintenance on standard equipment, the preparation of reagents or standard solutions, and the selection and assembly of appropriate equipment for experiments. Process skills and problem-solving skills associated with effective performance of a type of job may also be given prominence in the curriculum as may affective qualities such as persistence, motivation, safety consciousness and good team work.

The third readily identifiable attribute of the pre-employment course is a 'theatrical' component designed to provide the knowledge needed to understand features of working life. The practical vocational skills are thereby placed in a more general context and students are encouraged to see how a particular job relates to an

industry, the environment or wider aspects of society. Once again using the Foundation Course as an example, the Community Care course aimed to give students an insight into the nature and purpose of the community services, a knowledge of the structure of the services and the function of the various personnel involved, and an understanding of processes, procedures and materials found in community services. To this end, a programme of visits and/or visiting speakers would be arranged, aspects of sociology studied and individual research projects undertaken.

Social and/or life skills units, often coupled with careers education, form the fourth common feature of these courses. Preparation for adult working life and personal development frequently appear in the aims, though the learning tasks set for achieving them can vary and may include use of talks, discussions and simulations, active tutorial work and one-to-one counselling. Encouragement of critical reflection on work and other personal experiences is often found and may form part of interim reviews of a student or trainee's progress.

Finally pre-employment courses tend also to include spells of work experience or placements either on a regular one day per week basis or as blocked periods of the year. The extent of the integration achieved between off-the-job training or education and the work-experience can vary greatly but remains a characteristic aim of all such courses.

## **The concepts of transition and transfer**

Behind these common characteristics lie some powerful common concepts which have given pre-employment courses and schemes their rite of passage appearance. One such concept is 'transition'. The pre-employment curriculum, if the curriculum policy makers are to be believed, is not an end in itself but a preparation for the kind of life which they envisage for less academically able young people in the immediate future. In particular, it is intended as a preparation for waged work as an employee, though other 'adult' roles are also prepared for. Closely linked, therefore, to the idea of transition in the curriculum one finds the concept of 'transfer' of skills and knowledge. Students and trainees are to be educated and trained in such a way that they can use what they have acquired in future employment situations. It is with these twin concepts of transition and transfer that this article is concerned. It will be argued that at present the concepts are being used in an oversimplified manner which may have little congruence

with the reality of the courses and employment context as perceived by the students and trainees themselves. The argument is based in part on the evidence of a detailed case study of City and Guilds Foundation Courses undertaken by the author from 1980 - 82.<sup>(1)</sup>

The case study examined the functioning of community care and industry focussed courses in an institutional context. Three perspectives were explored for congruence and divergence: that of the course designers (the City and Guilds of London Institute), that of the staff who taught the courses and that of the student. The case study was conducted on the basis of 'involved observation'<sup>(2)</sup> in an open access sixth form college with 460 on roll in the fieldwork year (1980-81). Data and evidence were collected by means of semi-structured interviews, classroom and work experience observation and documentary analysis. The student sample consisted of 68 'one-year' sixth formers of whom 22 were male and 46 female. Only 3% had attempted any 'O' level in the previous school and several had taken no public examinations at all at 16+.

With a classification based on skin colour there were 46 ethnic minority group students (mainly West Indian) and 22 white students in the sample. Taking parental occupation as a basis for class allocation, 23 students fell into the Registrar General's 'intermediate' or 'skilled non-manual' groups while 33 fell in the 'skilled manual', 'partly skilled' or 'semi-skilled' groups. 12 students had parents who were currently unemployed.

### **The Direction of Transition**

Examination of course components designed to facilitate 'transition' reveals that two interrelated assumptions are made about directions: transition is deemed to be from 'education' or 'training' on the one hand to 'employment' on the other; and transition is presumed to be upwards from the lower pupil, student or trainee status to the higher adult employee status. Useful though this 'rite of passage' approach to transition may have been in the past, in the present situation for young people aged 16 - 19 yrs it can seem over-simplified. The type of young person at 16+ or 17+ who in previous years would have entered semi-skilled or unskilled jobs may, it is true, still enter waged work as an employee. But for many, with the present rate of youth unemployment such an expectation is unrealistic. More importantly those young people who hope ultimately to secure a 'good job' - that is, a job with intrinsic satisfaction eg, satisfaction, possibility of skill training and promotion - may desire as a short-term goal to continue full-time education and training on a traditionally 'academic' or traditionally 'vocational' course. For such young people a pre-employment course may be seen as a stepping-stone to mainstream full-time academic or vocational education and training rather than as a precursor to a job. Poor CSE examination results may, for example, have prevented the young person from securing a place on the course of his or her first choice at 16+. A year spent on a pre-employment course or scheme may then be the only option for staying in full-time education or training and gaining a second chance to prove oneself capable of undertaking, say, an 'O' level or B/TEC course. Failure to get the good job she or he wants on leaving school may similarly lead to a young person to take up a place on YTS as a second chance in the hope that the 'sale or return' principle of the Scheme, combined with the right personality, diligence and application, will lead the employers to keep him or her on permanently.

Furthermore, although at present there are few recognised links either vertically or horizontally between the different curricular routes in the 16-19 age range, and although experimental learning is not yet accredited for course or scheme entry purposes, the young person may follow these routes sequentially rather than moving inexorably from any one of them into permanent employment. A spell of unemployment may precede or succeed full employment; completion of MSC schemes can lead to further schemes or to full time course work, or be the follow on from 17+ courses in schools and colleges. What has to be recognised is that from the perspective of the student or trainee the courses and schemes need to function as steps of a meaningful ladder, rather than imposing a unidirectional sense of movement from school to immediate work.

If the desired destination of the transition process is not necessarily employment, and if the 'transition', far from being a once-and-for-all matter, may be repeated several times in the 16-19 period, it is also important to note that there may be types of experience and learning common to more than one route. Elements of vocational skill training feature on the YTS curriculum, are characteristic of traditional vocational courses in FE, and may be found in the first weeks (or longer) of employment. Meanwhile cognitive academic-style learning may be found on the traditional academic and vocational routes and may also become part of 'off the job' training in YTS. Work experience may be gained formally on virtually all routes and informally through non-waged work 'on the dole'. Therefore there may be rather less absolute difference in content between the routes than is currently imagined, although the context in which the experience and learning occur may still differ significantly.

That the rigidity between education, work and learning is weakening in the 16-19 sector should come as no surprise given the changes in the relationship between these three concepts in the wider economy. It can be argued, for example, that more 'education' now takes place outside the formally recognised institutions of education than inside them; and that there are opportunities for the exercise of choice of task within work as well as within traditional leisure activities; that there are as many adults in the non-waged sector of the economy as in waged employment. Moreover, the skill demands made on less well qualified school leavers may be greater in their life outside work than in their work itself. This raises the question of whether, instead of trying to anticipate the likely future roles and responsibilities of the student or trainee either in the short, medium or long term, those with responsibility for such young people should not seek to build, as a priority, on the young people's past experience, knowledge and skills which are relevant to the immediate present.

More fundamentally of course, although the location and nature of a young person's life from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. may change in these years, other possible more significant aspects of his or her life do not necessarily undergo 'transition'. In spite of the many course units to be found, for example, designed to prepare the student or trainee for 'adult' roles or for leading a life independent of the family, the young people themselves may not be contemplating such changes in their domestic circumstances for several years. In the author's own research, although 87% of the students felt that it was part of the College's job to prepare them for



working life, especially through the provision of relevant work experience, there was less unanimity about preparation for other adult roles. Only 15 (22%) out of the sample of 68 students interviewed felt they would not be able to cope with adult life and half felt that it was not the college's job to try to prepare them for adult life. Rather, they looked to family and friends for any advice they might need, or felt that students should be able to sort out their own problems by this stage.

Similarly the way in which young people chose to spend their free time, from which many may draw great personal significance, will not necessarily change abruptly as they move from one context of education, training or employment to another. In the author's sample although there was a slight reduction in the amount of time allocated by students to their various leisure pursuits between the fifth form year and the current (first year sixth) year, there were no radical changes in these pursuits and the course had little or no impact on them.

Thus one can argue that to look on the years from 16 to 19 as a time of transition from school to work, from academic to vocational orientation and from child to adult status may hide several important dimensions in the total picture. It certainly runs the risk that by emphasising the notion of change it obscures equally important threads of continuity.

### **The Difficulty of Transition**

The second major assumption which needs to be examined in connection with 'transition' is the idea that it is 'problematic' for young people. Following the points made in the previous section one has to distinguish between several different situations at 16+: schooling to waged employment, schooling to unemployment or non-waged work, schooling to YTS, and schooling to further full-time study whether academic, vocational or pre-employment. A similar range of possibilities exists at 17+: 'A Basis For Choice' type course can lead to waged work, or to unemployment, to YTS or to further study, and YTS to waged or non-waged work or to further study. There will also be some who after a spell of employment or unemployment return to further full-time study or take up a place on YTS.

When the alternatives are spread out in this way it becomes clear that some 'transitions' may be more problematic than others. There is not space to examine the whole list but discussions of some of the possibilities may highlight the factors at work facilitating or hindering the transition process.

### **Transition from schooling to further study**

The difficulties of transition from school to further study often for one year, were felt in the 1970s to be one argument against the introduction of sixth form or tertiary colleges with a break of institution at 16+. However research has since shown that many of the early fears about the effect of transition on the 'New Sixth' were unjustified<sup>(3)</sup>. Far from being adversely affected by the break students seemed to find increased motivation through it, preferring the more adult atmosphere of the 16-19 institutions to the regimes of their previous schools. Similarly the author found that no students in her sample experienced any problems over transition to a sixth form college beyond initial orientation to a new layout of rooms and learning the expectations of a

different set of staff. The students made new friends quickly and indeed regarded this as the major benefit of being in college over and above obtaining qualifications.

The lack of difficulty over such transitions should not be surprising for the content of the learning on the 17+ pre-employment courses and schemes and many of the skills needed to undertake them successfully are already familiar to the students. There are blocks of learning time readily identifiable as 'lessons' taking place in the physical surroundings of the classroom, laboratory and workshop. As in 11-16 schooling, the students, once they have been chosen or been allocated to their course they have little say over what is taught, the order in which it is taught or the method by which it is taught. The courses are (as in most fifth form years) constructed in a way that gives students little autonomy in the learning process and usually does not present them with a choice of learning methods. Although there may be perceived to be fewer petty restrictions on dress and behaviour in the tertiary college to their previous schools, the deeper expectations of relationships between staff and students and between peers can remain virtually unchanged. Thus for example, staff are likely in the tertiary institution to feel a personal responsibility for the students' performance and to refuse students access to courses from which it appears they will gain little. As in schools a student's right to fail may not be considered a valid criterion for course placement. Similarly there may be a strong emphasis among the staff on pastoral responsibility for the students' increasing maturity and social and personal development. For their part the students can expect to deploy the same kind of study skills as previously and to undertake academic-style work in the form of written assignments, work-sheets, projects, exercises and the like with traditional feedback assessment procedures.

To the extent that pre-employment schemes such as YTS are similar to 17+ pre-employment courses one can anticipate few transition problems here either. The aspects in which they differ, including for example longer spells of work experience and relationships more closely modelled on those of industry, coincide with the trainees' instrumental motivation and therefore should not present particularly difficult transition problems. However we have less evidence on which to draw when assessing difficulty of transition from unemployment to further study. Much may depend on the use that is made of the learning experience of the young person while on the 'dole' though there will of course be a background of 11-16 schooling on which to draw.

### **Transition to Employment**

The research studies summarised excellently by Linda Clarke<sup>(4)</sup> seem to show that the 'rite of passage' represented by transition to employment is far from traumatic, daunting or difficult for the young people involved. Although the place of employment may be very different from educational institutions attended at 16+ or 17+, the content of the job is quite unlike the cognitive subject matter typical of the 16+ or 17+ curriculum and the social relationships expected are subtly different. Anticipatory socialisation into such employment roles seems often to have occurred resulting in few adjustment problems. In the author's own research it emerged that although preparation for employment was regarded as a valid role for the college the majority of students anticipated no particular difficulty in starting a job and felt they knew more or less what it would

be like. Apart from work experience schemes at previous schools, the sources for this information tended to lie outside school and college and to include part-time or similar jobs, voluntary work students had undertaken, and the experience of parents, siblings and friends. Any anxiety which was expressed was confined to the realistic appraisal of the difficulty of getting a 'good job' at the present time, rather than to any perceived difficulty of adjustment to a work environment.

If transition from school or college to work appears to present few difficulties for the young person the transition from YTS to work will arguably present even fewer, since the ex-trainee will have undertaken extensive work experience and will already have met staff relationships based on industrial practice.

### Transition to Unemployment

Transition to unemployment or non-waged work, from pre-employment courses or scheme is an area requiring more research. What evidence we have seems to suggest that although unemployment is accepted as a likely eventuality by many young people and one that can be coped with better by some than by others, it is nevertheless regarded as the least desirable state to find oneself in between 16 and 19 years. For example the author found that 80% of the students in her sample expected to be unemployed after finishing their full-time education or training. They nevertheless associated unemployment with several negative features, including deleterious effects, social stigma and difficult family relationships. Indeed, it was partly the hope of avoiding unemployment that fuelled the students' desire for their Foundation Course to act as a 'step' to 'O' levels or B/TEC courses in the FE sector and several were prepared to go on to a paralled YTS rather than stay for a long period on the 'dole'.

What seems to be lacking is any formal attempt in the 17+ pre-employment curriculum to encourage young people to transfer and use their learning and experience in a wider social context. For example there appears to be little attempt in the pre-employment curriculum to prepare young people for non-waged work or self-employment. Yet of all possible transitions, transition to unemployment is likely to be the most difficult and the one for which the young person receives least guidance and help. At present the courses and schemes seem predicated on the notion of the trainee or student becoming an 'employee' in the standard manufacturing-based sense of that term. Understandable doubts about 'teaching for unemployment' may unfortunately have led staff to emphasise such things as personal development and social and life skills at the expense of exploring more widely those opportunities in the local community for meaningful non-waged work and adjusting courses to less stereotyped views of 'employee' and 'worker'.

### Conclusion

There are four points to make in conclusion. First it would seem important to avoid an over-simplified approach to transition as a 'rite of passage' between school and waged employment. It has been argued that there may be several different types of transition between the ages of 16 and 19, each requiring an appropriate response. In particular it may be wise to concentrate less heavily on the imagined problems of adjusting to the role of waged employee and

more heavily on the likely problems of adjusting to the role of non-waged participant in the community.

Secondly given the variety of paths which a young person may follow through the years between 16 and 19, it may make more sense for those with responsibility for course or scheme design to concentrate on retrospective transition rather than prospective transition. In other words, a greater attempt should be made to assess the relevance of previous learning experiences to the present situation and help the young person to see the potential for transferring his or her earlier acquired skills and knowledge to the new context. At present there is a danger that each part of the 16-19 picture regards itself as a 'fresh start' for the young person (often replicating earlier work) yet with the responsibility for preparation for some imagined future role.

The third discussion point is closely related to this. It would seem that three factors are at work in the transition process: the context of the learning situation, the subject matter of the learning experience and the skills needed to succeed or fail in that context undertaking those experiences. It can be suggested that where transition involves few changes in these factors then transition may be relatively unproblematic and transfer of skills and knowledge may occur more readily. However where there are marked differences in the three factors between the old and new situations then transition may be more difficult and transfer require more active and conscious facilitation. When examining old and new situations it may be important to look at the relevant skills, knowledge and experiences acquired **outside** the formal education and training systems as well as within them.

Finally, one can raise the fundamental issue of the desirability of so much overlap between the various pre-employment courses and schemes if there is the likelihood that young people will come to them sequentially. In particular one can speculate on the advantages of having units designed as ends in themselves with specific skill or knowledge specialisation in addition to units covering wide common cores designed as low-level 'bases' for something else.

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# helping troublesome kids: a hidden curriculum?

WALTER LORENZ & CIARAN McCULLAGH

During the early 1970's there was a change in Republic of Ireland in the way in which it was felt that society should respond to problem populations. This change can be characterised as a disillusionment with institution based services and an enthusiasm for community based ones. In the area of child-care and juvenile delinquency the case for community services was particularly strongly made. It was set out in the Kennedy Report<sup>(1)</sup> supported in the Care Memorandum<sup>(2)</sup> and given security of tenure by the recommendations of the Task Force on Child-care Services.<sup>(3)</sup> This change can be characterised as a movement from a punitive or control philosophy to one which recognized the developmental needs of young people and which tried to design its intervention to meet these needs and to meet them within their local community.

In this article we examine the extent to which these services have replaced control with developmental aims. The test site is a scheme that attempted to embody in its design and practice this new approach to dealing with young people. As is traditional in such studies we do not wish to identify the location or name of the scheme. Suffice it to say that it is located in a large town in Eire. The data was collected in interviews with project staff, in observation of scheme activities and of committee meetings and in a series of interviews with the young people.

Before looking at the scheme it is useful to expand on the nature of the change in philosophy underlying these services. The move was from services based on a social risk model to services based on a developmental model of young people.<sup>(4)</sup> In the social risk model, the concern is with the protection of society and intervention is designed and justified by the need to control difficult young people. In the developmental model by contrast the focus of concern is the individual and his/her social and emotional needs. It is argued that failure to cater adequately for these needs can manifest itself in what would be regarded as trouble-some behaviour. Intervention is aimed at engaging "the healthy part of the child in working towards its own maturity" and "change is effected by means of a corrective therapeutic relationship entered into on a voluntary basis".<sup>(5)</sup> This has been characterised by Lerman<sup>(6)</sup> as a change from a social control approach to young people to a welfare or treatment approach.

The developmental basis of the scheme can be seen in the kinds of young people which it was aimed at. According to an internal policy document these were young people whose

development was being hindered by either "the lack of stable adult models with whom they could identify" or "by parents who were inconsistent, rejecting or disturbed", and those who had "severe educational, personal or social problems".

The scheme itself was located at the edge of a large working class area of the town. Much of the housing in the area was built as part of a hurried response to a housing shortage and to overcrowding in other parts of the town. There was also a lack of adequate planning for the area. For example although plans included turning open spaces into playgrounds, in practice these were not developed and were used as dumps. In one housing estate with 800 houses and flats and at least 2,000 children playing facilities amounted to six swings. In this area as a whole in 1978 there was a population of 11,000, 5,000 of whom were under the age of 16 and 2,000 were under the age of five. Unemployment was a major problem. A report on the area suggested an unemployment rate of between 30% to 40% of the adult population and at least half of this unemployment was of long duration. As a result there was evidence of the problems associated with unemployment, poverty and bad environmental conditions - rent arrears, difficulties with hire-purchase agreements, illness, fragmented relationships, alcoholism, tranquiliser addiction, lack of privacy, marital breakdown and vandalism.

The scheme worked from a house which was converted to function as club premises. The staff included a group-leader with a background of child-care and youth work and three support staff with background experience in child-care or degrees in Social Science or Psychology. The scheme was funded by an official agency and the level of funding, initially at least, was regarded as generous by the standards of official funding. The experience gained in the scheme was officially regarded as providing useful pointers in the future planning of services for young people.

Sixty-five young people were originally taken into the project.<sup>(7)</sup> These were divided into mixed-sex groups on the basis of age - under eleven, under fourteen and under sixteen. One worker was assigned to each age group and the activities within the groups reflected the interests of the young people and the worker. These activities were mainly recreational - pool, table-tennis, soccer, sports and outings - with the addition of achievement focused activities such as clay-modelling, printing, drawing and projects in the local community. The intention behind the range of activities was

in the words of internal policy documents to offer the young people "a more flexible stress-reducing environment", "extra adult attention", "the opportunity for full self-expression" and "to bring about a young person's awareness of his situation and encourage him to assume some responsibility for it".

There was considerable concern in the planning of the scheme to avoid it being labelled as one for deprived, troublesome or delinquent young people. This led to a number of significant omissions in the identification of target groups. There was no explicit mention of their working class status or their background of material deprivation. Young people who had been before the courts were singled out as unsuitable for it. Finally the project had no legal power to enforce the attendance of those considered 'at risk'.

This concern with labelling influenced the cautious self-presentation of the scheme in the local area. According to the public version of its purpose - put across to the young people and their parents - the scheme was to provide recreational facilities for young people in the area and as such it would be open to all. In these terms the scheme was comprehensible to and very much welcomed by parents and their children. However at the same time the scheme was being introduced to welfare professionals in the area - teachers, social workers, doctors and clergy - in very different terms. Here the primary objective of the scheme was to help young people with "severe/personal/family/social problems which were endangering their welfare or inhibiting their innate potential for development" whilst they continued to live in their own area. The local professionals were asked to assist in identifying those who had these problems and the implication was that these young people would get priority in the admissions to the project.

This style of self presentation inevitably created a number of problems for the scheme. The major one was how to maintain the format of an open club while at the same time including those identified by local welfare agencies as being 'at risk'. This was particularly difficult because of the demand for the club. Young people in the scheme spoke of others who "were mad to get into it" and of "loads more who wanted to join". Indeed one group when asked what their friends thought about the scheme and about what goes on in it said they kept it a secret from them because others would want to get in then. This problem was overcome by manipulation of the membership list. All the young people who asked to join the club had their names put in a membership list, but the actual admissions were balanced by the staff so as to produce the mix of 'problem' and 'non-problem' members that they wished to work with.

Given this acute sensitivity to the labelling issue - such an essential dimension of the welfare approach - and given the problems which it created in the scheme, it is ironic to consider the evidence from our interviews with the young people. This would suggest that the concern with labelling was misplaced. Anxiety about labelling arises in part from a belief that when individuals do not perceive themselves as a problem, the reaction to, or the treatment of them as one, can have negative effects on their self-image and on subsequent behaviour. However those in the scheme had few illusions about labels. They had little doubt as to why this scheme was in their area. This was where there were

problem children. As one girl put it: "it's for vandal children", "the schools gave the names of kids in trouble and that's why the club is there". A young lad asked "what would the kids do if it wasn't there". He answered his own question, "I mean you would have more broken windows and broken bottles around the place". A third youngster put the same point more colourfully. The scheme was to "stop us breaking bloody windows, to stop us getting into fucking trouble". Equally they realised that they were in the scheme because they were perceived (and indeed they perceived themselves) to be some of those problem children. Typical comments included that from a girl, "when I wasn't there, I'd be in trouble every minute" and that from a boy, "I was a trouble-maker inside school and outside it".

Significantly such perceptions predated the involvement of the scheme in the area. When asked why the Government was now spending money on a club for them the majority, boys and girls alike, replied without hesitation, "to keep us out of trouble". This would suggest that the young people, particularly the older ones, already experienced a certain level of identity with one another in so far as they perceived themselves as a problem for society and as such potentially in conflict with it. The points at which this conflict manifested itself most vividly for them included direct scrapes with the law, mild forms of vandalism and disruptive behaviour in school. Each of them could 'get into trouble'. It was a hazard of living in their area and it was a hazard that in the interviews they indicated they were aware of. This emerged most strongly in their conversations about the level of policing in their area. "When anything happens the police come straight to...(their area)...and stop and ask us questions". They spoke of the risks of "being hit for nothing at all" and felt "we're just there for the cops to come over and pick on the quieter ones". This risk of being picked on by the Gardai<sup>(8)</sup> A group. "The rotten bastards pick on everyone" was the answer. These risks had, they felt, increased in recent years due to an intensification in the level of policing in the area. The place was now "rotten with Guards". It had a very negative impact on their lives as it brought many of their routing activities under greater scrutiny. "Roaming around" and "hanging about the chipper" was now seen as hazardous activities. Some of them, mainly the older boys, gave accounts of being, in their view, wrongfully accused of law breaking on such occasions and of feeling provoked into a reaction that would give the Gardai grounds to arrest them. They all had stories of people being unfairly treated by the Gardai, in particular the young lad who regularly had the safety pin in his ear pulled by policemen. The overall consequence of such incidents was they they felt that fewer possibilities were available to them for what they considered to be 'legitimate' leisure activities. "Getting into trouble in (their area)...is easy", one of them told us.

Thus the scheme was seen by the young people as a state-funded service designed to keep them out of trouble. As such it operated at the centre of the conflict between them and society. Its true nature can, we would argue, be seen in the positions which it adopted in relation to this conflict and in the forms of adaption which it made to it. This interpretation can be best elaborated by considering in greater detail the uses made in the scheme of the strategies of group and community work. It was through these activities that aspects of the conflict between the young people and society became issues.

At the level of group work activities were geared towards giving the participants worthwhile activities in which they could experience a feeling of success. These activities included painting, pottery and clay modelling which produced success in the form of tangible products and games, sports and outings where success was more on the level of personal and moral stamina. At the level of community work activities took the form of participation in community festivals and the organisation of social activities such as collecting turf for old people and producing a directory of services available in the area. The message to the young people in this line of approach was that there are worthwhile activities that do not lead into conflict and which can be experienced as rewarding and enjoyable, if only the individual would opt for them. The scheme would facilitate the making of this choice by enabling the individual, according to policy documents, "to transfer any learning derived from his experience within the programme to his ongoing life-situation".

However some group activities and aspects of community work actually created conflict, not in the restricted sense of law-breaking, but through the way in which they touched on - and offered the potential to illuminate - the distribution of power and influence in the community. Three examples can be used to illustrate this. The first is a project collecting evidence and opinions on pollution. The group involved produced two comics on nuclear power which were sold locally. They recorded on tape the views of residents in the vicinity of a proposed nuclear power plant and neighbours of chemical industries in the local region. In a second example a local committee which included members from the scheme surveyed residents of a proposed playground site and found them in favour of an adventure playground. The group then produced a plan for such a playground and submitted it to the local authority. The plan was ignored and the local authority went ahead with a more conventional playground on the site. The third example is a survey of housing in the area. As we have indicated housing was an emotive issue. Young people in the scheme described the houses as "shacks", "boxes", "rubbish houses" and "put up in an emergency and only guaranteed for fifteen years". One group took up a suggestion of one of the staff and began a survey of housing conditions in the area. They had a critical view of these and saw their guesses confirmed as the survey progressed. For example they met people who had long lists of complaints about their houses and who, in one young lad's words "didn't know who to go to with them".

Each of these examples had the potential to bring the young people to the threshold of a particular kind of awareness, the realisation of individual powerlessness. For example the group involved in the playground issue felt that it reflected the absence of any real local democracy and it indicated the distance between local institutions and local people. However in all these cases the emergence of conflict within the boundaries of the scheme provoked a reaction of conflict avoidance. The responses of the officials of the scheme to these issues were to keep such conflicts out of the public life of the scheme. The children were not allowed to attend an anti-nuclear festival officially on that grounds that the schemes insurance did not cover such ventures. The scheme also dissociated itself from the local adventure playground committee when that committee attempted to expose publicly the unfair treatment it felt it had received from the local authority. Finally they were reluctant to go public on

the housing issue and the group involved ended up photographing disused castles in the local region at weekends.

This pattern of responses reflected an attempt by the scheme to create a social enclave, an autonomous space, or the "stress-free environment" of the policy documents which was isolated (or which isolated itself) from the social forces which influenced and limited the lives of the young people. Once isolated from these influences real work could be done with the clients. The attempt, and more especially the failure, to create this free space can be seen in the limitations on the range of activities that the scheme provided. For instance holidays proved to be very popular and they were very important to staff members as a means of building up trust, and as a device to create situations for engaging young people in relaxed conversations and through these to touch upon their views of their situation. Later when they took whole families, the holidays provided a useful context for observing the children's interaction in family settings. Yet despite their importance the pattern of holidays which emerged was limited in every sense: in distance (most locations were within an 80 mile radius), in duration (mostly long weekends up to 4 days), and in mode (staying in fairly rough accommodation or camping).

Yet the question must be asked as to why the pattern of holidays was so limited? Given the importance and popularity of holidays, why did they not go to hotels in more attractive settings and for longer periods of time? In the early stages of the scheme at least, there were no compelling financial limitations that would have dictated the pattern. The answer we would suggest lies in the unexamined assumptions in society about what is suitable for working class children and potential delinquents, assumptions which derive from and reflect popular ideologies on delinquency and deprivation. What is considered appropriate and possible to do in such schemes reflects and embodies assumptions about what is appropriate and normal for the different sectors of the population. Holidays in Spain for the better-off are simply part of commonplace reality. Holidays in Spain for potential delinquents disturb the pattern and so in a very real sense are unthinkable. The restricted holidays are an example of the way our prevailing concepts of the world rule out certain kinds of activities and of the way our routine interpretations of the world are structured by and reflect the distribution of power in society.

In this particular sense then a pattern of what might be described as self-censorship operated in the scheme such that the possibility of an expanded range of holidays was unlikely to arise. Settling for these kinds of holidays was made easier by the fact that young people felt comfortable on the whole with these arrangements and most holidays went smoothly in the sense of there being little trouble. But was this positive rating of a lack of trouble that perpetuated the pattern of responses in the scheme to problematic situations and reflected the attempt to find and settle into a comfortable, conflict-free niche on the map of potential activities. Such a conflict-free space it was felt was essential if the scheme was to develop the aim of encouraging a sense of individual responsibility for one's behaviour.

However even in this limited area conflict could not be avoided. Again it emerged. Its return visit was precipitated by financial restrictions on the scheme during the final phase

of the research period. The precise source of these limitations is difficult to establish but the overall effect of uncertainty over the budget position was to highlight ambivalent attitudes to activities. These were now questioned on the grounds of cost and this in turn led to a questioning of the intrinsic purpose of what were seen as the more extravagant activities. Holidays, outings and pursuits like horse-riding now had to be justified. The justifications offered were either that the activities were worthwhile on therapeutic or educational grounds or that they were rewards for the better-behaved. For the young people themselves this meant these activities which constituted the main attraction of the scheme because the issue of heated debates or more subtle bargaining. Their suspicions that these activities had a price tag now emerged. The activities in the scheme were a service to which they had ultimately no entitlement. There was more to the scheme, it seemed, than just fun and games and having a good time.

In this way the scheme never really overcame the suspicions of the children and young people. These suspicions found expression in indirect and often tortuous ways. Consider for example the logic through which the staff in the scheme were encompassed by the young peoples' rudimentary resistance to figures of authority. In an attempt to get them to characterise the staff we asked a group if the staff were like teachers, people for whom they had already expressed some contempt. "Yes" was the answer. They also felt that there were links between the scheme and the school and these were not necessarily approved of. We then asked were they social workers. Again the answer was "yes". We probed their image of what a social worker was. It turned out to be that of a probation officer. They described the one they all knew as a "lanky ghoul". He was also an ex-Garda. Asked what they would do if they knew a Guard was coming along to the scheme some night they said they would stay away. They also made crude jokes about the workers in a way which indicated an attempt to establish a sense of distance from them. Thus one lad in a mixed group said "we don't like...(a female leader)...because she's ugly". The whole group considered this funny. In addition despite the fact that a staff member was from the same town as them they described him in his presence as "the foreigner". This was because of his accent, which they also tended to mimic and which they considered uproarious.

They were also reluctant to admit that the staff had any influence on them. Comparing a staff member and a friend one young lad said "if he (the friend) said to me, my thing is no good I'd believe him, me and him being friends and we wouldn't take any notice of...(the staff member)". Yet this suspicion of staff as a category was accompanied at another level and in a very contradictory way by warm appreciation of help given to them by particular staff members. The female staff member who figured as the butt of the joke was described in another context "grand". The staff member mocked as a foreigner was also in another context "okay". And despite their reservations about links between school and scheme, they were appreciative of help given to them by individual staff members in sorting out school problems.

From the responses of the older participants in particular we can begin to understand the ambivalent meaning of the scheme in their lives. It constituted an enrichment of their range of experiences and through this increased their options for legitimate pursuits. In this sense it undoubtedly

fulfilled some of the promise of the developmental model of intervention on which it was based. However this development was limited as it was development within constraints, the nature of which were fundamentally unquestioned, altered or avoided. The goals, the design and the implementation of the scheme reflected the structural limitations that dominate the children's lives outside the scheme. Opportunities at every level of their lives were severely curtailed in comparison to those of their middle-class peers in other parts of the city. These limitations were, as we have seen, reproduced in turn within the scheme. In addition to the limitations on the range of activities and their intensity (as one of the staff put it, "it would be unfair to give them a taste of activities which are far beyond the reach of children from their neighbourhood"), the scheme was unable to overcome the basic suspicion of the young people that they would have to pay a price for the service they were receiving. This price was conformity, conformity with the culture implied by and embodied in the range of activities available in the scheme. This culture had undoubted value in as much as it did help to keep them out of trouble. Yet to our mind its main drawback was that it re-interpreted the structural basis of the notion of 'trouble', which was available to and partly understood by the members, in terms of personal responsibility and individual choice. It is this attempt to re-interpret conflict which constitutes control as it represents an attempt to contain rather than to expand self-awareness.

### Conclusion

From our study of this particular scheme there are therefore strong indications that the concept of intervention in it does not avoid the dilemmas of other approaches. Such schemes are about control but the form of the control is of a more subtle kind than that of more custodial interventions. They are committed to increasing the self-awareness and the opportunities for development for young people. Yet they fail to recognise fully the nature of the environment within which this development goes on. They exist at points of conflict between working-class youth and wider society. These kids are trouble for society and such schemes are to keep them out of trouble. But when they fail to recognise this conflict or else attempt to evade it they implicitly operate to limit horizons, to constrain development and create a range of new problems for those involved in them.

At the level of individual development in Whitley's words, "the awareness which they claim to encourage seems to involve an ability to find one's way around society as it is rather than to look at it critically".<sup>(9)</sup> Through the responses to situations of conflict the scheme attempted to work within rather than to question the limitations on the participants' lives. Yet the potential was there for the development of a more critical awareness through the examination and exploration of the situations of conflict in which the project found itself.

The young peoples' perception of themselves as a problem group for society is a good example of this. This perception could have constituted a resource to the project rather than an issue to be avoided in that their understanding of the world could have been explored and developed through the exploration of the reasons why they are seen as a problem by society. The scheme failed to take the opportunities that were available to problematise such shared meanings and to make them objects of inquiry rather than limitations on

action. In this way the scheme limited the young peoples' ability to develop coherent explanations of the situations in which they are involved. It closed rather than opened the horizons of understanding and thus at this level it represented a form of social control rather than a vehicle for personal development.

At the level of the problems created for young people, these can best be described as problems of innate resistance. As such schemes blur the boundaries of conflict that young people are aware of - social worker becomes hard to distinguish from friend, leisure activity becomes therapy, casual contact with parents becomes social work - it limits the ability of children to resist them. Because control is presented in an unfamiliar guise "they are", as Lemert remarked in another context, "at a loss to estimate accurately or realistically the dimensions and form of the coalition arranged against them. Thus their traditional means of defence against, and adaption to, social control is undermined".<sup>(10)</sup> This explains the difficulties which the young people here had in articulating their suspicions about the aims of the scheme.

The overall effect of such schemes is to give the spiral of deprivation a further significant twist. The experience of conflict, a regular experience in the lives of working class young people, becomes less accessible to them at the same time as it continues to affect their lives forcefully. Our argument is that it is naive to situate schemes such as this one in terms of a conventional control/treatment dichotomy. This distracts attention from the control elements in treatment-oriented community-based schemes and from the subtle form which this control takes. The absence of overt constraint and coercion does not imply the absence of

control. Control also operates through control of the resources and the information through which people can construct an understanding of their situation in society.<sup>(11)</sup>

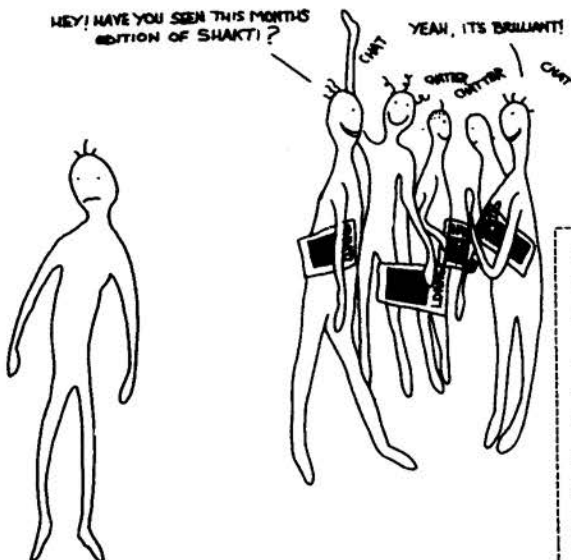
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11. The research on which this paper is based was conducted by a team of six members. The paper is however, the work of only two of that team. It represents their interpretation of the scheme and the views in it are not necessarily shared by the other researchers. Neither are they necessarily shared by the research sponsors or by others connected with the scheme.

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# social workers and the juvenile court

ROBERT ALLEN

Recent research has done little to help the image of the social worker. Even findings which have invalidated traditional notions have been unable to overturn the powerful stereotypes of naive soft-hearted do-gooders or militant agitators. Nowhere is this more true than with regard to the Juvenile Court. Despite evidence that Local Authority social workers are more likely to be punitive in their recommendations to the Court than Probation officers, who by contrast, enjoy something of an establishment status<sup>(1)</sup> and the fact that recent legislation has found it necessary to reduce the powers of Social Services Departments to have children in their care locked up in secure accommodation,<sup>(2)</sup> the picture of the trendy young leftist pleading for the chance to help a violent mugger 'improve his self-image' still prevails. A well known story reputedly told by a judge when training new Magistrates concerns a social worker who comes across an old woman who has had her purse snatched by a young thug, lying in the road. The social workers first thought is; "somewhere out there is a child in need...".

The reality of course is that most social workers are as aware as anyone else that their recommendations to Courts must somehow balance society's desire to inflict punishment on offenders generally with the needs and circumstances of the individual miscreant. In cases of serious or persistent misconduct plans which they put to the Court must appear credible enough to convince the bench that something will be done.

That something is the crux of the matter. Increasingly social workers are able with the help of Intermediate Treatment and Community Service to provide alternatives to custody, programmes of intervention which take place without removing the offender's liberty. The phrase 'alternatives to custody' is telling. In serious or persistent cases, custody is the norm. Detention Centre (DC) and Youth Custody are the expected disposal and any other option is sought almost as an indulgence, certainly as an exception to normal practice. Hence perhaps the fact that social workers are forced so often into the role of supplicants, pleading for mercy, bowing and scraping as they offer up their reports which they couch in archaic if not sycophantic terms, "may I respectfully suggest that your Worships (sic) ...".

This should and need not be the case. The Criminal Justice Act of 1982 although retrograde in many respects, provides the opportunity for social workers to make an important

contribution to the decarceration of juvenile offenders and the enhancement of their own role and image in the Court process. For although the powers of Magistrates have been increased in several areas,<sup>(3)</sup> with regard to the passing of custodial sentences statutory limitations have for the first time been placed on the exercise of those powers. At least one of three conditions must obtain before a custodial sentence may be imposed; that the offender is unable or unwilling to respond to non-custodial penalties, that a custodial sentence is necessary for the protection of the public, or that the offence is so serious that a non-custodial sentence cannot be justified. If one is imposed the reason why there is no alternative must be stated in open court, specified in the warrant of commitment and entered in the register. Moreover, a Social Enquiry Report must be obtained save in exceptional circumstances before custody is imposed. This gives the chance for the social worker<sup>(4)</sup> to present a set of arguments within a legally defined framework for keeping the client out of custody and justifying a community-based sentence. To this end the actual terminology of the Act can be used. It can be stated wherever possible that the subject is both willing and able to respond to community alternatives. Willingness can be indicated by consent and reference if appropriate to any previous involvement in such schemes. 'Ability' is perhaps more complex. In the past offenders who have exhausted lower tariff options have been likely candidates for custody. For example, a young person who re-offends whilst on a supervision order has been particularly at risk. However it is now up to the social worker to recommend a different and perhaps untried penalty using imagination to provide a package including elements of I.T., Community Service, Attendance Centre Orders or Specified Activities requirements, or recommending again a previously tried penalty during the course of which the subject stayed out of trouble. Clearly in minor cases there may be no need to ascend the tariff at all. If one does and the programme is rejected there may well be grounds for appeal. For the onus is on the Magistrates to show not only that non-custodial penalties have failed but will do so in the future. It is clearly not acceptable for them to send youngsters down simply because they are fed up with seeing them in the dock. The notion of the 'incurable rogue' has no place in the Juvenile Court.

Similarly the clause allowing a custodial sentence "for the protection of the public" may form grounds for appeal. In many cases the delay between the commission of an offence



and the establishment of guilt in Court and further adjournment for reports make it difficult to see how this makes much sense particularly in the vast proportion of cases where unconditional bail is granted during the intervening period. It also seems an illogical justification for short DC sentences. It would be absurd to imprison someone for 2 weeks to protect the public. Moreover it could be argued that much greater protection may be afforded by a longer term closely monitored Intermediate Treatment programme.

Finally there is the question of the seriousness of the offence which seems to be the criterion most often used by Courts to justify the imposition of a custodial sentence.

Clearly seriousness like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder. Handling stolen goods for example, can be viewed as a serious crime. Indeed the maximum penalty for an adult convicted of the offence in the Crown Court is 14 years imprisonment and an unlimited fine. However given the vast multitude of sins which such an offence encompasses, a blanket judicial policy towards sentencing for it would clearly be absurd.<sup>(6)</sup> Moreover seriousness is the sort of relative concept whose meaning can vary markedly across both time and place. Its definition seems particularly susceptible to the influence of moral panics which regularly erupt amongst the social strata from which magistrates are largely drawn. It is especially alarming therefore to find that Juvenile Courts often appear to adopt sentencing policies with regard to certain types of crime. Such policies find formulation in the Magistrates Court Guide ("A complete and up-to-date source of information about all aspects of the activities of the Magistrates' Courts") in the 1984 edition of which it is announced that in cases of burglary "A custodial sentence" will be "appropriate in the great majority of cases and that the Magistrate's 'first duty' will be to consider custody."<sup>(6)</sup> Particularly punitive disposals from the Court of Appeal are quoted together with the observations of Lord Justice Lawton in 1978: "Offences of this kind should be dealt with severely and usually by a custodial sentence. Adolescents have got to be discouraged from housebreaking and in our judgement they are not likely to be discouraged by sentences which do not involve loss of liberty."<sup>(7)</sup> More ominous still for juveniles appearing in Court is the case quoted of a youth of 17 sentenced to borstal training on his first conviction. "The notion that everyone had one free bite was one that the courts did their best to dispel."<sup>(8)</sup> This is by no means the only example of higher Courts creating punitive policies for lower.<sup>(9)</sup> How this is squared with the officially held view that a "custodial sentence should be regarded as a sentence of last resort" is unclear.<sup>(10)</sup>

Obviously the role of the Social Enquiry Report is to remind the Court of the specific and individual nature of the offence and the offender and to place them in some sort of psychological, social and cultural background, perhaps drawing attention to the offender's needs as well as the deed. Again it is not clear what worth such contributions may have in the context of a more general climate created by the like of Lord Justice Lawton. Notwithstanding the Juvenile Courts ostensible concern for the welfare of the offender and their obligation "to consider such information about the juvenile's general conduct, home surroundings, school record and medical history as will enable it to deal with the case in his best interests",<sup>(11)</sup> such general policies on offences rather than offenders may be attractive to Magistrates who often see their paramount duty as being to

society as a whole and want to be seen to be taking a firm retributive or deterrent line. After all the Juvenile Court is not an independent Court but the Magistrates Court sitting in a special capacity.<sup>(12)</sup>

In the light of all this what is the social worker to do? In 1979 of the 11,602 young persons in DC's over 70% were there as a result of convictions for theft or burglary.<sup>(13)</sup> If Courts continue to interpret such offences *a priori* as serious the 1982 Criminal Justice Act with its criterion of seriousness, will serve simply to enshrine the practice. One possible intervention for the social worker is to look at the particular ways that seriousness is established. Often it will be defined in terms of the harmful effects that the offence may have had on its victim. Thus in the Magistrates Court Guide, we find amongst the factors to be taken into account whether the burglary was at a dwelling house occupied by a young or old person or a single person who might be in fear for sometime as a result of the experience. Obviously non custodial programmes which include elements of compensation, reparation or restitution especially if these can be directed to the particular injured party or a group of victims, are able to address this issue. The principle is already established in the Compensation Order and imaginative schemes which make restitution a priority are likely to prove attractive to more creative magistrates at least, especially given the backing such ideas have received from the current Home Secretary. After all a custodial sentence does nothing for the victim whereas a non-custodial sentence could.

Evidently diminishing or trivialising the seriousness of crime would be a risky tactic for social workers to adopt in their reports to the Court. It is arguable how much headway if any, the radical philosophy of the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act makes into the thinking of rank and file magistrates and any explanations of deviance which invoke psychological, social, economic or cultural factors have always been seen to threaten the sacred cow of individual responsibility upon which the court system is based. However there are good arguments for social workers paying some attention to the offence itself. By giving a factual account of the delinquent escapade, a description of the circumstances leading up to it and an analysis of how the 'invitational edge'<sup>(14)</sup> was hurdled, the offence can at least be placed in an understandable context. If twenty years of sociological research and theory are worth anything they should surely be brought to use in the real world of the Courtroom. The Court should know that the vast majority of juvenile offending is an unplanned response to opportunity, fuelled by some level of social or emotional deprivation and fired by the pressures of the peer group.<sup>(15)</sup> Despite the social distance which so often characterises the relationship between sentencer and sentenced such an analysis may well prove more beneficial for the latter than the pseudo-psychoanalytic observations which have so often characterised Court Reports in the past.

For at least Magistrates will be made aware that offences take place in concrete human situations and that just as young people find their ways into such circumstances so they can find their way out or better still avoid them altogether. If the Magistrates aim is that of Leon Brittan, "to teach the young offender to live freely in the community without indulging in unacceptable behaviour",<sup>(16)</sup> it is up to social workers to show that such teaching is far more effectively done in the community. There is no doubt that Magistrates

are interested in the prevention of crime and in the future conduct of the young people that come before them. Indeed one reason for the dramatic 70% increase in Youth Custody sentences since the implementation of the 1982 Criminal Justice Act may be the mistaken belief they have in the residential training and rehabilitation provided by such sentences. Their reluctance on the other hand to make use of the new short DC sentences may in part be a recognition of the fact that such a sentence is basically useless. Even Lord Denning in an article extolling the virtues of punishment has written that the short sharp shock "has proved a disappointment. I am afraid that some youngsters come out worse than they went in."<sup>(17)</sup>

This is the final and perhaps most powerful string in the anti-custodial bow, that custody almost rules out the possibility of halting, changing or diverting delinquent careers. Whatever the mechanisms that operate the reconviction rates from custodial institutions suggest that what social workers have to offer as alternatives are unlikely to have a worse outcome. Again the Court should be reminded of the damaging effect of custody and of the likelihood that by making such disposals they are serving to propel young people along a criminal path.

What evidence there is suggests that the new non-custodial provisions in the Criminal Justice Act are not being developed as fully or creatively as they might. The nettle is surely there for social workers to grasp to establish not only a high standard of credible community based provision but the legal right for the vast majority of young offenders to use it. This will mean that the Juvenile Court will not be the end of the road but the first hurdle in the way of implementing what will hopefully prove to be a more enlightened and constructive penal practice with juveniles. Only when social workers are prepared (and encouraged and trained) to campaign vigorously, knowledgeably and imaginatively through the Court process and to defend their views with tactical skill and practical sense, will they have any chance of improving their image in the Court and beyond.

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# "time, the subtle thief of youth": historians and youth

W. BRUCE LESLIE

While Milton decried the ravages of time, historians have recently been delving back in time to try to recover youth's traditions. Historical writing in the last two decades has shown a new sensitivity towards those with little power. Whereas history had primarily focused on the political, military, and economic lives of the powerful, in the last fifteen years historians in Europe and North America have sought to understand the more commonly experienced aspects of life. The best known results have been the flowering of women's, working class, urban, family, and black history. In trying to come to grips with the common experience of the past historians have had to come to grips with "the subtle Thief", technically labelled the life cycle. One stage, youth, has received particular attention.

In this essay I will discuss some of the results of the recent historical inquiries into youth in the hope that the overview will be useful to policy makers and practitioners. The first task has been to identify the beast. Until the last decade there was doubt whether a distinctive stage between childhood and adulthood existed in pre-industrial society. Anthropologists like Margaret Mead and functionalist sociologists like Talcott Parsons maintained that a distinctive transition to adulthood was a product of industrialization. The French historian Phillipe Ariès, who rekindled interest in studying the young with his path-breaking *Centuries of Childhood*, asserted that "as soon as the child could live without the constant solicitude of his mother, his nanny, or his rocking chair, he belonged to adult society."<sup>(1)</sup>

Recent scholarship has disagreed that a transitional stage is strictly modern. For instance in Early Modern Europe colourful groups of single males (e.g. the French "Abbayes de la Jeunesse" and German "Bruderschaften") ranging in age from the teens to mid-twenties had significant power to impose traditional moral standards in their villages, especially upon those who threatened the pool of unmarried females. E.P. Thompson has questioned whether English youth ever played such a role but Bernard Capp thought it likely.<sup>(2)</sup> In pre-industrial society it now seems apparent there was a long, non-institutionalised youth that was a by-product of an economy that had some use for the labour of youth but could not absorb them as full participants for about two decades.

Historians agree that about age seven marked a turning point as productive work began to be expected and one might begin residing with other families. This marked the

beginning of a semi-autonomous period of apprenticeship and career experimentation. In some ways there was freedom that modern youth lacks but it also was a search for a place in a limited economy, especially for those who would not be inheriting land. Given the long length of youth and the short life expectancies, wandering youth was a large proportion of the population and a threat to the status quo. The Tudors were particularly intent upon keeping youth under control by codifying apprenticeship, family duties, and the tradition of 'binding out' youth to other families.<sup>(3)</sup>

The conventional wisdom that industrialization seriously disrupted previously stable family and generation relationships emanates from functionalist sociology's stress upon the 'differentiation' of functions previously performed by families and the supposed decline of families in the face of modernisation.<sup>(4)</sup> Recent studies suggest more complex patterns. Michael Anderson's intriguing study of Preston shows that under some conditions industrialization increased reliance upon kin and encouraged youth to remain in the home. Where youthful migrants into Preston did not live with their parents they usually resided in small boarding houses where supervision would have been strict. In Preston industrial wages enabled youth to remain in the parental home longer and then to marry earlier thus reducing the period of semi-autonomy.<sup>(5)</sup> While Preston is not the world, Anderson has shown us that there is no simple relationship between modernisation and youth.

The decline of industrial and agrarian child labour created our modern youth under the term popularized at the beginning of the century; 'adolescence'. The teenage years ceased to be perceived as a time of strength and were re-defined as a period needing protection which corresponded well with the growing ability of middle class families to defer their children's employment and to sustain them in age-segregated institutions. While pre-industrial youth had had a long period of experimentation, the crucial career decisions were made from about ages 12 to 14 as more rigid career ladders and class structures developed. Maintaining their offspring in school for a longer period became a crucial distinction between the typical middle and working class patterns of growing up.<sup>(6)</sup> By the mid/twentieth century while the two classes were perhaps more segregated by neighbourhood and life chances than before, both were universally in school until age 16 with the class distinctions now expressed by differentiation within the schools. Americans have extended adolescence furthest with nearly

universal schooling until 18 and an extensive adult-directed extra-curriculum.

In the early part of this century adolescence was promoted as universally desirable and was used to redefine many aspects of youthful behaviour as 'delinquent'. Seeking to convert the 'pathological' working and lower class youths' life styles became the *raison d'être* for a variety of professions.<sup>(7)</sup> In recent years there has been a reaction against enshrining adolescence and a growing counter tendency to attack the concept as class-biased, an instrument of social control, a psychological misomer and an encroachment on freedom.<sup>(8)</sup>

The stage of Western society sometimes labelled 'post-industrial' has witnessed further changes in the ways we come of age. While youth has achieved unprecedented visibility the proportion of the population under age 25 is dropping significantly. Schooling has become a principal governmental response to technological unemployment, especially in the United States. Age segregation, consumerism and mass media have created a sub-culture that epitomises the separation of adolescents from adult life. Commentators have been fascinated by cycles of apparent rebellion and conformity among youth but most rebellion has been temporary and superficial; there has been little generation-based challenge to the social and economic order.<sup>(9)</sup>

The image of rebellious youth has been accompanied by a wide-spread fear that the family is 'declining' in modern society. Fuelled by conservative political and religious forces and by the impact of the 1960's this perception has thrived despite historical studies that challenge it. While divorce has reached unprecedented levels there are conflicting long-run trends. Longer life spans and the earlier end to child bearing means that many more young people have both parents alive until their own transition to adulthood. While more young people live with only one parent than formerly, fewer live with neither parent.<sup>(10)</sup>

A related conventional wisdom is that life is more hectic and less stable today as we supposedly become more individualistic. History suggests otherwise, at least for youth. Beneath the appearance of revolt and individualism are structural conditions that cause young people to act in more similar ways. A recent American study of the entry into adulthood (measured by age of leaving school, entering the workforce, leaving the parental home, marriage, and establishing one's own household) found that the range, pace, and order of these events had become significantly more predictable over the last century.<sup>(11)</sup> The highly publicised 'generation gap' may also be just an age old problem dressed in modern clothing. In traditional societies the conveyance of land to the next generation has frequently been a source of intense conflict.

The emergence of a prolonged period of dependence in an urban world created grave concern among middle class parents for the 'character' of the young and one response was the formation of adult-directed youth organizations. Historians have recently begun paying attention to these colourful groups. The Boy Scouts and Boys Brigades were the best known of the 'character building' organizations created around the turn of the century to bring young people through the presumed storm and crisis of the newly diagnosed 'adolescent' period. Touted as cures for juvenile

delinquency, working class patterns of leisure, socialism, and precocious sexuality, these groups proved remarkably popular. Drawing upon the pledges and drills of temperance societies and Sunday schools, the quasi-militarism and uniforms of the Brigades and the woodcraft of Thompson, Seton, Baden-Powell created the archetypal pattern.

While these youth groups enjoyed surprising entrepreneurial growth, the selective nature of their success is instructive. Created as a guardian of adolescence, Scouts and Guides and similar groups had a great deal of trouble holding onto boys and girls once they entered adolescence. Those over age 14 usually found Scouting embarrassing and boring while children aged 10 to 12 begged for admission. The shift in emphasis towards Cub Scouts and Brownies, after World War 11 has been used as evidence of the declining age of the onset of adolescence but recent research has found the 'drop out' age to have been remarkably consistent through the century.

Youth group membership exhibited clear class divisions. While Scouts and other uniformed youth groups had some success in recruiting the children of the skilled working class in general they have been middle class organisations. Rather than being vehicles of 'social control' of one class over another, they seem to have been one section and generation of the middle class influencing another: upper middle class adult scoutmasters running a largely lower middle class youth group. Outreach was left to Boys Clubs. Respectability and the donations of a few wealthy donors gave these groups a power that socialist alternatives could not match. The Woodcraft Folk (U.K.), the Young People's Socialist League (United States) and other alternatives struggled on small budgets and faced official hostility. Yet perhaps more damaging was the tepid response of working class children and their parents to uniformed youth groups.<sup>(12)</sup>

For all of the similarities there are also interesting contrasts between the British and American experience. American schooling is much more pervasive and is accompanied by an extensive extra-curriculum. In the United States the middle class adolescent sub-culture and high school life are almost synonymous. The vast array of adult-directed organisations for children and early adolescents reflect a purposive approach to child rearing that is fairly foreign to Britain. The American Scouts have been centralised and adult-directed to a much greater extent than Baden-Powell intended or practised.

Yet given these differences, something of an Anglo-American tradition appears when comparisons are made with the Continent particularly in terms of youth groups. Whereas American and British political parties have not had large youth organisations, those on the Continent have often formed vigorous ones. While youth groups like the Scouts had virtually no opposition in the Anglo-American world vigorous left-wing alternatives developed on the Continent. The autonomous youth-directed groups like the Wandervogel have had few Anglo-American counterparts. These distinctions may be overdrawn but it is apparent that coming of age in Western society does not merely fall into some homogenised pattern of 'modernisation'.

Hopefully this overview of recent historical studies of youth provides some perspective in which to formulate policy. I

would like to offer a few possible conclusions. First, a protracted period between childhood and adulthood is not the purely 20th century phenomenon it once was thought to be. While 'adolescence' is new, a long period of semi-autonomy is not. Trends towards later marriage and a 'singles' sub-culture are not revolutionary events; while have new aspects they are also a return to patterns of pre-industrial youth. Second, the 'decline of the family' and the 'pace of modern life' should be dropped as explanatory frameworks for understanding families and youth. Counteracting the rise of divorce are other stabilising factors and the lives of young people are more predictable than in the past. Third, while modern young people are assumed to be unprecedentedly individualistic, they are becoming increasingly similar to each other in the timing of their transitions into adulthood. They may have more choices but they are making the same ones. Fourth, the difficulty of holding older adolescents in youth groups is not a new phenomenon. Although we have the image that earlier in the century the Scouts and others held their loyalty it is becoming apparent that they never succeeded very widely with those over age 14. We mythologise the extent of adult control over youth in the past.

Finally, international comparisons are heuristically valuable. Britain shares an Anglo-American tradition in terms of youth groups but has not followed the American patterns of mass advanced education and of using the school as a centre of youth culture. Lacking the American tradition of a purposive, adult-directed youth and the European tradition of a politically active, more self-directed youth, Britain lacks a clear model with which to face the pressures of de-industrialisation and capitalist restructuring of the economy. History does not offer nostrums but it can help place the confusing events that buffet our lives into

perspective. While time is the "subtle thief" of our own youth, looking back over time may help us guide future generations as they come of age.

The author would like to thank Prof. John Halsey, SUNY Program, Brunel University, for his very helpful comments.

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# reviews

**John Lea and Jock Young**

## **WHAT IS TO BE DONE ABOUT LAW AND ORDER. CRISIS IN THE EIGHTIES**

**Penguin Books, 1984**

**ISBN 0 14 00.6593 8**

**£2.95 paperback**

One way of reading this book is from the perspective of an appreciation of the structural racism of British social sciences and, within that, the problems of male radical academics' adjustments to feminism. One possible adjustment is to sidestep the Man Question (sometimes miscalled the woman question) by saying that the women seem to have that covered, and by continuing to pose issues in a way that does not raise basic questions of sexual division. This generally involves a return to the study of males. Within criminology, it means the study of males on both sides of the law. Then, because the structural racism of British sociology, social policy and criminology involves a continuing severe underrepresentation of black people, and because wider forms of racism tend to restrict black (especially Afro-Caribbean) peoples' opportunities for crime to the lowest levels of petty crime, we get white male academics theorising about black male petty criminality. (If they tried to theorise about women and crime, they would get a harder ride). That is the institutional and political background to this book - as the reviewer sees it!

As the authors see it, things are a little different. They seek to navigate between two currents: a right wing populist conception of crime as a rising wave of barbarism threatening to destroy society, and a left wing idealism that alternately redirects attention to the crimes of the powerful, and mistakenly conflates working class crime with prefigurative attempts at revolutionary change. Against both these views, Lea and Young argue - and present statistical evidence in support of their claim - that most day-to-day petty crime is conducted by the most depressed strata of society and is directed against other members of these same strata. Black people commit robberies and other crimes, and do so because their circumstances give them little alternative, as do white working class criminals. The solution lies in more police accountability, closer links between the community and police, more information given to the police, and greater clear-up rates.

This is the authors' new 'left realism', steering a broad middle course between right wing populism and black self-defence. 'Left realism' is their own term for it.

Other men, within radical and black criminology, have attacked Lea and Young's argument specifically where it refers to race. This is a core part of their book, the chapter called 'the race and crime debate' being the longest in the book and something of a reply-to-our-critics. The reader is referred to this chapter for details and references. Here we can summarise the attack to which Lea and Young reply as hanging round the proposition that their position is racist.

The debate, such as it is, may be regarded as a recasting of old debates over a working class constituted as males acting outside their families. From which parts of that class are petty criminals drawn, who are their victims, and are their motives those of (i) proto-revolutionary struggle, (ii) self-defence against police attack, or (iii) individualistic gain, even at the cost of disruption of working class communities? Lea and Young come closest to taking the latter position (an eerie historical echo, perhaps, of Paul Hirst's position in his 1975 attack on 'radical criminologists and deviancy theorists' as represented by Jock Young and others in the early 'seventies); and they also try to cast their black critics in the first position, calling them 'idealists'. This is one of the most unfortunate aspects of the book and of the papers that have preceded it. It would have been better for the authors to make a clean breast of past errors of male white academics in and around the National Deviancy Conference, rather than to project their devils onto present/day black critics.

The book is not, however, without its charms. Methodologically and politically, it is notable for its reworking of statistical evidence, both official government statistics and criminological surveys. There was a time when radical criminology involved a rejection of quantitative evidence as positivist and a reliance upon 'appreciative' observation studies from the perspective of the criminal and/or 'critical theorising' about law and social order. A more sophisticated and methodological position acknowledges that all the basic epistemological problems attaching to surveys and quantitative approaches also attach to qualitative methods; whilst a more sophisticated political position appreciates that one cannot afford *not* to talk numbers if one wants to influence public debate and policy. In the authors' hands, the statistics help to keep the focus of the argument on relatively minor street-type crimes.

The authors finished their book before the IRA and INLA began 'punishment' of petty criminals in parts of Ireland on the grounds that individualistic petty criminality was against the interests of the community. This is a shame, because the authors do not have an opportunity to measure such actions against their view that 'crime is a demoralising force within the community, which saps the strengths of any political organisation...'. Young and Lea and several other criminologists aligned with the Labour Party argue for state policing services to be made accountable to the community and hence be made more capable of defeating crime, whilst Irish elements are setting out to prove the police and state ineffective, unnecessary, and hence illegitimate. Black critics are putting forward black self-defence arguments, whilst feminists (eg Carol Smart in *The Ties That Bind*, RKP, 1984) add to woman's self-defence arguments a call for recognition that the law is contradictory in respect of sexual divisions and may be used to support wider struggles in sexual politics.

Read in the context of these developments, Lea and Young's book is limited but interesting, often informative, and readable. Besides the longest chapter on race and crime, it discusses whether crime is really a problem, its extent and causes, policing, marginality and deviance, accountability, and sets out the authors' new realism in a final chapter. It will be one useful point of reference for students and all those concerned with the question posed by the book's title. It also has the merit of being priced at £2.95, so you may not have to steal it. But what would you do if you witnessed a theft of a copy - and if it were your copy?

Nicholas Dorn

**John Muncie**

## **The Trouble with Kids Today: Youth and Crime in post-war Britain**

**Hutchinson 1984**

**ISBN 0.09.155051.3 £5.95 216pp**

## **John Williams, Eric Dunning and Patrick Murphy**

### **Hooligans Abroad: The Behaviour and Control of English Fans in Continental Europe**

**RKP 1984**

**ISBN 0.7102.0143.5**

**£8.95 230pp**

Sociologists have increasingly seen youth as both a social problem and a sociological problem. Despite the enormous amount of media/political coverage and sociological literature little impact has in fact been made by sociologists on policy making in respect of youth. Indeed, where youth policy making does reflect popular conventions and values about youth, the end result in youth work practice etc is to attempt to counter balance against the supposed impact and influence of youth cultures.

Youth are seen as a nuisance if they upset the conventional wisdom of the day. However, although the media/politicians etc may pose youth activity as a real penetrating threat, they are not being serious about it. Indeed, and ironically, the media especially merely use the 'a' 'ics' of youth to make a 'splash'; to fill the pages, to keep readers (and voters etc) amused, entertained, shocked, happy that things do not change much. The media and their associates do not intend to take the attitude and actions of youth seriously at all. For surely if they did, if other people believed that youth's situation was important, then we might get some action.

So, on the one hand, we have ample evidence that youth as a sociological/media/political category are engaged in cultural diversity and even cultural activities that pose a threat to the normative order, conventional values etc. Whether this leads to conflicts, should lead to conflicts, does lead to action by the policy makers, does lead to greater understanding of the youth in our society is another matter

Both these books explore this territory. They are quite different books that deal with a general review of the issues on the one hand and a specialized, empirical and policy-suggesting volume on the other. The crossover point is that had '*Hooligans Abroad*' been written/published slightly earlier than Muncie, the latter would have been able to include it in his chapter on Youth and Crime where a review is undertaken of the mainstream literature on football hooligans.

'*Hooligans Abroad*' is an account and attempted analysis of specific events in the demonology of English fans overseas. A good deal is made of the posture of fans, particularly the 'violent patriotism'. Links with the National Front, explicit 'Little Englander' qualities are brought to the fore in a warts and all exposition of the folk devils and moral panics nature of English fans abroad.

In the middle of the 1984 cricket season, David Bairstow the Yorkshire CCC captain made a 'public' apology to David Graveney, the Gloucestershire captain, for racist remarks that were made by some of the Scarborough crowd aimed towards two black players, Shepherd and Lawrence. Yorkshire CCC even decided to close the bar on that ground for certain periods of time, putting forward the argument that the racist remarks, bad taste incident(s) were related to excessive drinking. I was also personally told of one or two nasty moments in the Test Match at

Headingly, where racist remarks were aimed at the West Indies players. The teller of the Headingly anecdote assured me that the culprits in the Yorkshire crowd were a busload of National Front supporters.

Both these incidents just preceded the publication of the Department of the Environment's report on 'Football Spectator Violence', in mid-August. A report that rejected bans on the sale of alcohol at grounds, despite the experience of the Scottish experiment begun in 1981. The DoE's report met with considerable hostility from most other agencies associated with the problems, particularly because there had been little or no consultation before publication. The Department of the Environment's working party also rejected the idea of confiscating or endorsing the passports of offending English fans, which led to David Lacey of The Guardian to comment "the FA and League may be entitled to ask why it should be simpler for a soccer lout to booze his way across the Channel than for an NUM picket to enter the county of Nottinghamshire"

In their different ways these sets of authors further underline the complexity of the 'social problems' of hooliganism, vandalism and delinquency. They make considerable reference to the grassroot, even 'gut-level' politics of the young working-class persons's life. 'Hooligans Abroad' is more honest about the realities and costs of violence and, as Stan Cohen has pointed out, the basic fact is that sociologists are also citizens with values, rights and responsibilities, and that something needs to be done to sort out this mess.

It is important to read these two books alongside each other, because they inform the arguments that each make. Muncie's book is a useful account/overview which does at least succeed in bringing into one volume a number of diverse aspects of the 'youth' phenomenon. This is to be welcomed. The book stops there of course, it is a text book and not a sociological exposition of the relation and confluence of these circumstances in the 1980's. It is not actually enough to say that the trouble with kids today is the same as it was ten or twenty years ago. Whatever else we as members of this society might do to alleviate the tension, violence and tragedies of the situation, we must surely devote more time and energy devising ways in which young persons form the future, inside or outside football grounds.

John Astley

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**Chris Davey**  
**WORKING WITH YOUNG PEOPLE - LEGAL RESPONSIBILITY AND LIABILITY**  
The Children's Legal Centre, 1984  
ISBN 0 946 109 05 2  
pp32

In the introduction to this handbook, the author states that the object is to give advice and information on the legal position of those working with young people and to enable workers to make informed decisions with an awareness of their own legal problems (and that of the young people involved) and of the possible consequences of their actions. The handbook covers a very wide range of topics including chapters on Vetting Workers, General (legal) Duties on Working with Young People, Control and Discipline, Sex and Sexuality, Drugs, Working with Runaways, Young People in Trouble and Legal Remedies and Protective Measures.

The handbook is well-presented and laid-out, with appropriate photographs to give interest. The problem constantly presented to authors is how to cover a sufficient scope of the subject at a worthwhile depth and yet to keep down the size of the publication. This handbook has thirty-one A4 size pages and an excellent index, but the task which the author has set herself is quite formidable in view of the range of topics and the objectives set in the introduction.

Some topics are dealt with in very short summaries; occupiers' liability, for example, is given a short paragraph of seven lines under the heading of General Duties, and the Unfair Contract Terms Act, 1977, regarding disclaimer notices under S2(1) is also dispensed with in one paragraph. The paragraphs are excellent pointers to what workers with young people should be looking out for, but will hardly enable them to make informed decisions. In general, my concern is not with the quality of the text but with the overambitious objectives. It would have been better to recognise the limitations of the space allowed throughout the handbook and to suggest that the reader should, having been alerted to the general direction which the law takes on a particular question, undertake further reading or, on serious matters, take professional advice.

One section which suffers not only from space shortage but also from ambiguity is on insurance. Some of the descriptive titles of categories of insurance are not what they seem; All Risks and Personal Accident Insurance are examples. In the paragraph on Personal Accident Insurance, it is stated that "Personal accident insurance can cover any accident resulting in physical injury ..." It should be noted that only very serious injuries such as death, loss of the sight of one or both eyes, loss of limb or total disablement are covered by this type of insurance. On Public Liability insurance the paragraph suggests that this "covers claims against a worker or employer by those using the premises". This insurance is not linked to the premises but can include all the activities of the project or agency working with young people.

The chapters on Sex and Sexuality, Working with Runaways and Working with Young People in Trouble deal quite comprehensively with these topics, although the latter deals only with the criminal aspects and going to court, and does not look at intermediate or other treatment. The chapter on Drugs deals also with alcohol, cigarettes and solvent abuse; although brief, it is quite useful as a quick guide.

On the whole, this handbook is a worthwhile purchase for workers with young people and I am sure that they will be constantly reaching for it. The author has succeeded in producing an excellent publication, with the provisos that I have made. The section on insurance should be revised for the next edition and remembering that 'a little knowledge can be dangerous', perhaps she will feel that readers should be encouraged to read more widely on the pointers given in the text.

Albert Clark

**Michael Freeman**  
**THE RIGHTS AND THE WRONGS OF CHILDREN**  
Frances Pinter London, 1983  
ISBN 0 86187 226 6  
£7.95P  
pp. 295

If I had to recommend a single book on children's rights to introduce someone to this area of study, Michael Freeman's book would probably be my choice. Much of his work over the last decade in the field of children's rights is drawn together in this volume and it is consequently an enormously scholarly, authoritative work and quite encyclopaedic in its bibliographical footnote references; indeed if virtue can become vice the footnotes are so extensive in places that they distract from the text. However, in other parts, Freeman writes with a clarity of expression and power of commitment, which betray uncharacteristically radical sentiments for a lawyer.

The book is divided into seven chapters and I found the first two which contain, 'an analysis of the concept of childhood and a framework for analysing rights,' the most interesting and contentious. The subsequent chapters focus on what Freeman calls 'problematic areas' and he acknowledges that his choice has been 'selective.' However, his selection of 'delinquency, child abuse and neglect, children in care, the divorce decision, parental autonomy in child rearing and children's autonomy,' would hardly be considered idiosyncratic and most could probably agree they are 'central to the debate.' Each chapter is both thorough and fair in its treatment of the subject matter, contains a mass of relevant data and is in touch with the appropriate areas of controversy. Chapter three 'The Rights Of Children Who Do Wrong' is a good example here and Freeman's brief exposition and critique of Morris et al and the Justice model (pp81-86) is a neat hatchet job.

However while the individual chapters are strong, I disagree with the overall argument of the book. There are, Freeman suggests, two positions concerning children's rights which he dubs the protectionists and the liberationists; those concerned with 'protecting children' and those concerned with, 'protecting their rights.' Freeman belongs to the former camp and stoutly denounces the liberationist case as one which is, 'politically naive, philosophically faulty and plainly ignores psychological evidence.'

When the psychologist in question turns out to be Piaget it is little wonder that liberationists ignore such 'evidence'. Drawing upon the philosophical insights of Rawls, Freeman argues that the protectionist position leads not to paternalism but to Liberal paternalism. The goal of such paternalism, 'must ultimately be the child's rational independence.' However before independence is achieved paternalism, 'can be used to defend the taking of certain decisions on adolescents' behalf.' Education is an example Freeman cites since it is through education that we acquire the all important 'capacity for full autonomy.' This reasoning leads him to a startling conclusion. 'A morally neutral theory of the good would...require adolescents to undergo education whether they wished to or not. That many would not it is a sign that short term gains rather than lasting benefits were uppermost in their thoughts.' Freeman is really rigging the argument here to the point where even disagreement with his position is taken as evidence of its legitimacy; those unable to see the benefits of education. Moreover not everyone will share Freeman's naive optimism concerning the

educational system and its presumed role in enhancing rationality. Althusser's suggestion that the educational apparatus is one of a number of mechanisms which operate to confuse, confound and diminish rationality in order to preserve existing power structures, is more persuasive. Freeman's Liberal paternalism seems to be highly paternalistic but not terribly Liberal. Despite the fundamental disagreement, which not everyone will share, I strongly recommend the book. For those coming new to the subject it is a goldmine of sources and information, its argument is well presented and contentious if not always convincing and priced at £7.95 its a very good buy.

Bob Franklin

## **RIGHTS - WOT RIGHTS!**

### **TURC Video**

**7, Frederick Street,  
Birmingham B1 3HE.**

The need for effective legal and welfare rights is greater than ever as the present government rolls back the advances made in employment protection and trade union rights and, at the same time, reduces the social wage that has historically cushioned the victims of economic policy against the worst ravages of poverty and unemployment. This is particularly the case for young adults whether at work, unemployed, or treading water on YTS schemes.

It is evident from the experience of rights workers in the North East of England that young people do not use welfare rights agencies until they reach crisis point. They perceive such agencies as being mainly for adults and confined to DHSS and housing issues. Moreover, in recent years there has been a shift in the posture of the DHSS and unemployment centres from a highly discretionary service to a tightly regulated one. Concurrent with this has been the demise of trade union organisations and the curtailment of trade union education in general. All this conspires to demand that every school leaver needs to be a self taught lawyer to survive.

'Rights - Wot Rights' is a video tape, produced with funding from the Sheffield City Council, West Midlands County Council, the GLC and NALGO for use in schools, youth clubs and by YTS managing agents. By combining light hearted cartoon animation and ethnographic interviewed case studies, by teenagers it demonstrates the case for trade union organisations and gives a broad introduction to a range of trade union and health and safety issues. In addition it demonstrates the need for young adults to assert themselves against sexual stereotyping through employment roles and, the need to counteract racism.

The tape package includes tutor notes and the whole is designed in such a way as to command the attention of the viewer in order to form a basis for discussion with a student group. There is no attempt to spell out in detail, employment and industrial relations law. Although there is some critical appraisal of YTS schemes, there is not discussion of the wider issues surrounding the future of work, industrial relations or the role of labour in the economy. The tape however is a well produced teaching aid that could form a useful starting point for the well informed teacher or youth workers who wishes to explore a whole range of issues around employment and welfare

rights. It could also form a basis for young people to discuss in a wider sense the prospects of young adults in the labour market.

P.W. Smith

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### **Jill Gable and Mark Lymbery SURVIVING THE SYSTEM. A REPORT ON THE TRANSITION OF YOUNG PEOPLE FROM RESIDENTIAL CARE TO INDEPENDENCE.**

**Leicester Family Housing Association  
254 Mere Road, Leicester  
Campaign for Single Homeless People 1984  
pp. 66**

"Surviving the System" is based on a small scale, but detailed research project, concentrating on the policies and practices of individual agencies responsible for discharging young people from care. The research focused on the level of preparation of residents for independent living, examining a range of activities involving cooking, budgeting, shopping, decision making, recreation and self-responsibility.

The report, and conclusions of the researchers, should be essential reading for every Social Services Department and Voluntary Agency working with young people. It illustrates the value of research which highlights appropriate areas of concern by collecting informative data and using evidence from consumers. The report confirms that bureaucratic procedures of Social Services and Treasurers Depts. continue to inhibit policies and practices which would enable young people to develop independent living skills prior to leaving their community homes or hostels. Analysis of the tables shows that a few agencies are involving young people in case conferences and shopping with cash, who make arrangements for them to plan and cook their own food, and offer some discretion in 'coming-in' times at night. In general however the report illustrates how young people in residential care continue to experience a high degree of dependency upon staff; being awakened each morning by a member of staff to a prepared breakfast, savings being predetermined, clothing bought via an order book, never handling cash other than pocket money, or shopping in a supermarket, department store or a local corner shop. As social work agencies will be proud to report, physical provision in the past 40 years has improved dramatically: rooms are carpeted, furnishings are of good quality, food is varied and plentiful, clothing fits well, and is not 'handed down' from other children. The degree of participation in their own lives however is shown to have changed very little from the immediate post-war years.

Interviews by the researchers illustrate the problems young people meet when living independently in the community, and of their unpreparedness to cope with both practical and emotional issues:- "He finds everything very hard. Leaving his last home was hardest and he found independence much harder than anyone said. Now a visitor he takes much more notice of staff advice". This young man was one of the few young people fortunate enough to have regular contact with the staff of his last 'home'. Others are more isolated. A young girl's response is that she feels scared of the responsibilities and of coping alone without support. She has learnt to manage money and practical affairs but still finds it hard to settle in her flat.

The research did not examine levels of emotional support offered to young people before and following residential care. Responses by the sample indicate that this was also inadequate, if not entirely absent in many cases.

Where staff were encouraging and supporting young residents to live a reasonably independent life prior to being moved out to total independence in the community, this was being carried out through individual staff motivation and awareness, rather than as departmental policy. A disturbing conclusion is that without such policies, and without the will by managers to implement and maintain a programme of training for independence, young people in residential care are dependant, at the worst, on the whims of staff, and at the best, on staff groups who have themselves devised practice and policies leading to preparation for independent living.

There is literature on the importance of preparation for leaving care, and of planning and regular reviews from the moment of reception into care. One wonders how influential such research, reviews of practice or recommendations for policy may be, when we have research findings such as those in "Surviving the System". It does seem to stress the urgency of ensuring that management and trainers are aware of the continuing needs of young people leaving care in the 1980's.

The writers of "Surviving the System" are very fair to managers in that they admit to some of the problems facing staff in residential settings, particularly in relation to offering some young people an independent life style within an institution catering for a varied client population. Some residents may be much younger, others needing control and surveillance, others for various reasons may not be able to take advantage of a programme designed to facilitate independent living. However, these are exceptions to the general population of young people in residential care.

Responsibility for preparation for independent living cannot only be placed on residential social workers. This piece of research reveals that field social workers, the individual social worker to whom a young person is allocated on admission to care, also fails to take a serious interest in the task of preparation for leaving care or giving support (particularly in the early stages) when the young person is living in the community.

The report is worth reading for its conclusions and recommendations alone, which cover not only local issues, but recognises a need for a national policy on provision and support for young people leaving residential care. "Surviving the System" is also an excellent example of the relevance of small locally based research projects to national issues of policy making and social work practice.

Ivis Lasson



**N.W.G. Borrett**  
**EDUCATION FOR LEISURE: A GUIDE TO**  
**THE LITERATURE**

The Polytechnic of North London  
ISBN 0-946232-08-3

£1  
pp. 12

'Education for Leisure', as the foreword to this short bibliography points out, is one of the catch-phrases currently being used by politicians and pundits when discussing solutions to the problems of mass unemployment and the 'collapse of work'. Norman Borrett's researches reveal, however, that the concept has been the subject of discussion for many years both in Britain and overseas, although nearly all his forty four entries -- which are usefully annotated -- come from the U.K. and America in the 1970s and 1980s. As the author makes clear in his introduction, the central problem regarding leisure education is whether we should be educating for 'life-long leisure' as well as 'life-long work' or whether we would do better to concentrate on achieving major changes within the social structure. One can, of course, attempt to stand firmly outside any such political debate but 'education for leisure' is clearly not an entirely value-free activity. It is perhaps significant that, without exception, the English references in this bibliography deal only with the philosophical and sociological dimensions of the subject, while the Americans are prepared to offer guidelines and detailed syllabuses for leisure education programmes applied to various groups in society. Either the British authors question the very *raison d'être* of leisure education or the problems associated with setting up such programmes are considered insurmountable. Ultimately, only the teachers or the recreation management profession can tell us whether the present generation in schools can be educated to use its ever-expanding leisure time wisely and well.

John Springhall

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**Neil Ritchie and Mary Marken**  
**ANTI-RACIST YOUTH WORK - a practical**  
**guide to recognising racism and taking steps to**  
**combat it through youth work**  
National Youth Bureau  
17-23 Albion Street, Leicester LE1 6GD  
ISBN 0 86155 078 1  
95p paperback

This is a short pamphlet by white people for white youth workers, who by implication work with white young people.

The authors set themselves a large task in just twenty pages. They try to "identify the components and underlying principles of racism, to sketch its extent and to review the response of The Youth Service ....." (p.2). They then go on to describe interventions by youth workers, discuss possible strategies and look at "where do we go from here?". Their sub-headings being policy, training and management.

The booklet is a real disappointment. The authors admit to "cutting corners" (p.2) but its faults are much more fundamental than this. They claim that "some analysis was seen as an essential starting point" to avoid confusion and establish common ground - but where is it? Will any analysis do?

The first sections of the pamphlet, which are those trying to provide an analysis, offer a range of opinion as explanations of racism, e.g. people's fear of strangers or the circular argument that public opinion stops black people getting promoted. There is no clear and consistent theoretical argument.

Whilst it is true that to do nothing about racism is effectively to take sides, this isn't the same as an acknowledgement "that doing something is preferable to doing nothing" (p.3). Doing something with no clear and correct theoretical analysis to guide practise can easily be just to contribute to the problem and be part of it.

Power is frequently referred to, and the conventional definition of "racism = prejudice and power" is used, but there is no consideration of what power is, how it is used, obtained and held on to.

Devoting two paragraphs in such a short pamphlet to white people's experience of "discrimination" (as if it can in any way be compared) indicates the extent of confusion in the pamphlet.

The sections of "the extent of racism" (p.4) and "racism and white young people" (p.8) emphasising NF activities and overt racism, leads one to feel that racism is just the result of a few twisted minds and that if only they would get it straight the system would be O.K. Though the authors state they don't believe this, the sections do not back this up.

Throughout the booklet the authors clearly say that the responsibility for racism lies with white people. This seems to see all white people as one class. The youth service is about working with working class youths so their analysis is too simplistic and seems just to be changing the victim to blame, i.e. from black people to white working class youth. Section 4 implies that white young people are both powerful and powerless at the same time - how can these two things be reconciled?

It is hard to assess the examples of practise towards the end as the opening sections of the pamphlet which set the scene for the rest, are so confused. It therefore offers no criteria on which to judge the interventions. Some of the contributions also seem to be based on very traditional views of learning and relationships between adults and young people.

The major failings of the booklet are that there is no attempt to define what "anti-racist" actually means. It describes racism but does not analyse its causes. The concept of power is frequently used, but not defined. No connections are made between the experience of white youth and black youth (except on p.17). This leads to seeing racism as an external problem, not an integral dynamic of British society. The discussion is ahistorical - racism exists not only in the present, but comes from the past situations and is linked with the breaking up of the feudal system, the slave trade and the emergence of capitalism, imperialism and colonialism. Finally neither white nor black people are all one class, and this needs to be included in any discussion.

All youth workers, black and white, need to share an analysis of what racism is and what its causes are - without this how can we know what "anti-racist" is? We cannot attack symptoms unless we understand the causes. The right analysis will not lead to a separation of interests of black and white workers. We have to decide how to be part of the solution, not continue to be part of the problem.

White workers need to learn from black workers who share this analysis and forge links with those who feel able to, though past experience makes many black workers reluctant to do this. It is our practise that will demonstrate our position better than anything else.

Whatever analysis of racism you develop will determine what action you consider appropriate, so it is impossible to look at the expression of racism divorced from its causes. Some people's analysis will lead to change, whilst others to maintaining the status quo or worse.

Racism is an issue young people have to contend with. Young people can challenge the system and the youth worker's role is to enable and create skills with youth to do this. The role of the youth worker is not about leisure but about change.

Do the authors really believe the system is alright and just needs tinkering with to be fair to black people, girls etc? They cannot be that naive. Perhaps their error was to try and get the National Youth Bureau to publish something on racism. Given the known constraints, this was foolish and continuing the co-option of radical ideas. Why didn't they commission a group of youth workers to write something less compromised.

Workers at the National Youth Bureau whose concern about racism is beyond moral indignation need to look at alternative strategies of producing such material. The time for the authors' approach, if it ever existed, is past.

Jennie Fleming  
Mark Harrison

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**M. Joan Tash,**  
**SUPERVISION IN YOUTH WORK**  
ISBN 0 9509547 0 5  
£4.40 (£4.85 including postage and packing.  
Cheques payable to National Council of YMCAs)  
PP175  
Available from: Ingrid Stephenson YMCA  
National College 642 Forest Road Walthamstow  
London E17 3EF  
"This book.....describes positive work  
developed to meet the needs of workers"  
So reads a sentence in the brief 1984 preface to the book which has been reprinted again 17 years after it was first published. A sentence in which the needs of the worker are emphasised, a focus which is consistency maintained throughout.

The book describes a project in youth work supervision. One person, the author, offered regular individual supervision to ten youth workers from a variety of situations in London for a period of two years. These youth workers in turn, after about eleven months, themselves each took another youth worker as supervisee.

A full detailed report of the project is presented. The developing supervisory relationships are described, the skills and techniques of supervision are analysed and many extracts from supervisory sessions are quoted and commented upon. However, very sadly, it is heavy, turgid reading. The main thesis comes across very clearly, that a worker's understanding and effectiveness is enhanced by time to think, reflect and become more aware of oneself in supervision. Beyond that main thesis there are many gems to be discovered in the pages but they are to be discovered only by patient and careful reading.

I do, however, welcome the reappearance of this book. The whole question of supervision is still of immense importance. In 1984 we are in the midst of rapid social change and our clientele too have changing needs and character. The life of the youth worker involves increasing uncertainty and impermanence, and this is particularly true for those workers appointed under one of the large number of temporary schemes. Too often when subjected to such stresses a youth worker, like any other, either becomes complacent and resigned to doing the minimum or alternatively works all the hours of day and night and suffers "burnt-out". Regular meeting with a skilled person in which time is devoted entirely to the worker is a vital therapy and allows the opportunity for the worker to think through his or her most urgent concern.

"A function of supervision is to help any worker to learn from his situation in his own way and at his own pace, and to help him relate at his own pace the three areas - the situation in which he is working, his role in that situation and his behaviour as it affects it". The worker has the total responsibility for setting the agenda and the supervisor for utilising all the skills that belong to an experienced counsellor.

The book draws the following conclusions

- Supervision is a form of training.
- In selecting a supervisor it is more important to choose someone with the right skills than it is to necessarily choose someone from the youth service.
- Skill in supervising is acquired through practice with the oversight of a more experienced person.
- There are significant difficulties in supervision being provided by a person to whom the worker is accountable.
- The worker needs some practice in order to be able to benefit from supervision. The process can be aided by tutorials in the college qualifying courses being "used to help the student to understand and determine his own needs in learning"

I believe that supervision should be given very great priority by every employing body whether statutory or voluntary. The publication in 1980 by INSTEP of Guidelines to a Staff Development Policy comments that non-managerial supervision "should be made available to all employees and be seen as an integral part of a comprehensive staff development policy, but the initiative should rest with the employee. It should be provided at his request, not imposed by the employer". This is a move in the right direction but if the worker does not appreciate the value of supervision then people who need supervision may well miss out.

This book on its own is unlikely to set anyone, employer or employee, alight with enthusiasm for the topic of supervision. There is room for a sequel, say "Guidelines for Good Practice in Supervision", perhaps with an updated bibliography.

The need for all manner of support and in-service training for youth workers is great and supervision is a major part of that process.

Seventeen years ago Joan Tash had a vision, that the "thorough exploration of supervision in separate settings - case work, community work, youth work, education.....might lead to a network within a community in which training is shared and supervisors are available and prepared to help workers in a variety of settings". This vision is a vision of the attainable, but still a vision.

Keith Lindsey

**Alan Stanton**  
**WINDOWS ON COLLECTIVE WORKING**  
 Department of Social Policy, School of Policy Studies, Cranfield Institute of Technology, Cranfield, Bedford MK43 0AL. 1984.  
 ISBN 0947 663 001  
 £1.25

The booklet came about as part of a research project on co-operative/collective working. It is in the form of a long questionnaire, which provided the basis of a dialogue between the researcher and the groups. All the original material has been refined by both the users and the researcher in the process of the project.

The questionnaire is offered to other co-operatively working groups to examine the power relationships between individuals within the groups and between the group and the outside world.

Questions are grouped into nine themes such as: democracy, authority and decision making outside, quality control, rules and boundaries men and women.

The groups of questions are put in a context of thought provoking quotations from participants in the research and others, and some graphics.

However the book is primarily a tool, and regardless of its pedigree the only relevant questions are:-

"Is the tool a good one?" "Is it likely to do the job that I need to do?"

"Do I have the skills to use the tool effectively?"

Broadly my answers are positive. The questions made me stop and think; perhaps more important they made me feel - feel challenged, - feel that I'd rather not be reading this because of the consequences when I have to think about it - feel, I wonder "what the others" would say and I ought to check it out!

Presumably the questions would have this effect on others and in the sharing the process would assume a life of its own. Indeed if the process is working correctly it would be irrelevant if the book contained "all" or the "right" questions, as the group would define what was relevant for them.

My reservations are that the tool is made available without clear indications of the situations in which it is designed to be used. It was designed to be used within groups already committed to and involved in a degree of co-operative working. These groups had presumably been through the necessary negotiations to work in their adopted style; negotiations with group members; with "managers" and with allies and users of the services. These steps are not even alluded to. This is not a tool which could be used by a team requiring a route map to move into a more co-operative style of working.

Secondly its users need to have a good grasp of the problems associated with using this type of tool. For example they need to understand the importance of defining such apparently simple terms as decision, effective, authority and need within the context of the work, so that words used in subsequent discussion have common meaning. Also users would need to understand the forces at work in any group which block open discussion, and have the skill to deal with these forces.

Lastly the questionnaire deals almost exclusively with power relationships. Question No. 36, "Do you set aside a separate time and place to talk about feelings and personal relationships between

team members?", for me epitomizes the separation which the questionnaire makes between its contents i.e. structural roles, controls, rules and procedures, and social roles, personal relationships, communication patterns and personalities which it ignores. I doubt that either group of factors can be considered in isolation, either theoretically or in the processes involved in that examination. In this respect the booklet is only one of a set of tools.

In summary it is a potentially good tool, but like all tools the results it gives will vary with the skill and style of the user.

Gina Ingram

**Middlesex Polytechnic**  
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