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y.b. on y.t.s. why not?

HELEN ROBERTS & RON KIRBY

Official views of YTS. might lead one to believe that the scheme is a success story, yet a substantial number of young people do not seem to be convinced. This article, based on interviews with young people who have rejected or left YTS schemes, contrasts their views on what they saw as the key issues relating to YTS, pay, training and prospects with the official view as expressed by government ministers.

"It's slave labour. You work your knackers off and you get bugger all for it."

Unemployed 17 year old lad.

"Young people have voted YTS a success. They know full well what the government has done and will do for them."

Peter Morrison - Employment Minister. ⁽¹⁾

During the first year of its operation (1983/84) young people did not take to YTS with quite the enthusiasm that the government and MSC originally envisaged. Throughout the year, take-up of places lagged behind official expectations and by March 1984 442,495 places had been approved but only 353,979 school leavers (80% of the target) had entered the scheme. ⁽²⁾ Furthermore, 83,000 - one in four of those that joined - left the scheme within six months of starting.

Depending on one's ideological preferences, there are a variety of explanations for this, from the liberal Guardian reader's anxiety about poor conditions of service and wages through to the radical radical's hopeful view that young people are about to revolt.

A recent labour research report ⁽³⁾ gives among possible reasons for this shortfall:

- Sir Keith Joseph has stated that there is evidence that job opportunities have 'increased significantly' in many areas (Hansard 10.11.83);
- that there is evidence that many school leavers themselves want nothing to do with such schemes. For instance Rumbelows - with only a quarter of its 300 places filled - has reported that take-up is lowest in areas of high unemployment.

It is the last element which interested us. From different perspectives, we had an interest in 'the consumer's view' and in the fact that we are likely to hear a good deal more from the MSC, employers, trade unions, sociologists and other 'experts' than we are from the young people who are taking part (or not taking part) in YTS schemes.

We therefore decided to embark on a series of interviews with young women and men who had either elected not to take up YTS places, or had dropped out after only a short time. We are, of course, fully aware of all the methodological and other difficulties involved in this. Those young people willing to talk to researchers may not be typical, and there may well be particular dissatisfactions among those who felt it was worth meeting us. At a later stage, we intend to interview a group of 'satisfied customers' on some of the same topic areas.

We obtained our interviews through local unemployment drop-in centres and through an outreach worker with the local careers office. She was able to tell us that there were a very large number of refusals. We eventually conducted 10 semi-structured interviews and a number of group discussions with young people with the appropriate 'qualifications' to fit the requirements of our study. These interviews were fully transcribed and form the basis of our paper. We fully acknowledge the overwhelming contributions to this paper by these young people, who are in a sense our co-authors.

What we are suggesting in this paper is that the view of young people who do not take up, or who leave, YTS schemes does not just differ slightly from the 'official' view. They have fundamentally different views and experiences of the scheme (as is so often the case in studies of the powerful and the powerless). The issues on which we chose to focus in this paper arose from our discussions with the young people and revolve largely around pay, training and prospects.

In the interests of balance, we have tried to provide a source of 'official' perspective to go alongside the young person's perspective in each case.

The context within which the 'official' view of YTS is couched tends to be a deficit model of young people (how can we bring them up to scratch?) rather than a deficit model of the economy or the employment situation. Within this context, the perspective of young people themselves may be embarrassing, but it can hardly be ignored.

Pay/Allowance

Interviewer: "What about the money on YTS?"

"It's awful, really awful. I hate it, that's the only thing that puts me off. I sometimes don't feel like getting up on a morning, there's no point. I think to myself why don't I

just go on the dole? I can stay at home and do nowt. Because I mean really you're only working for about £9 a week. I live with my mum and my aunty and I pay them £10 a week and it only leaves £15.... I have my own room, that's the only trouble you see, I don't really live with them. I just live in the same house really so I have to pay £10 towards the rent and that.... It doesn't stop there, I've got to pay a bit towards gas and electric and it's hard. It's really bad, £15 and you've got to put about £5 a week away for gas and electric and things like that, £2.50 each. That only leaves £10 left and I've got to buy food and clothes out of that £10. It's really hard living on this £25."

"It's not very much because you are working full time just for £25 and I've got this job now which is just 6 afternoons and I'm getting £30 so I'm going to forget YTS altogether".

"It's better than nowt isn't it? You know what I mean?"

Perhaps the most striking issue concerning the money was that the 'official' view is that it is an **allowance** paid during training. We have come across no young people who perceive it as an 'allowance' or a 'training grant'. To them it is 'pay'. We found no confirmation of Peter Morrison's view expressed below that the scheme is an investment:

... "In some respects both youngsters and indeed parents, could be well advised to consider the scheme as an investment in the future... I met a youngster the other day who had given up a job paying £55 a week to go on to the scheme with an allowance of £25 a week for the simple reason that he thought that that was the best way ahead".⁽⁴⁾

Nor, as we see below in the section on prospects, did the young people we spoke to confirm Mrs. Thatcher's view expressed below that employers' "want to help":

*"Because the wages of young people are often too high in relation to experienced adults, employers cannot afford to take them on even though it is clear that many employers **want to help**. (our emphasis). That situation has come about because of unrealistic pay bargaining over the years".⁽⁵⁾*

The government view is that young people have priced themselves out of the market and a major purpose of State intervention is to redress the balance: As Peter Morrison explained,

"....young people who had been priced out of jobs are pricing themselves into jobs now. Figures from the New Earnings Survey show that average earnings per week for boys under 18 in non-manual occupations, as a proportion of male adult earnings, have declined by about 10% since 1979. For girls under 18 in non-manual occupations the decline has been marginally more. It is a clear sign that young people are increasingly prepared to be realistic in accepting lower initial wages in order to secure employment."⁽⁶⁾

David Young, Chairman of MSC, has acknowledged the 'cheap labour' aspect of the scheme "....the young should be a source of cheap labour because they can be trained on the job."⁽⁷⁾ and, in this respect, the young people we spoke to would agree with him. They regard themselves as cheap labour. Norman Tebbit and others have made much of the fact that YTS is training. Initially, a £15 allowance for school

leavers on the scheme was suggested, with a loss of right to supplementary benefit. In relation to the original offer, the agreed sum of £25 was made to appear generous. In fact, it has not increased in line with inflation as promised and compares with £47 a week average earnings for a 16 year old in 1981.

Even accepting Morrison's view that YTS is an investment, not all young people or their parents are able to make that kind of investment in the future. One of the consequences of the low YTS allowance is that there is a tendency to turn down YTS in favour of taking on part-time or unskilled work which brings in more money, but which has no training element:

... Well, I'm working part-time, 24 hours a week, I get £35 a week. Now if I can work part-time for that, and you get the experience, and I've got a chance, part-time of going up stages, if somebody leaves I can take their place, and then say in a couple of years time I could go as a senior post. But on Youth Training Schemes, you tend to, you get a year, and it doesn't mean you're going to get anything at the end anyway, does it?"

"I might get a little job waitressing, just to get a bit of money in the bank. I don't fancy waitressing. I've been one before, and I didn't like it, it's too boring. It's awful. It's not hard work. It's just that you're on your feet all the time."

If 'pay' or 'wages' (in the young people's terms) or 'allowances' (in the official view) are low, what of potentially compensatory aspects of the scheme, such as the 'quality of training' element?

Training

YTS is essentially based on the notion that the education system has failed to instil work skills. Thus it is to be a quality training provided by employers.

David Young, interviewed by 'The Director' in October 1982, makes clear the employer-led nature of the training:

"Training should not be confused with education. Training is about work-related skills and is intimately concerned with employment. It is for this reason that training in this country must be employer dominated and ultimately employer directed."⁽⁸⁾

The ability of employers to provide a quality training was not borne out by Mick Smith, who was on a landscape gardening scheme:

"I'm not learning nothing at all. I'm not doing owt in horticulture. You know, planting some daffodils, we went down there with all these daffodils and that was about it. It isn't hard to plant daffodils."

We asked what he did while he was doing the College element of his course:

"Nowt. We walked along an old derelict railway line, came back, got wet through, went and watched T.V. Went home. Cost me three quid in fares."

Such training as there was was limited:

"When you're digging, you start and he'll say, oh don't dig like that, do it like this, it's easier, that sort of stuff, that's because he wants it doing quick, but digging holes is nowt you can teach really, or mowing. Keep your feet out of the way of the blades and that's about it."

What is perhaps more depressing is the fact that in spite of his doubts, this lad did feel he was on a better scheme than most of his mates:

"Them lot there are all on these dead-end ones, you know, they don't do owt. You know, just mugs and carrying wood about and that. They said we were getting best of owt, you know, digging little holes. It were better than anybody else got."

Several young people we spoke to had turned down YTS places specifically because their friends had told them there was no training element:

"A lot of people on these training schemes ... when they've got there, they haven't had any training - they make cups of tea but they haven't learnt anything else - you see what I mean, and I think if you're going to do something, you do it right, don't you? One lad worked in a garage and all he did was that. He didn't do anything to do with cars. I mean, that's what you go there for, isn't it? And he didn't learn anything."

Whilst it may be argued that other young people are not necessarily the best source of information about the training element of the schemes, they are a source of information which is readily available and considered, among the young people we spoke to, as based on experience and therefore trustworthy. Training is one of the areas where YTS claims to be offering a better deal than YOPs. There is still, of course, much confusion about YOPs and YTS, both among young people and among those Members of Parliament looking after their interests. One of the difficulties which young people have (not surprisingly) is separating what they think they know about YTS from what they know about YOPs. One lad gave his lack of training on YOPs schemes as a reason for not taking up YTS:

"I started looking for a job and then I got a YOPs scheme which were all it involved was sort of taking wire plugs and putting new plugs on new wires, clearing up, making tea, going to the shops and stuff, so I did that for two or three weeks, about a month now, sort of thing, and I kicked that into touch and went on the dole. I'm too old for YTS now."

This isn't just a confusion among young people. It is clear from the record of the Young People (Employment Opportunities) debate in November 1983 that MPs were having similar problems in getting a grasp of what the differences were between the old schemes and the new.

In response to a speech in which constant reference was made to YOPs, the Minister asked: "Does the Right Hon. gentleman accept that the YTS is quite different from the YOP and is a quality training?" Given this, it is interesting to note the relative amounts spent per place on training in the two schemes. According to a briefing paper on YTS:

"Less money is being spent per place on YTS - supposedly a high quality training scheme - than was spent on YOP, which promised no more than work experience. £1 billion spent over 460,000 YTS places means £2,174 per place; in the final year of YOP £743m. was spent on the equivalent of 315,000 year-long places - £2,359 per place."⁽⁹⁾

Possibly increased efficiency is keeping the cost down. The acid test will be whether the quality training leads to quality jobs. As one young woman, herself dissatisfied with her

training put it:

"There is training, but what good is it going to do you afterwards? It seems a good idea, but it doesn't guarantee you a job at the end of it."

Prospects

The YTS promotional booklet carried the slogan "Past Imperfect, Present Indicative, Future Positive" and the promise "we will help you to find the best way to get on."

How is it working down on the ground?

A feeling among the young people we spoke to was that their job prospects were actually diminished because of the commitment of employers to people on schemes:

"I've been after a few jobs, and hopefully, I should get one of them which is in the old people's home, but it's not really what I want to do you see. I want to work in a shop, but most of these places here are using people from the YTS schemes or whatever."

There was certainly a degree of cynicism. The lad working for a firm of landscape gardeners said:

"Well the boss, when we went for interview, he sort of said he'll probably keep you on unless you're sort of really lazy and you don't do nothing we'll more than likely keep you on. But he might just be saying that because he wants us to work really hard you know, and if he says he'll keep you on, we might work twice as hard just to make him think we're great, and then get rid of us."

A young woman, shortly before leaving her scheme felt under pressure not to go for interviews for what she called 'real' jobs. She also felt that she was losing contact with the careers service:

"There's one lady that was supposed to come (from careers) every week but no one ever lets us know when she's coming. No one says well she's downstairs, do you want to go and see her now? No one tells you nothing here and if you go down to careers, you know, during the dinner hour or something like that it's murder, it really is... They say they hope you get a job and all this then you go down and say I've seen a nice job, and he says, oh which one then, and you tell him the number, and he says, do they know at your YTS scheme that you're down here? No? Well you are not supposed to be down here then if you haven't told them. That's what they told me. Anyway, when I got back (to the YTS scheme) they dragged me in the office, well, they didn't drag me literally, but you know... you're always in that office if you do owt.. and they said, 'What's up, aren't you happy in here,' and I said yes, it's alright but I want a permanent job, and they said, Well you don't know, you've got a few more months to go and I said, yes I know, but I'd like one now, and they said, well alright but you must tell us... ' I thing what they're frightened of is, they have to have a number of trainees before they can sign a contract for another year. I mean, if this fails, they're out of work aren't they. So they just want us to stay there 'til they're finished and they're not being successful. Quite a few have left."

In the official view, there is, not surprisingly, more emphasis on the 'vocational preparation' than what can actually be guaranteed at the end of it. As James Prior stressed:

"We are trying as resources permit to work towards the point where every 16 and 17 year old not in education or

a job will be assured of vocational preparation lasting as necessary up to his or her eighteenth birthday. This is an extremely ambitious programme. It is nothing less than a new deal for the young unemployed.”⁽¹⁰⁾

Hirsh, however, is less sanguine about just what it is that young people are being prepared for:

“Since the job situation shows no sign of improving, we can still expect around half of YTS participants to ‘graduate’ into unemployment - a figure confirmed by government ministers.”⁽¹¹⁾

While it should be remembered that we were interviewing young people who were dissatisfied with, or had elected not to go on YTS schemes, we felt that some of the responses to the question about what they would be doing in a year's time were illuminating. Would we have had different responses from the more satisfied customers?

In a year's time

“Well, I don't know, it's a bit hard to say in a year's time. If you'd have said about five or ten year's time, I should think I'll be in a good job. In a year's time, I could be on the dole, I could be in college, I could be doing owt in a year. But I hope in about five to ten years that my life's picked up a bit more and that I'm a designer or something in that line. And I have a felling I will be. I did go to a fortune-teller and she told me that I'd do something in clothes and that I'd end up one day a really wealthy woman. I hope it comes true because it's really hard living these days.”

She explained how she saw her future:

“I'd just be living in myself really, in my work. I'd like a big house somehow. I'd like a big house but not full with stuff... A nice big carpet that I could sink into and a book or summat.”

Another was not so hopeful:

Interviewer: “What do you think you'll be doing in year's time?”

- I've no idea.

Interviewer: In five years' time?

- Five years' time? Nuclear war. I won't be here will I? I don't know... I just think about just today and that's it, and then the next day and that's it.”

And a third replied:

“In a year's time, I don't know really, I was going to go self employed, but I can't see that happening really. I'd like to go round and do people's gardens or something every weekend like a window cleaning round.”

One of the things we wanted to do during the course of the interviews was to give young people the opportunity to say what they would do if they had responsibility for employment. Unlike many of the ‘real’ experts and professional pundits, they were remarkably willing to say that it was no simple task, and despite their criticisms of the schemes, on the whole they were generous about what they perceived to be the government's problems.

One young woman, struggling to live on her £25 and critical of her scheme said:

“People say it's Maggie's fault and they don't like her but I think it was fast coming this unemployment and I sup-

pose she couldn't stop what was happening. So I think what she should do is split work. Maybe two days and a half you work and two days and a half you're off, but in that other two and a half days you're off somebody could be in your place... I know it's boring but it's better than being stuck at home and you get a training. And, they should pay you a bit more money, £25 is... you just don't feel like working for it.”

One girl, who had refused the scheme she was offered, said:

“It would be better, right, if there was just a handful of people, right. Just you know, quiet, so if you did something wrong, you wouldn't get embarrassed and stuff like that, and you could get on with them better. Know what I mean?”

A lad admitted that he couldn't think of anything better:

“I don't really know. Stuck me, that. I don't know at all really. Couldn't you think of owt better. But, like, my boss could put something towards my wage.”

The young women

The material above includes interviews with both boys and girls, but we would not want to suggest that the experience of boys and girls is necessarily equivalent or even broadly similar. In a local study conducted three years earlier,⁽¹²⁾ we had explored, among other things, the experience of young women on YOPs schemes, the predecessor of YTS. Although, within our survey, the number of girls participating in YOPs schemes was rather lower than the number of boys, the girls were apt to respond to the schemes more favourably. 86% of the girls and 64% of the boys thought the scheme would help them get a job. One commented:

“The scheme has helped me as I am not as shy as I was. I don't wish I had stayed on at school as I don't like the teachers... I can't afford to go to College and I have had enough of school work.”

One drew attention to the lack of training she had received:

“...they got me a job in a supermarket and in that six months you are supposed to spend a month on a certain thing... I have spent a month down in the warehouse which I liked and I have spent three months on the tills which I hate and I leave the scheme in January. And I think I'll be on over Christmas and if the manager doesn't keep me I've only learnt two aspects of the job which I think is wrong.”

Figures nationally showed that YOP was not a passport to a job. In 1981 only a third of those leaving YOP schemes were getting employment immediately afterwards, and a very few more within the next 6 months. YTS is, of course, marketed as a very different product and it remains to be seen quite what the differences will be in results in terms of training and jobs obtained. By definition, there were less positive comments from girls this time round since we have yet to interview the ‘satisfied customers’.

One thing which struck us from our observations and our interviews, which may have some bearing on the different experiences of young men and young women, is that there is less of an unemployed girls' culture than a culture of unemployed boys locally - partly perhaps because there is always work for girls, even when there are no jobs. But this tends to be work in the home, helping mum, helping with younger brothers and sisters and so on.

Donna was the only girl on her scheme 'unfortunately'.

"It's a bit lonely, I think, being the only girl. It was a bit in joinery because Louise who was there then was more into talking to lads than I am. She was alright... A bit flighty but, you know, she was more into lads really...so it has been a bit lonely. The others are all in catering. Girls seem to go for cooking and things like that... I'll do a little at home but it's something I'm not right interested in."

She felt that it was probably because the scheme taught non-traditional skills to girls that:

"There's only me in the girls have stuck it out really. All the others have left."

To take the step of going on an untraditional scheme may be hard unless you have a lot of support, and it was clear that the girls' view on the whole remains of a strictly segregated work-force. Tracey Allen's observation was typical:

"It's all either office work or building or a lot of things like that, a lot of things for lads. I think, more things for lads than lasses, you know. So I wouldn't fancy - well, I suppose I would if I had to - go build a wall or summat. Everything else is office work, and I'd never been good at owt like that or anything, anyway."

It is clear that the recommendations of **Give us a Break**, a research action study on young women on YOPs schemes published in 1982, need strenuous implementation.⁽¹³⁾

Conclusion

We have tried in this paper to show the gross discrepancy between 'official' views of YTS and the views of young people who have rejected or left the schemes. YTS has been presented to young people as a 'new deal' which is not about youth unemployment but is "about producing a permanent bridge between school and work." (MSC Youth Task Group Report).

The emphasis has been placed on employer-led, quality training. The young people we have spoken to have not been impressed by the quality of the training or the money paid in the new deal. Their views coincide with those of critics of YTS who argue that the scheme is about cheap labour. We would not want to suggest that the young people we have spoken to hold the only legitimate view. Indeed, a fair amount of the interview material reveals inconsistencies, factual misunderstandings and plain mistakes (such as the widespread view that a 17 year old would get more on the dole than on YTS.) It may be that we will get a more balanced view when we have also interviewed some 'satisfied customers'. However, for the present the coincidence of the views of the young people we have spoken to and critics of YTS is striking. Whilst not being the final arbiters of 'The Truth' about YTS, people who are experiencing, have experienced, or have turned down YTS, are a unique source of information, and probably the most important source about the reception of the programme on the ground. What is surprising is that so little is heard from them.

We are grateful to Ann Doyle for technical assistance with this paper.

At the request of the editors, we have made some changes to the interview data from the young people in the sense that some words and particularly northern colloquialisms, have been rendered into standard English. We have some mis-

givings about changing - even slightly - what the young people say while leaving, for instance, the words of Peter Morrison intact. But we were prepared to go along with the editors' view that some of the interview data might not be comprehensible to all readers unless modified.

N.B. 'Nowt' is commonly used in Yorkshire and means 'nothing' and, similarly, 'owt' could be translated as 'anything'.

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History of Childhood & Youth Study Group

The group was formed at Oxford Polytechnic in 1981 with the intention of bringing together post-graduates working in the area of young people's history. Since then the informal membership has expanded to include professional historians and non-historians working in the youth service. The Group now has contacts throughout the U.K. and in Germany, Canada, Japan and the U.S.A.

The Group's programme is one of annual dayschools and regular seminars which are held at the Polytechnic. We hope to expand our activities with the publication of a newsletter in 1986.

At present the Group is very informally organised and there is no membership fee.

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youth tutor role a way forward?

STEPHEN DUNLOP

Key issues and tensions associated with the role of Youth Tutor are identified and discussed, with specific reference to role diversity and marginality; role conflict and accountability and anti-social hours and voluntary attendance. Emphasis is placed on the provision of a career structure for Youth Tutors as an important necessary condition for diminishing job related conflicts. The implications of these suggestions are teased out and discussed.

In this article an attempt will be made to highlight the issues and tensions emanating from the role of youth tutor. More specifically it will be argued that far from diminishing, the conflicts and pressures associated with these posts intensify and become more acute, as the amount of time spent in situ increases. Recent trends both within education and the Youth Service, will also be identified which again, overtime, further exacerbate the tensions endemic to youth tutor positions. Finally, a career structure for these posts will be outlined, the implementation of which may help ameliorate some of the contradictory demands placed upon youth tutors.

Issues & Tensions

The central issues and tensions confronting youth tutors attempting to develop effective programmes of school based youth and community work will be discussed under the following - role diversity and marginality, role conflict and accountability, anti-social working hours and voluntary attendance. These do not represent exhaustive categories but rather they seem to encapsulate and crystallise the major conflicts and pressures associated with the current specification and practice of school-based youth work as carried out by youth tutors.

Role Diversity and marginality

"Youth tutors need to wear many hats" is a comment often heard, particularly at youth service conferences! Such a remark highlights the intrinsic role diversity associated with youth tutor posts. For example youth tutors are in principle faced with an infinite number of job related tasks ranging from the implementation of programmes of social education and staff development to ensuring that the roller-skates are well oiled or the club has an adequate supply of table-tennis balls. In most situations youth tutors are required to be educators, teachers, administrators, counsellors, facilitators, trainers, providers, supervisors, 'caretakers', fund-raisers, mini-bus drivers and even youth workers! In

addition, most youth tutors are required to be effective in at least three settings - the school, the youth club and the community.

A possible result of such role diversity is that the job of youth tutor may be perceived, particularly within the formal school context, as peripheral to the main process of schooling. Moreover, the youth tutor may experience an acute sense of marginality and remoteness from the 'normal' school staff due to the very limited amount of time actually spent teaching within the school. Regretably this, perhaps somewhat inevitable sense of marginality has been exacerbated by the adoption of the ten-session week policy for youth tutors. This policy seeks to retain some degree of comparability between youth tutors and teachers in so far as both are contracted to work ten sessions per week, with four of the youth tutor sessions scheduled for evening work. In reality to compare the work of youth tutors with teachers is not very productive or helpful in that, apart from this very limited amount of time-tabled teaching, the tasks and duties of youth tutors fall well beyond those of subject teachers. Paradoxically, although comparisons of job tasks and duties are inherently unhelpful the notion of a ten-session week compels comparison and consequently, intensifies both perceived and experienced youth tutor marginality within the school setting. It could be argued that the role of youth tutor is more akin to that of a school principal or vice-principal and should therefore be specified according to education management rather than 'subject teacher' criteria.

However, a youth tutor's experience of marginality may also emanate from other work situations. For example, in attempting to identify and provide for the needs of an entire community or sections of it youth tutors, perhaps not surprisingly, may experience an acute sense of marginality. Similarly some youth tutors for whom job satisfaction is synonymous with face to face youth work may also experience feelings of marginality directly attributed to role diversity. This can happen when the contradictory demands of planning, administration, organisation and supervision trigger a perception amongst club members of the youth tutor as 'only the man/woman in the office, in charge'. In such cases, the interpersonal relationship building role of part-time leaders may be seen by club members as much more immediate and relevant than the role of the youth tutor, who may be perceived as a somewhat remote and marginal figure. It is not that youth tutors lack the necessary interpersonal skills to engage in effective face to face youth work but rather that

they have many other constraints placed upon them vis à vis the endemic diversity of their jobs.

Clearly then role diversity helps create the situational conditions for marginality in many aspects of the youth tutors role. Yet it would seem that the experience of marginality is primarily associated with the formal school setting. The implementation of structures that help extend the role of youth tutor in schools, would therefore represent an important step in diminishing some of the tensions emanating from the youth tutor's marginal position within this setting.

Role conflict and accountability

Role conflict for youth tutors is associated with many aspects of the job. It can arise quite simply in terms of priorities about how much time to apportion to the diversity of roles endemic to the job. Other important factors relating to role conflict include, the length of time a youth tutor has been in post, the ethos and policy of the school vis à vis the current models of youth work practice endorsed by the youth service, the modus operandi of the youth tutor and the significance ascribed to youth and community work by the senior school management. Yet while role conflict is experienced by youth tutors in a variety of ways, at different levels, and to varying degrees of intensity, common to all these facets of conflict is the basic underlying tension between formality and informality. Even at the simplistic level of the type of role conflict created by role diversity the formal/informal dimension is clearly evident in that a youth tutor is required to be both a formal teacher and an informal youth and community worker.

A further illustration of role conflict can be seen when a youth tutor attempts to implement an informal approach within the formal school. With respect to social education, effective work seems to rely more on process rather than product variables - while the 'what' of programmes is very important the 'how' is crucial. Effective process in turn appears to be characterised by the group dynamic, informality of setting/approach and democratic interaction. This in effect seems to be the very antithesis of social relations in most secondary schools which tend to be based on class instruction, formality of context/method and authoritarian regimes.

Implicit in the tension emanating from the conflict over formal and informal roles is the notion of accountability. In practice youth tutors are placed in a rather contradictory position in that they are often simultaneously accountable to two or more agents or agencies. This type of dual-accountability is further exacerbated in that various agencies may have conflicting perspectives on and expectations of the role and function of youth tutors. In the previous example of a youth tutor attempting to implement an informal approach to social education, the tension of being accountable to two conflicting sets of criteria is evident. Not only are youth tutors accountable to their own professional standards with respect to the provision of challenging and relevant programmes of social education but they are also accountable to the school principal for such initiatives. It may be that a youth tutor, through personal conviction of the efficacy of informal group work, prefers to adopt such an approach to social education, an element of which may well involve a critical examination of the process of schooling. In such cases the principal and indirectly the school management committee, may take a very 'dim view' of the 'subversive' content of the programmes and the informality of approach

both of which run counter to established models of acceptable school practice. Youth tutors should not attempt to 'bite the hand that feeds them'!

Contradictory demands are also placed upon youth tutors via dual-accountability in relation to youth work practice. The school principal for example, will usually require the youth club to be a reasonably orderly activity orientated type of 'super-physical education department' to which pupils and friends go to enjoy themselves and 'let off steam' with the assurance for parents that their children are in 'safe hands'. In contrast agents and officers representing the youth service, while endorsing much of the principal's perspective, will be looking for structures and processes that encourage and facilitate the personal development of young people within the club situation. In practice this implies an organisation that may be rather different from that envisaged by the principal, one that is much less structured, where rules and authoritarian inputs are minimised and where young people are encouraged to take responsibility for the club and to make decisions for themselves. As a result youth tutors may be required to reconcile rather different sets of evaluative criteria and be judged on the basis of divergent models of youth work practice.

Tension between formal and informal youth tutor roles has been further heightened over recent years by two trends - the sharp decrease in teacher involvement within the youth club, due to the overall impasse in the recruitment of new teachers (always a ready-made source for part-time youth club leadership) and the increased rejection of activity-based programmes by club members in favour of much more loosely structured models of youth work practice. In one sense these trends have been complementary in that the desire of club members for a youth club that is radically different from what is on offer at school has to some extent been realised by the recent slump in numbers of teachers involved in the youth club. Yet in another sense the diminution of teacher involvement in the youth club has undermined one of the major educational arguments for school based youth work, namely the notion that the interpersonal relationships between teacher and pupil in school should benefit from the added perspective gained from working together in a youth club setting and vice versa. In some cases the youth tutor may be the only member of staff working in both contexts, with the increasingly difficult job of dealing with an organisation that, because of the two factors mentioned, is becoming progressively more divorced and isolated from the formal school. Consequently it may be argued that the creation of structures that help tighten the links between youth club and school and hence facilitate two-way positive transfer from and to relevant personnel should be encouraged and implemented.

Anti-social hours and voluntary attendance

There are two other very important issues that confront youth tutors that have no direct counterpart in the work of subject teachers - 'working anti-social hours' and 'voluntary attendance'. With regard to 'anti-social hours' youth tutors tend to be contracted to work four evening sessions per week which, given the nature of youth and community work, seems to be not at all unreasonable. Indeed, the anti-social facet of the job has often been acknowledged in that the starting salary scale of youth tutors may include an extra scale to compensate for extensive anti-social hours worked. However, the implication of this in terms of the value ascribed to the work of youth tutors is rather contradictory.

Consider for example, a youth tutor appointed on Scale 2, on the one hand. It is being suggested that youth tutors have a highly significant and important innovative role in schools, hence the recent policy of youth tutor appointments within a growing number of authorities. Yet on the other hand remuneration for the job might in reality only be a Scale 1 level, given the other scale is for working anti-social hours. The **responsibilities** of a youth tutor appointed on what is effectively a Scale 1 are clearly considerably greater than those of Scale 1 teachers. This line of argument can be extended, although possible to a progressively lesser extent, to youth tutors appointed on Scales 3 and 4. Therefore, in terms of remuneration, while youth tutors should be recompensed for anti-social hours worked, the level of responsibility inherent in the job must surely be the most important factor and should accordingly receive far more consideration when establishing salary levels.

In addition, it seems that the longer a youth tutor is in post the more 'anti-social' extensive evening work and 'residential experiences' tend to become. In other words, the clash between personal and professional commitments intensifies with increasing time spent in the job, as it is presently specified. This is a specific job tension that must be reconciled by each individual youth tutor. Yet it must be stressed that the absence of a career structure exacerbates that tension and any form of viable career framework must attempt to account for the type of intrinsic job tension associated with the working of anti-social hours.

Another facet of the youth tutor job not paralleled in teaching is that of voluntary attendance. Unlike teachers who because of compulsory attendance for pupils, are 'guaranteed' classes, youth tutors are permanently confronted with a membership that can, and frequently does 'vote with its feet'. As a result, youth tutors are constantly looking for ways of making the youth club attractive to a wide range of young people in order to enrol and maintain a viable evening membership. This type of enterprise is usually most effective if fuelled by unfettered, undiluted enthusiasm on the part of the full-time worker. However as working energy of this kind tends to be a somewhat finite resource, sustaining maximum levels of enthusiasm and commitment becomes by definition, an extremely difficult task. In order to continue in the post for a protracted time span many workers seem to adopt an enthusiasm-rationing strategy which again by definition, must have some sort of detrimental effect on nightly numbers. Following from this it may be suggested that, as the central evaluation index for projects must be nightly attendance figures, youth tutors may be placed in the paradoxical situation of increasing vulnerability vis à vis job security/tenure with increasing seniority and experience. This is in direct contrast to the teaching profession in which the relationship between seniority and job tenure is direct and not, as could be the case with many youth tutors inverse.

It would appear then that youth tutors are required to 'wear many hats' be accountable to two or more 'bosses', each with potentially conflicting sets of evaluative criteria or agenda and to reconcile the tensions associated with role marginality and conflict, voluntary attendance and anti-social working hours. Moreover, these pressures seem to intensify rather than diminish over time. Yet in many cases such tensions could be considerably ameliorated from the implementation of a career and promotional framework that extends the role of the youth tutor within schools and

reformulates the job in terms of management rather than teacher criteria.

Towards a Career Structure?

In order to isolate criteria on which to base such a structure the notion of levels of responsibility within teaching may be an extremely helpful and productive area when applied to the post of youth tutors. Figure 1 shows a model which attempts to - integrate the work of the youth tutor with that of the counselling and pastoral care systems in the school. The basis of promotion would be related to the youth tutor's level of responsibility within the pastoral-care system thus ensuring parity with other key teachers with a counselling/pastoral care role e.g. school counsellor or year tutors.

Regarding the general effect of such a structure in lessening of related tensions and pressures, the very existence of the structure would probably be the most important factor. A youth tutor could then look forward to a graded promotional framework based on objective and identified criteria and not experience anxiety and uncertainty over future advancement and job tenure. Another related advantage of the model would be that in progressing from direct first hand experience in the four areas - youth work, community work, social education and pastoral care - to a more indirect co-ordinating role the youth tutor would be accumulating relevant knowledge and skills on which future promotion could be assessed and then implemented. In addition, this shift from direct participation to a more general pastoral role within the school should gradually lead to a reduction in the number of evening sessions, in favour of an increased amount of time worked during normal school hours. Clearly, while this may help appease the tension associated with anti-social hours, night work in the form of 1 - 2 sessions per week would continue to be an endemic facet of the job.

How would such a system work in practice? A reasonable starting level for youth tutors would seem to be Scale 3 as a minimum. So for an initial phase of 4 - 5 years a youth tutor would be working in an innovatory capacity in the four spheres of work in order to amass first hand experience in the 'on the ground' facets of the job. Following this period if a youth tutor can satisfy certain basic criteria - viable evening attendances and programme for the youth club, evidence of staff and senior member training, community provision, development of school and youth club based modules of social education and experience of individual/group counselling - then promotion to the level of community counsellor should be automatic. This is perhaps the most significant step within the framework in that promoting a youth tutor to a community counsellor ensures that the counselling system in the school will become more effective vis à vis the more efficient integration of information from both internal and external school sources. At present there is unfortunately considerable scope for 'information leakage'⁽¹⁾ in the area of case counselling as a result of the directness and diversity of involvement that youth tutors encounter in all facets of the job. Given senior counselling status and function a youth tutor is uniquely positioned in schools to enrich the counselling and pastoral care system both in terms of direct participation in counselling interviews inside and outside school and by means of indirect co-ordination geared to maximising the system's efficiency vis à vis the reduction/elimination of information leakage.

However not only is the youth tutor well placed to maximise

the effectiveness of the pastoral care systems for individuals and/or groups with particular difficulties but in the role of head of the social education department, a youth tutor can also make considerable advances in the social and emotional education of pupils at a more general/class level within the school. Once again the youth tutor is uniquely positioned to initiate and implement informal programmes of social education and life skills both inside school and within a youth club context.

After another period of time as community counsellor (5+ years?) promotion may then be to senior teacher or even vice-principal level, again based on the assessment of objective criteria. This would probably involve a further diminution of direct involvement with youth/community spheres accompanied by a corresponding increase in overall responsibility for co-ordination of all of the four main work areas, while at the same time retaining some direct input in terms of counselling and social education (see Figure 1).

Implications

Not surprisingly there are inherent difficulties attendant on these suggestions. For example, there may be a difficulty in retaining sufficient flexibility and responsiveness for projects if such a career structure was implemented. Flexibility and responsiveness are however not incompatible with structure. On the contrary most youth tutors would probably welcome such a promotional framework that supplies a 'tighter' job specification with the concomitant realisation of objective job-related criteria on which promotion can be based. Moreover, whilst the four areas outlined are not to be adopted in clone-like fashion by all youth tutors, they seem to be the most relevant and potentially productive avenues for youth tutors to pursue at present. Indeed this type of overall framework may be very useful in terms of informing and guiding the in-service training of youth tutors.

Another potential problem area relates to the question of how the youth/community work associated with the job is to be carried out if the youth tutor becomes a community counsellor or senior teacher. There seems to be two ways of coping with the concomitant reduction in direct involvement in youth and community work implicit in such a step. Ideally, a second youth tutor or youth worker could be appointed to undertake the 'on the ground' demands of the youth and community spheres, while at the same time providing an outlet for full-time qualified workers. Alternatively, the youth/community work could be performed by the part-time staff who would be under the supervision and direction of the community counsellor.

Conflict over areas of responsibility may be another potentially problematic issue, particularly in the sphere of pastoral care. Duplication of the roles of senior school counsellor and community counsellor should not in practice arise in that the latter has really a different brief from the former - youth club counselling, home/school liaison and the integration of all possible sources of information. In short the roles are at once complementary and discrete not competing and overlapping.

Finally there is an implication for the in-service training of youth tutors particularly in relation to social education. In effect this means that the specialist subject of a youth tutor has been to a large extent an 'educational red-herring' in so far as the potential contribution of an extra subject teacher has been somewhat over-valued. It seems clear that the most

important role for a youth tutor inside the school curriculum is as the head of the social education department. However, it is worth noticing that the programmes, modules and materials, employed by the head of social education for schools will be just as relevant and appropriate for consumption within a youth club setting and vice versa.⁽²⁾

In conclusion, it has been argued that the implementation of a career structure for youth tutors is needed to help ameliorate and diminish some of their current job related tensions and pressures. More importantly such a promotional framework would go a long way to ensuring that the work of the youth tutor will be absorbed, consolidated and enmeshed within the structural framework of schools. A school that has systematically assimilated and structurally incorporated the work of youth tutors is surely better equipped to cope with the all-round demands of pupils presently facing an uncertain future, than a school in which the activities associated with the role of youth tutor are implemented in a piecemeal, ad hoc and to some extent haphazard fashion.

REFERENCES & NOTES

1. This term refers to the weakness in the pastoral care system whereby information on pupils is not fully collated or assessed due to the time constraints emanating from the duties associated with youth tutor posts.
2. There would seem to be tremendous potential for employing the services of full-time youth workers within schools to devise and implement programmes of social education on a module basis. In fact part of their duties could be devoted to school liaison with particular reference to social education.

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reagan on youth: a realignment?

PIPPA NORRIS

The Reagan victory in the 1984 Presidential Election was the fourth Republican victory in five contests. This article examines the part played by the young voter and the degree to which their support carried Reagan to victory. It asks if we are witnessing a re-alignment in American politics and a long-term shift to the Right in social and political attitudes amongst young people in the U.S.A. It concludes by relating these questions to the British context.

The 1984 American election was a decisive victory for President Reagan who swept the country taking the highest number of electoral college votes (98%) since Roosevelt. Virtually all sections of the population gave Reagan the lead, the young, middle aged and old, young professionals (yuppies) and blue-collar workers, Catholics and Protestants, voters from the cornbelt, the sunbelt and the North (See Diagram 1)

The young swung particularly strongly towards Reagan, a 16% gain since 1980. He won most cities and towns, suburban and rural areas. He even got two-thirds of the New York Italian vote in spite of Ferraro. The only groups where Reagan received less than a majority of votes were among blacks, hispanics, and Jewish voters, union members and the poor.⁽¹⁾ In historical perspective the Reagan share of the popular vote (59%) was not as high as the results of Johnson in 1964 and Nixon in 1972, nevertheless Reagan's victory makes him one of the very few Presidents elected for a second term since the war. In contrast while Mondale did not achieve the all time lows recorded by McGovern and Goldwater his share of the popular vote was extremely low (41%), especially given his position in the traditional mainstream of the Democratic party. With the geographical dispersal of his support he only carried two states, Minnesota and Washington, DC.

The extent of the Reagan victory has led some to suggest that the party system in the United States is in the process of a fundamental realignment towards a permanent Republican majority. Commentators such as Kevin Phillips have argued that the traditional Democratic coalition founded by Roosevelt is in long term decline due to demographic, economic and ideological change.⁽²⁾ The growth of the sunbelt and the decline of the industrial Northeast has shifted the population away from the Democratic heartland. Economic developments have transformed large parts of the old South. The rise of the New Right and the Moral Majority symbolise the shift in public opinion in a conservative direc-

tion. Many traditional Democratic groups have increasingly deserted the party in recent Presidential elections, including the Italians, the Irish, Catholics, blue-collar workers and white Southerners. In 1984 only blacks and Jews remain strongly loyal to the old Democratic coalition and together these groups represent only 12% of the voters. In addition it is argued that new generations have grown up with different attitudes to the great welfare programs of the Democrats as they have no experience of the New Deal of the thirties or the War on Poverty of the sixties. The problem for the Democrats, as for the Labour party in Britain, is how to broaden their appeal to gain and retain new voters, particularly among the younger generation.

Evidence of a possible realignment comes from a variety of sources. The last four out of five Presidential elections have been won by Republican contenders. The Republicans have now held the Senate for three elections in a row, the first time they have done that in over 50 years. They retained their majority despite marginal losses in the 1984 election (See Diagram 2).

The Democrats continue to dominate the House in 1984 with a majority of 73 although the Republicans gained 13 seats and the highest share of the popular vote for thirty years. In the 'classic' model of voting behaviour developed by Campbell et al partisan identification is one of the best predictors of voting patterns.⁽³⁾ For decades more Americans have identified themselves as Democrats but in recent major polls an increasing number of voters have seen themselves as Republicans. By 1984 there had also been a change in ideological self-identification and twice the number of voters saw themselves as conservatives (43%) rather than liberals (21%).⁽⁴⁾

Whether the parties are going through the process of an enduring realignment or only experiencing temporary fluctuations of support is difficult to assess at this stage. There is a consensus among historians that realignments have occurred at intervals throughout the 19th century in the United States with the last one to be clearly identified during Roosevelt's New Deal coalition in the early 1930s. According to the theory put forward by Paul Beck the American party system goes through an electoral cycle with periods characterised by stable party loyalties, dealignments and realignments.⁽⁵⁾ During stable phases most voters have clear and long-established party loyalties which guide their voting behaviour. However through generational change this parti-

san identification declines especially among the young. During dealignment voters are guided less by party than by issues and events. Electoral results are characterised by greater volatility and unpredictability. Turnout declines slightly. In the last phase of the cycle new issue cleavages arise due to major events such as the Civil War and the Great Depression, and social groups realign with parties into a new enduring coalition. Again the changes are most evident among the younger generation who show the strongest evidence of the new partisanship. New stable party loyalties are established which are transmitted to succeeding generations through socialisation until the cycle repeats itself over time.

According to this theory if America is moving towards a new Republican majority the evidence would be clearest among the younger generation with a change in their voting choice, partisan identification and issue support. Is this evident? Are younger voters moving to the right? Will this provide the foundation for a new Republican majority? Until the 1984 American Election Survey (AES) becomes available it is too early to give any full analysis of this question, but from extensive opinion polls by ABC and Gallup, as well as the 1980 and 1982 AES surveys,⁽⁶⁾ we can provide some initial answers.

An analysis of these sources suggests that there is some evidence of partisan realignment among the young but the trends are not clear cut. In all Presidential elections since the early 1950s until recently Gallup data shows that the young have been less likely to vote Republican than the elderly by a 3-13% margin. This pattern was reversed in the 1984 election. The young were one of the social groups which swung most strongly towards President Reagan, by a 16% margin, as shown in Table 1. This swing was particularly marked among those who were white, male, professional and living in the West and South. The President's support was strongest among the affluent, young upwardly-mobile male professionals, (the 'yuppies'), who make up a growing proportion of the electorate. The influence of the 'gender gap' meant that women were more favourable than men towards the Democrats and this trend cut across all age groups.⁽⁷⁾

Table 1
Vote for Reagan in 1980 and 1984. (%)

| | Age groups | | | | | |
|----------------|------------|-------|-------|-------|-----|----|
| | 18-24 | 25-29 | 30-49 | 50-59 | 60+ | |
| 1984 | 59 | 56 | 56 | 61 | 58 | 57 |
| 1980 | 43 | 44 | 50 | 57 | 55 | 55 |
| Change 1980-84 | +16 | +12 | +6 | +4 | +4 | +3 |

Source: ABC News Exit Poll 6.11.1984: N.11,024

If we turn from voting to other measures of electoral preference it does not appear that the 1984 election result represents a shift of allegiances among the young. In terms of partisan identification the largest group (38%) among younger voters in Table 2 are independents with no party loyalty, as reported in previous studies⁽⁸⁾.

Table 2
Partisan Identification by Age, 1984

| | 18-24 | 25-29 | 30-49 | 50-64 | 64+ |
|--------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
| Republicans | 26 | 29 | 28 | 32 | 32 |
| Democrats | 36 | 36 | 38 | 45 | 48 |
| Independents | 38 | 35 | 34 | 23 | 20 |

Source: The Gallup Report Aug/Sept 1984 Vol 228: N.6,093

If these independent voters are captured by one or other of the major parties this could represent the basis of a partisan realignment. At present, while there has been some shift towards the Republicans, still more young voters see themselves as Democrats. This pattern suggests a situation of dealignment rather than realignment, with many young people voting for Reagan in the 1984 election on the basis of short-term issues, events and personalities rather than due to long-term changes in party loyalty.

On campaign issues the young did not give whole hearted support to all aspects of Reaganism, particularly the social agenda of the New Right. While they showed marked approval for Reagan's economic and foreign policy performance they were sharply critical on social policy questions. In Gallup data the young preferred Reagan most clearly in his handling of foreign relations and economic policy (See Table 3)

Table 3
Evaluations of Candidates Performance, 1984

| Policy Area | | Reagan's Lead over Mondale (a) | |
|-------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|-------|
| | | Young | Older |
| Foreign | Foreign Relations | +27 | +10 |
| | International respect | +20 | +9 |
| | Increasing Patriotism | +28 | +18 |
| | Handling USSR | +16 | +10 |
| | Handling C. America | +16 | +1 |
| | Keeping out of war | -23 | -3 |
| Economic | Increasing prosperity | +24 | +15 |
| | Keeping inflation down | +21 | +15 |
| | Improving the economy | +16 | +11 |
| | Reducing unemployment | +8 | +2 |
| | Reducing the deficit | +3 | +1 |
| | Spending wisely | -3 | +2 |
| Social | Helping the poor | -37 | -29 |
| | Improving environment | -21 | -6 |
| | Helping ethnic minor | -39 | -19 |
| | Improving women's rights | -57 | -29 |

Source: The Gallup Report Aug/Sept 1984 No 228: N.1,585

(a) Note:

Q. "Regardless of which man you happen to prefer for president - Walter Mondale or Ronald Reagan - please tell me which you feel would do a better job of handling these problems?"

The lead is calculated as preferences for Reagan minus preferences for Mondale. A positive sign (+) means greater support for Reagan. Young = under 30 years: Older = over 50 years.

In contrast they supported Mondale on social issues, women's rights, ethnic minorities and the environment. The under thirties did not give whole hearted approval to Reagan's total performance in office. On 'post materialist' issues they showed a liberal profile, as studies of the young in other countries have found.⁽⁹⁾

The social issues where the young disagreed with Reagan were generally seen as less salient in retrospective evaluations than questions of prosperity and patriotism. Nearly half of the electorate said that they were better off financially at the time of the election than four years ago, only a fifth said that they were worse off. Responses to this question were closely associated with Presidential choice and a very high proportion (84%) of those who felt better off voted for Reagan. Given the economic situation since 1980 it is understandable that young people swung more strongly

to Reagan on this basis. Although unemployment rose dramatically in the first two years of Reagan's office, from 1982 it steadily declined until at the time of the election it was down to 7.9%. In addition inflation had decreased to 4% and many indicators of economic growth such as productivity were healthy in 1984. This represents a remarkable recovery given the situation in most European countries. There were many predictions that the economic growth could not last given the problems of the budget deficit, which was acknowledged as a problem by the public at the end of the campaign due to Mondale's focus on the issue. Nevertheless many of the voters felt better off at the end of Reagan's first term in office in contrast to the situation under Carter in 1980. It has been estimated that the average family experienced a 3% to 4% growth of real income between 1980-84, after correcting for inflation.⁽¹⁰⁾ Of course not everybody shared this increase in living standards, the 1981-82 recession drove 4.3 million more Americans into poverty but the average family benefitted. In particular the young felt that their economic situation had improved. The incomes of the 'yuppies' had risen while inflation was down, hence 60% of this group felt better off financially under Reagan and 82% of these voted for him. In contrast among the over sixties there were strong fears about their economic situation. On several occasions Reagan had talked about reforming Social Security and cutting Medicare funds. Given their economic position fewer retired voters (42%) thought they were better off in 1984 so they swung less strongly than the young to Reagan.

The young, particularly men, also approved more strongly than older voters of Reagan's foreign policy performance. This can be understood in the light of their different generational experiences. The under thirties are largely the post-Vietnam generation, their memories are not of facing the draft but of American foreign policy failures and powerlessness in South-East Asia, Iran, Afghanistan, Poland and Palestine. With Grenada, as the Falklands in Britain, a short, successful, limited war has considerable electoral popularity. In addition the talks with Gromyko which were arranged towards the end of the campaign reassured many who were concerned about Reagan's 'war-mongering' image and the breakdown of relations between the super-powers.

Overall the young showed strong support for Reagan's economic and foreign policy performance but there were significant differences in the evaluations of young women and men. The 'gender gap', in which women favour the Democrats over the Republicans by a margin of between 5% to 15%, first emerged in 1980 election. Since then a gender gap has been evident in all major polls evaluating Presidential performance, in the mid-term Congressional election results and to a lesser extent in the 1984 contest: The gender difference can not be simply reduced to other social factors as it is found in all sections of the population in terms of age, race, region and income. The existence of the gender gap in the US is well documented although the causes and implications are still a matter of considerable controversy. In America women have been found to be more liberal on a range of issues, especially those of nuclear and conventional warfare, 'women's issues' like Equal Pay, and welfare services such as Aid For Dependent Children (AFDC).⁽¹¹⁾ Controversy surrounds whether sex differences on social, economic, or foreign policy issues are the most influential in creating the gender gap and whether the gender gap represents a longterm trend. If so, this has significant implications

for the political influence of women as a voting bloc.

Conclusions

We can conclude that in the last election the young, especially men, swung towards President Reagan on the basis of his economic and foreign policy performance, since to them he seemed to deliver prosperity and patriotism. This may be the basis of a future Republican realignment but at this stage the evidence does not strongly support this thesis. Most young voters saw themselves as either Democrats or independents, voting for Reagan on the basis of issues and the performance of candidates, not because they were radically changing their party allegiances towards the Republicans. Neither party can count on the vote of the young. Given a popular President, economic growth and a resurgence of American patriotism then young people vote for the Republican candidate, but this is not a sufficient basis in itself for an enduring Republican realignment.

Some intriguing parallels can be suggested on a tentative basis between the 1984 campaign in the United States and the 1983 election in Britain. There are fundamental differences in the recent election campaigns but there are also striking similarities. Both Mrs Thatcher and President Reagan presented themselves as experienced incumbents standing against a fundamentally divided opposition. Both leaders share a similar set of economic and foreign policy objectives; favouring a competitive, market-orientated economy, a reduction in the role of government and a strong, assertive Western alliance prepared to negotiate arms control on the basis of strength. In foreign policy Grenada was the political equivalent of the Falklands factor, a short, successful war to bolster popular patriotism at home and strength abroad. Both campaigned on broad images of patriotism and prosperity for the future, leaving the opposition to get embroiled in complex detailed schemes for tackling economic problems.

There are also parallels in voting support. The younger voters, particularly males, swung towards the right in Britain as well as America. Traditionally, slightly more women than men have voted Tory since the war but in 1979 this gender difference disappeared and in the 1983 election it was reversed. The new Conservative lead among men was not great among all age groups but it was fairly marked among the under thirties, where men gave the Tories a 13% lead over Labour while the equivalent margin for women was 2%. Younger men supported the Conservatives more strongly than women when asked which party has the best team of leaders, the best policies and which was best "for people like you".⁽¹²⁾ It seems that young men in Britain and America have changed from the liberal radicalism of the 60's to the new conservatism of the 80's in recent elections. It is too early to say whether this represents a long-term realignment of the young towards the right, but in the light of the evidence it seems more probable that this signifies a short-term shift in voting patterns during a period of dealignment. The Democratic and the Labour parties have not lost the votes of the young on a long-term basis, but they need to act positively to attract them.

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research

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'Ethnic Minority Youth Employment'

This is a two-year study of the different positions of young Asian, Afro-Caribbean and white people in the job market, in college, on government training schemes and in unemployment, using a survey of 18 and 21 year olds in Leicester's inner city. It is also investigating city and county council policies as they affect unemployed young people, and especially black youths; and the responses of the Careers Service, Job Centres, the MSC and local employers to the recent rise in youth employment.

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Research into the Hampshire Youth Help Scheme

The Hampshire Constabulary Youth Help Scheme intended to substantially expand policy cautioning in the force area and further diversion from the juvenile justice system. This research evaluates the impact of the scheme, the development of "instant" cautioning and the implications of a diversionary strategy for the police.

Dr. Henri Giller and Dr. Coline Covington

Social and Psychological Effects of Unemployment on young people

This is a longitudinal study, consisting of 1,150 unemployed 17 year olds interviewed in 1982, 732 of which were re-interviewed a year later, and an additional sample of 550 unemployed 18 year olds interviewed in 1983. Objectives are to examine the psychological effects of unemployment, to determine the variables which mediate this process, to investigate the extent of labour market withdrawal, and to explore subcultural responses to unemployment. Sex and ethnic differences are examined in each respect.

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Youth Employment: An Analysis of General Household Survey Data 1974-1981

GHS data are used to construct trends in the qualifications, types of job and likelihood of unemployment of 16-19 year olds during the period 1974 - 1981, which started with ROSLA and ended with the beginnings of YTS. There is particular interest in how the relationships between these three variables have changed. Current work includes an analysis of the family circumstances of unemployed young people and a study of changes in job satisfaction.

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Study of Young People Leaving Care

The research project is following up for up to two and a half years young people aged 16 to 19 years of age who left the care of a social services department during 1982. The research is generally concerned with finding out what happens to young people after they leave care and includes a descriptive account of their life styles and experiences, a study of their views, their reflections, their expectations and their support networks.

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The Changing Structure of the Youth Labour Market

The Changing Structure of the Youth Labour Market project will study some of the major factors which determine the demand for youth labour in Britain. In particular it will look at long-term changes which have affected the structure of jobs available to young people. At the same time, in-depth studies will be carried out in about 40 major companies, concerning their decisions about selection and recruitment for jobs. In this way it is hoped to establish more precisely where competition for jobs takes place between young people and adults, where young people are protected from competition, and where they are not even considered.

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review article

Andy Wiggans

STARTING FROM STRENGTHS

National Youth Bureau, 1984

ISBN 0 86155 079 X

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Gus John and Nigel Parkes

MAKING THE PAST COUNT - Extension Report 1

National Youth Bureau, 1984

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Pauline Taylor

WORKING WITH BLACK YOUTH - Extension Report 2

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National Youth Bureau, 1984

ISBN 0 86155 083 8

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WOMEN, TRAINING AND CHANGE - Extension Report 4

National Youth Bureau, 1984

ISBN 0 86155 084 6

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Starting from Strengths and the extension reports are valuable. They are based on the work of the **Panel to Promote the Continuing Development of Training for Part-time and Voluntary Youth and Community Workers**. The Panel was initiated by Alec Oxford when he was Deputy Director of the National Youth Bureau (NYB) and followed recommendations made by Steve Butters in **Realities of Training**. They have much tight analysis substantiating realistic recommendations. They also oblige their readers to reflect on the fundamental issues of youth work and to examine their assumptions and stereotypes. An enlightening chapter describes the sometimes difficult internal debates of the Panel, as they too went through this process. Such debates and the publication of them can only be to the good, for such activity is all too rarely undertaken in the Youth Service. Duncan Scott, the Panel Chairperson, in his foreword, suggests it will take a considerable struggle to improve the conditions under which part-time and voluntary youth workers operate. The report is not intended as a blueprint but as an encouragement to the vision and commitment which will be necessary at the levels of ideas and practice if that struggle is to be won. The report indicates early on that it will not pull too many punches. It criticises the NYB which "does not yet seem able to shift its concerns towards the heartland of the Youth Service" and spotlights the barriers of status and hierarchy between full-time workers and their part-time and voluntary helpers. They also unearth too many trainers whose courses pursue a didactic model, are often irrelevant to participants and completely ignore the experience these participants bring with them. The tone is nevertheless constructive.

The Panel bases its early discussion on consultations (albeit limited) with part-time workers. It identifies three elements of the support needed by those workers: a chance to stop, take stock and reflect; an assurance that the practical where-withal to do youth work is available; the need on occasions for someone to take responsibility for some of the planning, preparation and groupwork that can be done more easily by people with influence and time. Just as important, is the need for the **style** of the support-giver usually the full-time professional - to be one of 'mutuality and sharing'. The Panel then considers the current state of training in the Youth Service. It points out that the erosion of consensus around aims and objectives that existed in the early 60s makes it difficult to answer the question 'training for what?' Nevertheless it is not impressed by current practice. It makes the point that training is more than courses but finds little evidence in the training strategies of organisations or authorities that the Service has taken this on board. The Panel's criticisms of the reliance on courses is threefold:

- a) it points out that courses take up a high level of resources and yet are not appropriate for more than a fraction of the youthwork community. This comment is made even in relation to the Brunel Regional Consultative Unit's Course, about which the Panel is generally complementary;
- b) it questions whether basic qualifying courses effectively assess what a worker could do outside the training course and suggests that some existing courses appear to be unrelated to the demands of practice;
- c) it finds that many such courses are predominantly didactic, full of inputs from experts and appear based on the belief that professionals automatically know best what is good for part-timers to absorb.

What is the way forward? The Panel having looked at some interesting examples of good practice, makes a strong case for an inductive, action-reflection approach. Starting with the new recruit to the Youth Service, Pauline Taylor in her case study of volunteers finds that

"the timing of an offer of training opportunities is vital. However well they are presented, they will only attract and appear meaningful to volunteers who have begun to question whether there is anything more to youthwork over and above what they are already doing"⁽¹⁾

Ms Taylor suggests that this move may come after six months or so and that earlier support should centre round the volunteers' enjoyment of their involvement as well as binding them into relationships. The Panel as a whole advocates that on-the-job training should receive much more attention than at present. Whether through unit-based training, structured supervision or coaching; support and development go hand-in-hand, relevance is more easily achieved and there is a greater synthesis of personal development and involvement in decision-making. Off-the-job training is not rejected out of hand. Specialist courses have their place in the Panel's thinking as well as day workshops on for example, aspects of programming, but they should be a part of a wider learning web.

The Panel's alternative to the basic qualifying course is the creation of a 'portfolio'. This is recommended as a structure which will meet the need for a route to 'qualification' as well as continuing the inductive approach of much on-the-job training at a wider level. The portfolio idea is based on principles laid out by Norman Evans in his book **The Knowledge Revolution**. "The worker will produce a collection of evi-

dence to demonstrate what he or she claims to know, to be able to do, and the values that inform his or her work." Portfolio construction should strongly influence course design but some might want to construct their own course of learning round their portfolio. Those "who feel their life or training experiences are already substantial and wish to have their learning to date accredited would simply develop and present their portfolio to that end."⁽²⁾ Portfolios would be drawn up in the context of a statement of the competencies required by part-time and voluntary workers. The task of drawing up this statement and of accrediting the portfolios would fall, the Panel suggests, to a body consisting of youthworkers (full-time, part-time and voluntary), young people, sponsors of youthwork, professional associations and trade unions, the training interests and external people from outside the organisation or authority who can act as moderators.

Obviously, this is quite a radical departure and other recommendations are also stimulating and thought provoking. Firstly, "We doubt whether any developed training system adequate to meet the needs of part-timers and volunteers can operate unless each authority and organisation appoints a full-time... training co-ordinator."⁽³⁾ Theoretically this is a good idea but we must ask what is the smallest size of organisation that can afford such a co-ordinator? How can the myriad of neighbourhood voluntary organisations and burgeoning MSC funded projects be supported? Through the local authority co-ordinator? A combined voluntary sector appointment? This is a crucial issue which worries many people. Then, "The emphasis we place on support and training... may well clash with the expectations of the majority of full-timers and leaders-in-charge and their equivalents in the voluntary sector who see themselves primarily as youthworkers working face-to-face with young people."⁽⁴⁾ The problems this causes could be more easily solved in one-club situations than in cases where a single worker has responsibility for several clubs and projects. This, as we know, is increasingly the case with authorities and organisations trying to make existing resources stretch further in times of cut-backs. Coming to terms with management is one of the most difficult areas for full-timers, conflicting as it does for many with their self-image and reasons for entry into youthwork in the first place. Another recommendation concerns training for both the trainers, tutors and full-timers/leaders-in-charge mentioned above. I endorse this, but the suggestion that some such training should be incorporated into initial training on full-time qualifying courses is more easily made than effectively implemented. The cry from the field to the colleges is for more and better management training. However you cannot get quarts into two year pint pots and in any case I suggest that much management and staff development training is best done in-service where participants have real situations to cope with rather than student placement exercises.

This has been a rapid review of the main arguments and recommendations put forward by the panel members. It does not do them credit. I have failed to refer to several valuable points and there is no substitute for a careful reading of the original. There are, however, one or two issues which impinge on the training of part-timers and volunteers which need further exploration. Let us return to an examination of the implications of the portfolio model to which I instinctively attracted. Is it simply armchair attraction? The logistics of regional accreditation, let alone the work needed to effect the inter-authority co-operation this implies are substantial. The time necessary for effective tutor-student sup-

port in developing the portfolio would, I suspect, be greater than many authorities invest at present. Furthermore the skill needed of tutors to implement the model and which will need to be replicated many times across each separate authority or organisation, suggests a major input in resources. Were such demands confined to the development of the the portfolio they might be achievable. However I am concerned, that the Service does not become fixated on the portfolio at the expense of the related but more fundamental issues of improved induction and unit-based training which the Panel so strongly encourages. These will have a greater impact on the Service and their practice will itself provide training for full-time workers in developing those action-reflection skills which in their turn are so crucial to the portfolio model.

The process of action-reflection requires disciplined analysis and intellectual rigour. Without these qualities the portfolio approach could go hopelessly adrift. However the question must be asked as to what extent these are commonly found in the Youth Service. If warmth, acceptance and optimism are some of our positive attributes, our detractors call us sloppy, permissive and dis-organised. Youthwork training has traditionally mirrored the fieldwork culture. How many times have we sat around in discussion groups swapping anecdotes and playing 'Ain't it awful?' If, in addition to the portfolio model, the service is to adopt a curriculum based on the needs and issues of young people as the Thompson Report⁽⁶⁾ would have use do, this will require a degree of analysis and rigour too little seen in current practice. As Gus John says in the extension report **Working with Black Youth**, "the importance of knowing where you stand and for what, and of making explicit the assumptions that influence and inform your practice is underplayed in the youth service."⁽⁷⁾ Well-meaning adults can too often be found on the backs of young people simply because of a lack of this awareness and questioning. Part-timers as well as full-timers can get so taken up in the action base of the Service that reflection does not get a look in. If youthworkers in general are to develop their service to young people, if full-timers are to develop their ability to support part-timers along the lines suggested by the report, then the Service as a whole must upgrade the place given to reflection and analysis in its repertoire of skills.

The concept of starting from a worker's strengths is very attractive but I am not helped by the way in which the Panel apparently sees this in direct opposition to what it calls 'the deficit model' (overwhelming people with what they don't know). Although redesigning the job to increase emphasis on strengths and play down the exposure of weaknesses is one way forward if a manager is operating a team approach, my thinking is, that if the prime aim of Youth Service is to work with the needs and issues of young people, there is a job to be done and to do that job the worker needs certain knowledge and skills. Indeed the competencies which the Panel advocates should be listed by the accreditation bodies. The discrepancies (I prefer this to the negative overtones of 'deficit') between the worker's current competencies and the 'shoulds' of the job description, are the training needs. It is the **climate** in which these discrepancies are diagnosed, not the discrepancy model per se, and the **way in which the training needs are met** which are the keys to development and which determine whether the worker 'owns' the needs and the resulting learning process or not.

In calling for more appropriate and effective support for part-timers the Panel criticises the relationship of many full-

timers to their part-time colleagues. Some might argue against this, but most full-timers I work with accept it. So why is this the case and what can be done to improve matters? The Panel discreetly does not comment so I will risk 'rushing in where angels fear to tread'. The youth worker tends to be an individualist, jealous of independence and wishing to do his or her own thing. The structure of the Youth Service encourages this. Full-time youthworkers are thin on the ground and are likely to become more scarce as rate-capping bites. The ability of a youthworker to self programme is looked on positively and with relief by many a manager who often has little youthwork experience and wants even less involvement as long as the boat is not rocked. Many full-timers, thus unsupported, become uncommunicative and defensive about their work. They become in fact, very ambivalent about managerial support because they see it as a threat to their cherished independence. All this builds on an obsession with status so common in new and unselfconfident professions. Too many of those who embark on initial training see courses as primarily a route, some would say a short cut, to professional status. The focus is not helped by many courses being based alongside teacher-training. The teacher-youthworker antagonism, if not starting here, often gains a substantial boost as a result. Hence the newly qualified worker progresses in many cases to a statutory service where careerism is rife, where the line-manager is still often a teacher with limited youth work experience (especially in community education services) and where the style of management is often not truly consultative. What a model for the youth worker to follow! No wonder the Panel finds the part-timer complaining of the barriers of status and hierarchy, of being kept in the dark and excluded from decisions.

With such a complex problem it is too easy to be simplistic about ways forward but I would like to see:

- a) youth work borrowing from community work a definition of professionalism which draws its authority primarily from meeting the needs of its clientele as opposed to those of its employers or fellow professionals. This would be a very difficult path to tread but the plight of young people deserves such risk-taking.
- b) a greater experimentation with 'team' in some parts of the service. In a service which preaches the virtues of co-operation, sharing and interdependence we should practice what we preach, whether at unit level, among youth workers across an area or at the level of inter-agency co-operation on a patch. Working in a team might well be something to be experienced and reflected on in initial training courses.
- c) the metamorphosis from the role and status of part-timer to that of full-timer which has happened for most students on initial training courses could benefit from specific reflection and analysis. It is a more complex transformation than at first appears. Time spent here could firm up the attitudes of 'mutuality and interdependence' which the Panel advocates.

I was surprised that the report dealt so little with the attitudes of management to training, particularly in authorities or large organisations and the organisational dimension to that activity. The Panel does stress the need for the full-time workers to see themselves as managers of support and supervision but what or who are their models and who endorses such priorities? Many senior managers in the Youth Service see the training of part-timers (and even full-timers) as of marginal interest. In trying to understand why this is the case we have to consider that some of the reasons

rest in some or all of the following. It is a fact that many senior managers are ex-teachers and have not experienced youthwork training themselves. They may reflect back on their own training and see all training as of questionable value. It is also the case that they are less likely to have had management training and may lack awareness that an important part of the job of any manager is to assess the training needs of personnel and ensure that they are met.

Whatever the reason, or combination of reasons, the report's focus provides an opportunity for redressing the balance. Another cause for optimism is the INSTEP-led move towards staff development policies. Such an emphasis may strongly influence the organisational climate in which part-timers and volunteers work and will have to take into account those conditions-of-service issues for part-timers, rightly highlighted by the report. Particularly in the current economic and political climate "it is likely that many part-timers do not work for pin money but are compelled to seek employment".⁽⁸⁾ The link between staff development and organisational development which INSTEP makes is implicitly endorsed by Gus John. He asserts, when discussing racism and its effect on young people, that "the context, the policy and management context, within which training is done is therefore riddled with compromises even before one sets out proper objectives for training".⁽⁹⁾

I have stressed that for me there is much of real value in **Starting from Strengths**. But will it change anything? I have been heartened to hear of many authorities and organisations buying the report in great numbers but that does not guarantee it will be read. Youthwork personnel are not great readers. **Starting from Strengths** and the **Extension Reports** are basically 'user friendly' - well laid out and illustrated and not over-verbose. The challenge to authorities and organisations is to distil the wide ranging comments into something over which they can effectively consult. A digest would have been welcome. Certainly, 'Conclusions and Recommendations' is a tight final chapter but it inevitably omits some of the reports key thinking. Is this asking to be spoon fed? Possibly, but we have suggested above that the Youth Service is short on reflection and the leopard will not change its spots overnight. The Panel's regional consultations and the DES short course in July should help workers on the ground clarify their thinking and focus on the strategy and tactics of any implementation. We are a conservative crowd in the main but I believe that the obvious sense of much that the Panel recommends will prevail and that the service will grasp the nettle. There are substantial resource implications but progress can nevertheless be made through attitude change and re-ordering of priorities. Thanks to the Panel for their stimulus.

Rob Hunter

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msc, community programme & the youth service

SEAN DOONEY & ROBERT WATSON

This article analyses the C.P. scheme within Youth and Community Work in relation to underlying Governmental intent. It concludes that youth & community professionals must adopt a critical approach to such schemes, be aware of their 'divide and rule' potential whilst fighting for better policies for the unemployed.

Introduction

The new Community Programme (CP), first put forward by Sir Geoffrey Howe in his 1982 Budget speech,⁽¹⁾ is now the major government scheme for providing employment and training for the long-term adult unemployed - those out of work for 12 months or more.⁽²⁾ This article is devoted to examining the actual development and management of the CP within the Youth and Community service. Particular attention is paid to the evolving working relationship between the existing professional staff and the new CP workers and the major problems that have arisen.⁽³⁾ The associated social policy issues raised by this development are then examined within the context of the government's overall economic strategy. Finally, an attempt is made to indicate the lessons to be learnt and what, if anything, may be done to improve the CP given the present unfavourable political climate.

The problem of the long-term unemployed

Depending on the classification criteria used, the number of people at present falling into the category of 'long-term unemployed' is between one-and-a-half million (those on the unemployment register claiming benefit for a year or more) and three million (which includes estimates for those who cannot claim benefit - primarily women and prematurely retired workers - but would work if any were available). No matter how the figures are computed, this is a phenomenal increase since the late 1970s when the numbers in this category were negligible.

It has long been observed that even in periods of low unemployment, the longer the person is unemployed, the less likely s/he will be successful at finding employment. The reasons for this are not difficult to fathom. The multiple disadvantages associated with a prolonged period without paid employment for example financial hardship, social isolation, physical and psychological deterioration, the loss of self-confidence, the loss of work-related and social skills, conspire to produce a poor presentation of self to prospective employers. In consequence, the unemployed person eventually comes to recognise that s/he is unable to compete

successfully for jobs and soon gives up even attempting to obtain employment. The government's response to this accelerating problem of human misery and waste was the introduction of the CP which is intended to provide training and work experience for the long-term unemployed. The major feature of the scheme are briefly outlined below.

The Community Programme

The CP is the replacement for the relatively successful Community Enterprise Programme (CEP). However, whereas the CEP provided only some 30,000 places, it is envisaged that the CP will eventually provide a total 130,000 temporary jobs. Places on the CP are generally allocated to regions according to the incidence of long-term unemployment. The table below presents the regional breakdown of filled places as at 1st. January 1984.⁽⁴⁾

Community Programme: Regions

| | A Filled Places on 20 December | B Filled Place ceiling | C Col. A as a percentage of B |
|-----------------------------|---|------------------------------|--|
| London | 5,345 | 10,500 | 51 |
| South East | 8,994 | 11,700 | 77 |
| South West | 5,551 | 7,670 | 72 |
| Midlands | 24,460 | 25,640 | 95 |
| Yorkshire and Humberside | 13,414 | 14,300 | 94 |
| North West | 19,644 | 21,200 | 93 |
| Northern | 12,224 | 12,500 | 98 |
| Wales | 9,091 | 9,610 | 95 |
| Scotland | 16,259 | 16,880 | 96 |
| TOTAL | 114,982 | 130,000 | 88 |

The CP is managed by the MSC who pays the costs of local authorities or voluntary agencies for providing places on projects "of benefit to the local community". CP workers are taken on for a maximum of one year, and are paid "the going rate for the job" up to a maximum of £2.22 per hour or £89 per week. However the average weekly wage must not exceed £60 for any approved scheme. Thus, for every full-time job paying the maximum of £89, two part-time jobs paying less than £46 must be provided by the sponsor. In addition to the payment of wages, the MSC provides £440

overhead costs per participant. No funds specifically for training CP workers are provided. The costs associated with any training must come out of the overhead costs. Sponsors have the option of using a further £10 per worker from the wages element on training needs. However, if a sponsor were to exercise this option the average wage could only be £50.⁽⁵⁾

The implementation of the CP

Despite strong opposition from the trade unions and some Labour controlled councils (most notably the GLC) the MSC has been remarkably successful at persuading local authorities and voluntary agencies to put forward schemes to provide the necessary places.⁽⁶⁾ A large proportion of these places are located in Youth and Community centres and involve working closely with the professional Youth and Community workers. As no restrictions are placed upon previous occupational experience or educational attainment, CP workers include a wide variety of age, occupational and educational groups, ranging from graduates, early retired executives, artisans whose skills are now no longer commercially required to men and women who have never been in paid employment. Generally CP workers rarely have any prior experience of Youth and Community work. In essence, they are being 'parachuted' into existing establishments without receiving, in the vast majority of cases, any prior training whatsoever from the MSC.

The CP worker

Typically, the CP worker receives very little or no training whilst participating in the CP. Any training element of the scheme, other than 'on-the-job' experience, depends upon the interest, energy and ability of the individual schemes' management team. If the management feel that it is not 'worth-while' to spend the allowances on the training of part-time, temporary staff then there are strong organisational constraints by which to rationalise such a decision. In particular, a proportion of the costs associated with training may well have to come out of the wages bill thereby have the effect of reducing the already inadequate allowances paid to workers. The attraction of the CP and the 'take-up' of places by the unemployed are likely to be substantially reduced as very few claimants will be any better off financially by participating in the scheme. Given these constraints it is little wonder that training needs are given a low priority.⁽⁷⁾

Not surprisingly, given the general lack of training, low pay and the temporary nature of their employment, CP workers are often treated with little respect by the professional youth workers. The latter tend to view them as mere menials, on hand to do any heavy, unpleasant or tedious tasks that the professionals would rather not do themselves, e.g. preparing and cleaning the premises before and after events. The CP workers are often confused as to what their duties consist of, their job descriptions generally being so vague and woolly as to be of little help. In consequence, CP workers have few, if any, rights to refuse to do any duties asked of them. Trade Union activities and representation (organisationally difficult enough given the wide geographical, occupational and skill differences characteristic of CP workers) are usually actively discouraged by both the MSC and the management who are ever fearful of withdrawal of funding. This total lack of control by CP workers over the content of their work extends to the individual projects on which they are employed. Their jobs could be and sometimes are, scrapped by the MSC at almost a moment's notice. If the CP was seriously meant to be a confidence builder, a new start

for the long-term adult unemployed, then one would be hard pressed to devise a scheme less likely to achieve this aim than the present system.⁽⁸⁾

The professional Youth and Community Workers

Professional Youth and Community workers are largely the product of the post-war welfare state. They have traditionally seen themselves as being primarily concerned with helping people in the community to identify needs and issues and in providing the necessary facilities and back-up to fulfill such needs. This undoubtedly sincere, paternalistic concern to help others has not of course, precluded these professional workers from attempting to obtain professional recognition and its associated privileges of enhanced remuneration and status. Given that we live in a society where the 'life-chances' of all but a wealthy few depend upon being able to convince an employer that they have some marketable skill to offer, it would be unrealistic to expect anything else. And herein lies the rub. The large influx of CP workers, instead of being viewed as a unique opportunity for the professionals to train and help people in obvious need, is frequently seen as threatening to their professional status. It has awakened fears similar to those voiced by the craft unions when the first government skill centres opened in the 1960s. These fears of 'dilution' are possibly well-founded. If the long-term unemployed can be slotted into jobs which were previously done by expensively trained (degree plus post-graduate certificate) professional workers, be paid much less and be got rid of after a year, where does this leave the professional worker? In the present political climate, probably without a job. Small wonder then that there is often considerable friction between the professionals and the CP participants.

The political and economic context

The introduction of the CP funds has come at a time when local authorities are being forced by central government into reducing their spending in all areas. Without the funds to supplement and subsidise the local authority spending many more cuts in services would be inevitable given the present government's intransigent attitude towards public spending that it does not itself directly control. The local authorities, professional youth workers and CP workers have all been put in an invidious situation by the government and, we would argue, deliberately so. The government appears to have killed several birds with one stone by setting-up the CP. Not only does it contribute to the general economic objective of lowering public sector wage rates and direct local government spending, but also gives public plausibility to the pretence that the government is 'doing something' about unemployment. Given the recent falls in the inflation rate,⁽⁹⁾ the problem of mass unemployment looks set to re-emerge as the major economic and political issue facing the government. In this context, the CP will fulfill an increasingly important public relations function for the government.

Only by examining the CP within the context of the present government's overall social and economic objectives can sense be made of the peculiar form of its development and administration⁽¹⁰⁾. The present structure of administration by the centralised and unaccountable MSC enables the government to take direct control over the content and practice of Youth and Community work. What this means for Youth and Community practice is becoming evident. It is likely to lead to an ending of any form of activity that questions existing power structures. The emphasis will be upon

self-discipline and self-reliance rather than political means to overcome pressing social needs. We are likely to witness the ending of financial support for the disadvantaged minority groups that refuse to restrict themselves to the narrow range of activities 'approved of' by ministers and civil servants. This accords well with the present government's social and economic philosophy of individual self-help, entrepreneurial self-seeking and 'free markets'. This philosophy entails a belief that our present economic woes and the associated social problems (interpreted as individual moral turpitude) are due to too much 'crippling mollycoddling' by the 'cradle-to-grave' welfare state. Whatever the defects of the post-war welfare state few (other than some on the fruit-cake right) could seriously argue that these defects consisted of giving too much help to the underprivileged, of spending too much money on attempting to alleviate poverty and misery, of giving the poor too much power to determine their own destiny!⁽¹¹⁾

Of course, the CP (whatever the cynical posturing and bombast coming from ministers and civil servants), unlike the CEP, was never meant to be a real attempt to train the long-term unemployed. The old CEP that was replaced by the CP had a real training component built-in. The CEP paid larger allowances, was full-time and provided a genuine opportunity for many of its trainees to obtain permanent employment after their year with the CEP. All of the good, progressive features of the CEP have been removed or severely restricted with the introduction of the CP. Thus, we are inexorably led to the conclusion that the CP (and to an even greater extent, the YTS) is little more than a cynical attempt to reduce the long-term unemployment figures, a cheap method of keeping people off the streets and of pre-empting any independent moves to organise the unemployed in less innocuous (for the government) pursuits and campaigns. The CP it is as well to remember, was conceived and set up shortly after the inner-city riots of 1981. If anyone doubts that the underlying motivation for setting-up the CP in its present form was not primarily as a means of social control over a potentially disruptive and disaffected group then one glance at the (ever growing) mass of regulations governing what activities CP workers are not allowed to participate in should be enough to convince otherwise. The list of prohibited activities include peace studies, racism, political education, even the causes of unemployment and alternative economic policies. Indeed almost any issues which may be of great concern to the unemployed are embargoed. Community work, in the context of the CP is reduced to little more than digging old folks' gardens and workers are not encouraged to hold (let alone, express) any opinions on the issues most commonly experienced by their clients. The implications for civil liberties and the liberal freedoms of rights to free expression and assembly hardly need spelling out.

The acceptance of the MSC money entails a dramatic loss of local control and influence. The power of central government to determine how resources are allocated and which projects, groups and issues are to be supported is correspondingly increased. Even with a less dogmatic and more progressive government this development would be disturbing. With the present regime however it is little less than an all-out attack upon local democratic freedoms.

The lessons to be learned

If the reader is in broad agreement with the preceding analysis, the first and most obvious lesson to draw is that those involved in the Youth and Community care profes-

sions would do well to study the implication of these developments within the context of the government's overall economic strategy to restructure British capital. All policies, no matter how apparently laudable in intention, emanating from this government must be treated with the utmost suspicion. It is not enough that any proposed scheme come from 'respectable' sources as the practical implementation of any such scheme is likely to be administered in such a way as to further the interests of the capitalist state and its backers rather than the underprivileged. Notions currently being put forward by the government such as 'care in the community' therefore need to be examined more critically than is usually the case. The above phrase evokes visions of democratic, unalienating and co-operative modes of work, free from the traditional bureaucratic welfare state apparatus which often robbed its recipients of their self-respect and dignity by reducing them to client status, a 'social problem' or whatever. However, closer examination reveals that, in all probability, the sort of 'care' envisaged by the government does not involve the services of professional workers but rather, the unpaid voluntary services of close kin (primarily, unemployed females) and the dismantling of the present state provisions.

A second lesson to be learned is that the successful divide-and-rule strategy of the government is likely to be increasingly used in the future as it becomes ever more apparent that its economic policies and palliatives such as the CP and YTS are unable to solve Britain's deep-seated economic problems. Scapegoats will be required to explain the all too evident failures of policy. The present conflicts of short-term interests between local authorities, voluntary agencies, CP workers and the professional staff need to be resolved before they are allowed to develop into unbridgeable ravines. The first step in any such rapport must be the recognition that this apparent conflict of interests is purely a function of the present government's economic policies and the associated divide-and-rule strategy. Many of these problems would resolve themselves if funding and administration were taken out of the hands of the MSC and returned to local democratically elected councils free to determine the content and scope of their own schemes in accordance with local demands. Schemes tailored to cater for these local demands need to be formulated and tested now (if only on a small and experimental scale) to counter future objections that they are for example 'impractical' or too expensive.

Finally, whilst a united front, displaying a healthy scepticism regarding government intentions and experienced to some degree in alternative more meaningful projects, is a necessary condition for improving the Youth and Community service's response to long-term unemployment, it is far from being sufficient condition. The divide-and-rule tactic can be, and often is, used to drive a wedge between the public at large and a minority group. One way this is rendered considerably more difficult for a government to achieve is by educating the wider public to appreciate the gross inadequacies of the present programmes and by awakening them to the possibilities of alternatives. Of course, none of this will guarantee that we can retain at least some of the remnants of the welfare state (ultimately, nothing can guarantee this from a government as powerful and determined as the present incumbents). However this is a very weak excuse for inaction. Some issues are worth fighting for whatever the odds and we would hope that many of the readers of this journal would concur that a better programme to help the victims of Thatcher's Britain was one such issue.

The authors would like to take this opportunity of thanking Richard Butler of Newton Aycliffe Youth Centre and Kevin Keasey of the Economics Department, Newcastle University for their many critical and constructive comments on previous drafts of this article.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. The proposals put forward in the budget speech proved unacceptable and the CP in its present form was not announced until 27th. July 1982.
2. The CP is also open to those under 25 years of age who have been unemployed for 6 months or more.
3. Much of the section on the relationship between the professional staff, the CP workers and the practical implementation of the scheme draws on one of the present writer's (Sean Dooney) personal experiences as a project manager of one such scheme. His discussions with participants in other projects leads us to believe that his experiences are by no means a-typical of the scheme as a whole. In addition, Robert Watson has been working closely with several CP workers in the University sector and was himself a participant in the forerunner of the CP the Community Enterprise Programme (CEP) and is, therefore, in a position to draw comparisons between the two schemes.
4. The figures for the regional breakdown have been taken from Hansard, 10-2-1984, p. 796. Written answers to questions from MPs.
5. See the revised Unemployment Unit Briefing No. 4 1982, for a comprehensive critique of the CP and the lame replies to this critique from the MSC (available from Unemployment Unit, 9, Poland Street, London W1V 3DG.)
6. For an account of the implementation of the CP, the opposition from the trade unions and the tactics employed by the MSC to side-step this opposition, see **Lamb K** Trade Unions and the Unemployed, Unemployment Unit Bulletin, No. 10 Nov 1983.
7. We do not mean to imply that there are no individual projects which provide any worthwhile training. The point that we wish to make is that the pressures of administering the scheme, the lack of specific funding for training and the difficulties of obtaining approval for training initiatives from the MSC (which tends to take a very narrow view of what is appropriate) are generally sufficient to put-off all but the most committed of managers. Where training is provided this is generally due solely to the tenacity and courage of individual managers and adequate training is in no way an integral aspect of the CP that can be guaranteed to continue.
8. We concur with the conclusion of the Unemployment Unit critique (see note 6) that the CP "is a thoroughly bad scheme which fails to meet the desperately urgent needs of the long-term unemployed". For a comparison with the CEP see **Tucker, S** The Report of a Study of Education and Training on the Community Enterprise Programme, Youthaid, April, 1984.
9. Inflation rates throughout the western world have been falling since 1980, therefore, it is not something that the government can claim credit for or which justifies their deflationary economic policies.
10. Without placing the development of the CP within the context of these wider objectives, government action would appear unintelligible or incompetent to a degree which even its opponents would find difficult to accept. Whilst we would agree that they are more dogmatic, authoritarian and ruthless than many, we have no reason to believe that the present government are any more (or less) foolish than previous regimes.
11. The name of Patrick Minford, professor of economics at Liverpool University, and Conservative Party Guru, is most closely associated with these views. For the non-economist, a short, easy-to-read exposition of some of the Minford 'workhouse economics' may be found in Unemployment Unit Bulletin No.2, 1984, "Has Thatcher's Guru Got Her Ear?"



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intermediate treatment - a critical appraisal

STEVE ROGOWSKI

This article argues that delinquency is a feature of youthfulness in modern capitalist society which is not improved by incarceration. Intermediate Treatment is not only a more humane and satisfactory response to the issue but can also become the medium for the development of a radical social work practice in relation to young people.

Intermediate Treatment (IT) is supported both by the left and the right of the political spectrum, the former seeing it as a humane method of managing delinquency in the community, the latter more concerned with it being a cheaper method of 'treating delinquents'. Introduced by the Children's and Young Person's Act 1969 (CYPA '69) it was hoped that the majority of juvenile offenders could be dealt with in the community by introducing them to interests, experiences and relationships which had been absent in the past. Undoubtedly, IT has arrived and many youngsters are engaged in it but increasingly youngsters are being incarcerated. This paper attempts to explain the development of IT and the paradoxical growth in incarceration. The work of Thorpe and his colleagues⁽¹⁾ at Lancaster University, influential to say the least in the development of IT, will be looked at. However, even if IT did emerge as a genuine alternative to incarceration as Thorpe propounds, seen from a Marxist perspective it is merely a more subtle method of social control perpetuating an unjust political, social and economic system, namely capitalism, which in turn is the root cause of delinquency itself. This somewhat pessimistic view cannot be dismissed lightly but I will tentatively and briefly outline a radical approach to IT which takes note of the Marxist criticisms while at the same time has some view of and aims towards, a future socialist society.

The distinction between child and adult offenders dates back to the eighteenth century. Until then children were generally regarded as miniature adults and treated as such, working in the mines, factories and agriculture and, if they committed crimes, they were dealt with in the same way as adult criminals. Various voluntary bodies campaigned for restrictions on child employment and also became concerned with child criminals linking age and deprivation as factors which argued against the full use of available penal sanctions. Instead more welfare orientated approaches aimed at reforming child offenders were initiated. Placement in small family cottages was common but later due to the advantages to be gained by economy and scale, more institutionalised placements developed. In the nineteenth century the state effectively took over the responsibility of

those reformatory schools and the Children's Act 1908 institutionalised the increasing separation of child and adult offenders by creating the juvenile court and the basic juvenile justice system of today. The Children's and Young Person's Act 1933 declared essentially that delinquent and deprived children were virtually indistinguishable and this was the position prior to the CYPA '69, which began to emerge with the Ingelby Committee⁽²⁾ in 1960.

Ingleby examined the working of the law in juvenile courts and the position of deprived children. It recommended that the age of criminal responsibility be raised from eight to twelve years and eventually to fourteen years and that below that age criminal prosecution should be replaced by some form of civil proceedings which required proof that the child was so deprived by his/her home circumstances that it was necessary to commit to the care of the local authority. Ingleby also advocated the creation of preventative child care services for poor families whose children were 'at risk' of delinquency. The Conservative Government was reluctant to move on these issues which amounted, to a large extent, to decriminalisation but eventually the Children and Young Persons Act 1963 raised the age of criminal responsibility to ten years.

The Labour party responded to the 1963 Act by forming a private committee chaired by Lord Longford and this recommended the abolition of the juvenile courts and advised the development of family services to deal informally with children in trouble. The 1965 White Paper⁽³⁾ echoed much of this thinking but its proposals were quickly dropped and in 1968 another White Paper⁽⁴⁾ continued the twin themes of decriminalisation and service provision. In particular the concept of IT was raised:

"Existing forms of treatment available to juvenile courts distinguish sharply between those which involve complete removal from home and those which do not. The juvenile courts have very difficult decisions to make in judging whether circumstances require the drastic step of taking a child away from its parents and home. The view has often been expressed that some form or forms of treatment should be available to the courts, allowing the child to remain in his own home but bringing him into contact with a different environment."

As an aside it is likely that two important arguments against the use of institutional methods of dealing with juvenile offenders played a part in influencing the 1968 White Paper. Thus there is the enormous cost of institutional placement,

now amounting to hundreds of pounds per child per week and then there is the ineffectiveness of such placements. Regarding this last point, the following neatly summarises the position:

"There is no evidence to support the argument that sending more young offenders to institutions would be beneficial in reducing juvenile crime. To take penal institutions first, borstals and detention centres have had little success: 73% of the young people leaving detention centres and 81% of those leaving borstals in 1974 reoffended within two years. So far as community homes with education (which replaced approved schools, following CYPA '69) are concerned it is worth recalling that 66% of those released from approved schools in 1963-67 were reconvicted. Although reconviction statistics for those leaving community homes with education are no longer kept, there is no reason to think that reconviction rates are likely to have dropped since then."⁽⁵⁾

The 1968 White Paper was quickly framed into statute and the result was the CYPA '69. This gave increased power and influence to social workers in as much as authority and discretion moved from the police and magistrates to them. This was in connection with attempts to divert juvenile offenders from prosecution by means of care proceedings or local action with teachers, parents and other bodies (S.5), diversion from custody by means of IT at the discretion of the supervisor (S.12) and giving virtually complete control over custodial placements in the event of a care order being made to the local authority (S.7 vii). However the incoming Conservative Government of 1970 lessened the impact of the Act in particular by refusing to implement the vital decriminalising Section 4 and 5, the former being intended to raise the age of criminal responsibility.

Even so, the CYPA '69 provided a basic legal and administrative framework for IT, with Section 19 placing a duty on children's regional planning committees (joint committees formed by groups of local authorities) to make arrangements for the provision of facilities for IT. Delinquency, as indicated, was seen to be related to deprivation and the aim of IT was to bring young people in trouble or 'at risk' of getting into trouble into contact with a healthier environment and opportunities for activities, interests and relationships which had been absent in the past, while at the same time enabling the young person to remain at home. However, little information was given about the actual form of IT and this led to a great deal of confusion⁽⁶⁾ and range of interpretation. Some children's regional planning committees saw IT as merely directing offenders to attend local youth clubs while others saw that specialist facilities were necessary. Some local authorities, largely as a result of committed, enthusiastic individuals, began to develop specialised social work in which small specific groups of young people in trouble or 'at risk' of offending were supervised in the community and gradually phased into available youth facilities. This latter approach⁽⁷⁾ has probably been the one adopted by most IT practitioners throughout the 1970s but as early as 1974 Paley and Thorpe had identified four broad categories of IT projects.⁽⁸⁾ These were (a) residential centres where groups of young people stayed for brief periods with case work also taking place with them and their families, (b) specific groups, to which I have just referred, (c) club type projects which are close to the conventional youth club with, apart from children in trouble referred by social workers, others, perhaps friends or self-referrals attending on a voluntary basis and (d) day centre projects enabling young

people to attend on a daily basis and receive education as well as engaging in new activities and interests. Paley and Thorpe then go on to argue⁽⁹⁾ that IT should consist of a "continuum of care" that is a range of facilities, offering supervision and intervention, between basic universal facilities such as conventional youth clubs and schools on the one hand and the full use of institutional care in the form of community homes with education, detention centre and borstals (now youth custody) on the other. A simple example of such a continuum might be (a) young people who have committed only one or two minor offences meeting weekly under the guidance of a social worker (b) more regular offenders with some truancy meeting three times a week under the guidance of a social worker and teacher and (c) persistent offenders who do not attend school meeting daily under the guidance of social workers and teachers, receiving remedial education as well as engaging in discussions, activities and interests as in (a) and (b). Developing such a range of facilities would it is argued, enable the vast majority of juvenile offenders to be dealt with in the community.

The question has to be asked then, what has happened since CYPA '69? IT has undoubtedly arrived but it has not meant that the number of young people in trouble being incarcerated has declined. On the contrary, the reverse is true. As the amount of money spent on IT has increased⁽¹⁰⁾ so has the number of youngsters being incarcerated. Thorpe and his colleagues quote figures derived from Home Office criminal statistics.⁽¹¹⁾ These show that there has been a decline in the use of community-based services for 10-13 year old males found guilty of indictable offences in England and Wales between 1965-77. This decline was in evidence prior to CYPA '69 but accelerated afterwards. While a third of those found guilty of indictable offences in 1965 were placed on probation by 1977 only one fifth were placed on supervision. It should be noted that after 1971 responsibility for offenders in this age group was passed from probation to social services departments. A similar picture emerges in the 14-17 age group with CYPA '69 seemingly only accelerating a trend that was in existence prior to it. In 1965 of all those found guilty of indictable offences in this age group only 2.4% went to detention centres and 1.5% to borstal but by 1977 these figures had increased to 7.3% for detention centres and 3.3% for borstals. Conversely supervision in the community decreased with 28.5% receiving probation orders in 1965 and only 15% receiving supervision in 1977. There is no evidence to suggest that these trends have altered in recent years. Indeed with the introduction of youth custody which replaced borstal, by the Criminal Justice Act 1982 it is likely that the trend towards incarceration has increased. In short, the CYPA '69 while designed to produce a shift in policy towards community-based methods of dealing with delinquency, in particular via IT, has produced an increase in custodial sentences.

This paradox, in terms of the apparent enthusiasm for community-based services like IT and yet more young people being incarcerated, seems to be reflected in official circles since CYPA '69. The recommendations of the 1976 White Paper took different directions. Many were concerned with improving and expanding custodial facilities and yet there was encouragement for "a major shift of emphasis towards non-residential care including supervision, intermediate treatment and fostering".⁽¹²⁾ Again the 1980 White Paper⁽¹³⁾ sought to reconcile the Conservative Government's view that the courts needed new custodial powers to treat some young offenders, with a general commitment to reduce the

number who received custodial sentences and who would be dealt with in the community. There was mention of residential care orders for juveniles who were in care as a result of offences but who had been allowed to stay at home by the social services department and then reoffended. Then there was the prospect of courts having the power to order a programme of events to be undertaken under a supervision order. Finally, it was suggested that community service orders be made available to sixteen year olds. As we all know most of these proposals have been included in the Criminal Justice Act 1982.

The paradox of enthusiasm for IT and yet increasing incarceration of juveniles needs some explanation before doing so two points ought to be noted about delinquency itself. Firstly, it can be argued that the committing of acts that can be labelled delinquent are a normal, transient part of adolescence in our society. Indeed, the 1968 White Paper states that "it is probably a minority of children who grow up without ever misbehaving in ways which may be contrary to the law"⁽¹⁴⁾. Secondly there is evidence that delinquency cannot be prevented or treated. For example Lerman writes "there is an array of evidence that current correctional packages regardless of their contents are relatively ineffective in changing youth behaviour"⁽¹⁵⁾. Other writers⁽¹⁶⁾ argue that most research has shown that programmes aimed at individuals who are delinquent or presumed to be specifically 'at risk' of offending have little effect.

Returning to the aforementioned paradox, I have discussed this elsewhere⁽¹⁷⁾ but briefly matters seem to come to a head in the late 1970s when the debate focused on whether IT should be aimed at 'at risk' young people or should concern itself with the 'heavy end' of the delinquency spectrum i.e. those youngsters who had committed offences thereby taking a significant step along a delinquent, perhaps subsequently criminal career. The argument was that while IT during the 1970s seemed to be dealing with young people who were felt to be 'at risk' of delinquency because of deprivation, youngsters at the 'heavy end' were increasingly being incarcerated. Furthermore, if youngsters who were involved in IT did subsequently offend, they were that much closer to being removed from the community as community supervision was seen to have already failed. Therefore the argument went that IT should concentrate on the most visible aspects of deprivation and delinquency, namely those young people who would otherwise be incarcerated, leaving 'at risk' young people to be dealt with by the education and youth services. In any case, as acts which can be labelled delinquent are normal and not precursors to adult crime (most young people literally grow out of delinquency), intervention designed to prevent such acts is simply not possible. However, it may be possible to do something about the consequences of such acts. That something is to lengthen the route to custody and to create various diversions along the way. If one can keep youngsters out of an institution until they are sixteen when statistically they have passed the delinquent phase, it is most unlikely that a criminal career will subsequently develop. Therefore IT becomes not a means of preventing or reducing delinquency but a means of managing officially defined delinquents, who are close to being incarcerated, in the community.

Much of this debate hinged around the work of Thorpe and his colleagues at Lancaster University. They have been engaged in a considerable amount of research into the juvenile justice system and among other things this

suggests⁽¹⁸⁾ that a considerable number of young people who are at present incarcerated could be managed in the community. They examined Section 1 and Section 7 (vii) care orders made under CYPA '69. The former enables the granting of a care order by magistrates after a care and control test has been applied to the young person concerned. The latter empowers magistrates to make care orders in the same way as their courts might pass a custodial sentence on an adult. For example in such a case there is no need for there to be consideration of alternative courses of action or of the child's demonstrated needs. Thorpe and his colleagues examined Section 7 (vii) care orders in various local authorities and a care and control test was applied to such orders. This test required that at least one of the following criteria be met before a young person was considered to be in need of institutional care, (a) the child was a danger to himself or others (b) the child had no home to go to or circumstances were such that it would be unreasonable to expect him live there or (c) the child had physical, medical, vocational or educational needs which could only be met in an institution. Something like 80% of the care orders examined revealed that using such criteria, the young person was inappropriately placed in institutional care. The severity of the offences leading to the granting of the care orders was also examined and revealed that the vast majority were offences against property and for a value of under £20. In addition the myth that it was of 'hard' magistrates who were locking up children against the wishes of 'soft' social workers was exploded as something like 75% of magistrates' decisions were in accordance with social workers' recommendations.

One possible reason why IT practitioners, should concentrate their efforts on 'at risk' young people while the 'heavy end' are being increasingly incarcerated is related to the link between deprivation and delinquency. As indicated this welfare orientation has been enshrined in legislation and a danger which few foresaw has come to fruition. This orientation provides justification for early and extensive intervention in the lives of young people - if delinquency reflects deprivation it is wrong to restrict the availability of treatment and compensatory experiences. On the contrary the net should be spread further in order to provide something constructive for the delinquent and those 'at risk'. However, such an excessive welfare consideration can lead for example, to a young person charged with a petty offence for which most adults would be dealt with leniently, being the subject of a disproportionate sentence i.e. a substantial interference in his/her life, even involving being taken away from home for prolonged periods, so that treatment can take place.

In addition, it can be argued that with the introduction of CYPA '69 what really happened was that a new system was grafted on to an old one and a new population of potential clients have been identified to ensure that both systems have plenty of work to do. The new system IT as it has developed has usually been concerned with younger, at risk children and aimed at preventing delinquency. Once such children appear in court they are rapidly processed to the older, penal system - social work via IT has failed. Therefore something else is needed. According to Thorpe et al seen from the vantage of the old system, "the new system extends its scope, its range of intervention and surveillance, down through the age groups and acts as a feeder mechanism for the courts and custodial institutions".⁽¹⁹⁾

In summary, the situation so far, at least as seen by some of

the more progressive elements in the IT field, suggests points can be made regarding the clientele of IT and the development of IT itself. As has been suggested, regarding the clients, the focus has been on younger, 'at risk' children thereby dragging more youngsters into the juvenile justice net with no impact being made on the numbers incarcerated. Essentially such a focus appears to be filling in gaps in the education and youth services and rather than pursuing this avenue IT should concern itself with those who are about to be incarcerated and should be seen as a genuine alternative to incarceration. Locking up young people is ineffective in terms of reoffence rates, it is expensive and not least, it is inhumane. IT on the other hand, while no evidence exists to suggest it is any more effective in preventing or reducing delinquency, is cheaper and again not least, is more humane. This leads to the second issue, the development of IT itself. If it is to be genuinely used as an alternative to incarceration it will have to have the support of the law and order lobby. This lobby quite obviously, is unlikely to accept that persistent offenders and truants can be dealt with by, for example, a weekly group meeting with a social worker. However it may accept daily attendance at a day centre under the guidance of social workers, teachers and other professionals with occasional residential experience as an alternative. This brings us back to Paley and Thorpes' 'continuum of care' and if IT were sufficiently developed to include a range of facilities then it is at least arguable that the vast majority of juvenile offenders could be dealt with in the community. Therefore, changes in attitude are needed at both management/local policy maker level and at IT practitioner level - the former to ensure that a range of facilities are developed and the latter to ensure that only those children who are about to be incarcerated are dealt with via IT. This could lead to a real impact being made on the numbers of young people in trouble being incarcerated, an intention after all of the CYPA '69.

A difficulty arises because even if the Thorpian analysis is adopted and increasingly many local authorities seem to be making attempts to deal with the 'heavy end' (though, it must be said, with seemingly no overall impact being made on the total number of juvenile offenders being incarcerated), problems remain in relation to issues raised by a Marxist perspective on IT and its function in society. Such a perspective casts serious doubts as to the validity of IT. In the remaining part of this paper I will examine this perspective and while the arguments propounded by the Marxists cannot be dismissed lightly, I hope to end on an optimistic note by tentatively and briefly outlining a radical or Marxist approach to IT.

A useful starting point would seem to be the Marxist view of the state and this has been succinctly summarised by Cockburn.⁽²⁰⁾ For her the Marxist theory of the state has three elements. It is historically specific to a mode of production, it is an element of class domination and it is repressive. The role of the state is to reproduce the conditions within which capitalist accumulation can take place and this involves two facets. The first contributes to capitalist production by, for example, buying, investing, regulating, and controlling and the second contributes to capitalist reproduction. Regarding this second facet the state is involved in reproducing the labour force through for education, housing, health and social services. It reproduces the relations of production both by repression in the form of for example the police, the army, and less overtly, social workers, and by ideology whereby a view of the world is inculcated in people

in order to bring about consent. The latter involves for example, schools, the churches, the family and, again, social workers in other words, the role of the state, of which social workers are part, is to ensure the profitability of big business both in a direct sense by intervening in the market and indirectly by ensuring that the relations that exist between different groups, essentially those with power and those without (the working class) are maintained from generation to generation.

Following Cockburn then, the position of social workers in general, as well as those and other workers involved in IT is a rather depressing one. They are merely engaged in buttressing an unjust political, social and economic system, capitalism, by inculcating in the youngsters they deal with the ideas and values of that system such as competitiveness, individualism. Thus, the very word 'Treatment' in relation to IT with its obvious tendency to medicalise the problem of juvenile delinquency usually in psychological and psychiatric terms, diverts attention from the structural determinants of delinquency - the inequalities of wealth and power inherent in capitalism. Taylor, Walton and Young write for example that, "the crime-producing features of contemporary capitalism are bound up with the inequalities and divisions in material production and ownership".⁽²¹⁾ In fact the very move to community - based methods of dealing with delinquency can be seen solely in terms of the present fiscal crisis of capitalism.⁽²²⁾

The position of IT proponents is then, somewhat bleak. Are they not, as indicated, merely agents of social control though admittedly in a more subtle way than incarceration. However, perhaps it is possible to outline a role for IT which takes into account the Marxist perspective and which does in fact have some view of a possible future socialist society. What follows then is a tentative outline for a radical IT.

Schur outlines⁽²³⁾ three models that dominate societal reactions to delinquency. The individual treatment model is based on psychological theories and assumes the differentness of offenders, the actual offence often being seen as a symptom of underlying psychological disturbance. The societal reaction is based on clinical research aimed at identifying pre-delinquents and subsequent individuals casework and counselling programmes. The liberal reform model is the sociological variant of the first model in that it sees the immediate cause of delinquency in 'structural or subcultural terms, uses anomie and status frustration theories and direct work at the 'street gang' or community level advocating piecemeal reform of, for example, education provision. Both of these models are the ones to which most current research and policy on delinquency is geared. Schur's third model is radical non-intervention with its stress on labelling theory, stigma, stereotyping and societal reactions together with a more radical reformist position. Delinquents are seen not as being different but rather they suffer from contingencies as to whether they are processed or not and the focus here is on the interaction with the social control system, decriminalisation and narrowing the scope of the juvenile courts jurisdiction. Behind all this is an implied commitment to increase society's accommodation to youthful diversity with the basic injunction being leave the kids alone wherever possible. Arguably further in the background is an implied commitment to radical social change.

It seems to me that radical non-intervention does point the

way forward for IT practitioners. In particular a number of sociological themes are taken note of, two of which seem to require elaboration here. The interactionist or labelling perspective on delinquency has been summarised by Becker, "deviance (in this context delinquency) is not the quality of the act a person commits but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an offender deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label."⁽²⁴⁾ The interactionist approach is concerned with the process by which some youngsters are labelled delinquent or 'at risk' of delinquency and some are not. The fact that a law has been broken does not, by itself, mean that others will respond as if this has happened. Similarly, the fact that a number of youngsters come from almost identical backgrounds does not mean that all will be defined as being 'at risk'. Being defined 'delinquent' or 'at risk' is not a simple quality but is the result of a selective labelling process.

The second important sociological theme is 'deviance amplification'. Briefly, this means that when significant definers (in the case of delinquency, examples are the police, magistrates, social workers and teachers) label or define a group of youngsters as deviant (again, in this context, 'delinquent') they tend to always see them in terms of that label and to react against them, so isolating and alienating them. As a result of this isolation and alienation, the group develops its own norms and values, which the definers perceive as more deviant than before. As a consequence of this perceived increase in deviance, the definers' reaction increases further, the group acts even more deviantly and a spiral of deviancy amplification occurs.

It might be useful to give an example of the labelling process and resulting deviancy amplification. If a policeman discovers an 11 year old boy stealing a packet of sweets the labelling process starts with possible negotiations taking place between the owner of the sweets, the policeman, his superior, the youngsters' parents and so on. A formal caution or appearance in court is possible and then if similar delinquent activities occur in that neighbourhood the youngster is likely to be suspected. As the committing of acts which can be labelled delinquent are the norm for adolescents in our society, the youngster has a fair chance of reappearing in court. Increasingly he will tend to see himself as delinquent and perhaps mix with others in a similar position. The significant definers will be very suspicious of this group and their behaviour is likely to be increasingly scrutinised resulting in further court appearances, heightened perceptions of delinquency by the group, increased reaction by definers and so on.

It is not difficult then to argue for radical non-intervention, thus not becoming involved as far as possible in the labelling process and its damaging consequences. This would appear to follow the arguments made earlier that IT should not be directed at 'at risk' youngsters, as all that is likely to result is the acceleration of the development of the delinquent and subsequently criminal career. However, there does come a stage when powerful forces in society demand that 'something is done' to youngsters who get into trouble and arguably this is where IT is relevant. When a youngster is about to be incarcerated, intervention in the form of IT seems appropriate. At least it is a more humane method of tackling delinquency when used as an alternative to incarceration and it is also a less damaging experience. However, the question arises as to whether this essentially Thorpian analysis has some view of a future socialist society or

whether it is merely a more subtle method of propping up capitalism. Perhaps, the latter is nearer the truth and radical non-intervention has to be further developed.

Cohen⁽²⁵⁾ refers to an article by Taylor in which the latter puts forward a strategy for radical social work in general which is not merely confined to delinquency. The argument is that social work clients should be accepted as political allies and the social worker should act as lawyer, organiser, information provider and the like in order to help fight the system that creates the problems. Involved in this is the idea of politicisation or consciousness raising and an example from my recent social work practice might be appropriate.

One of the main problems facing youngsters in contemporary capitalist society is unemployment. Attempts at alleviating this consist for example of various youth training schemes, talk of compulsory service to the community and staying on at school. The approach of many teachers, social workers, careers officers and others involved with unemployed youngsters is to explain the benefits of participating in the aforementioned schemes. Essentially this is selling the palliatives offered by present day society because after all, we are told, there are no alternatives. For radicals though there is an alternative and it is for them to transmit this to the youngsters they deal with.

I was involved with a group of nine youngsters who were nearing the end of their educational careers and were thus faced with the prospect of unemployment. Various discussions were held concerning this and included the involvement of a careers officer who explained about training schemes, 'signing on' procedures and the like. More significantly though, at least from a radical viewpoint, a representative from a local unemployment centre attended and attempts were made to explain the youngsters' predicament in terms of the present structure of capitalist society. This took place at a very basic level, explaining that their predicament does not have to be accepted and that society could be organised differently on more just and equal lines. There was also talk about possible strategies to become involved in, for example - unemployment groups, protest marches and rallies, and, if and when jobs are obtained, the necessity of being involved in trade unions.

Now all this may seem very naive and simplistic but a start has to be made. Social workers in general as well as IT practitioners are likely to come into contact with the most serious casualties of society and it seems to me they have responsibilities, as well as attempting to meet immediate needs, to work towards some future, socialist society. They can do this in their face to face work with youngsters in trouble as well as, of course, engaging in the struggle in other areas such as their own trade unions.

The combination of radical non-intervention and politicisation can be linked to the more orthodox systems theory of social work practice. Pincus and Minahan⁽²⁶⁾ adopt a systems approach to social work and argue that the social worker may clarify his/her purpose and relations with the people he/she deals with by classifying them as members of one or more types of system. These systems are; the change agent system, which is the worker and agency, the client system, which is the person(s) who ask for help or who are beneficiaries of the change agent, the target system, which are the people or structures which need to be changed in order to accomplish the goals of the change agent and the

action systems, which is the change agent and the people he/she works with and through in order to accomplish his/her goals and influence the target systems. One advantage of this model is that it widens the potential focus of social work activity, an obvious example being that the target system may be the client, other groups, the workers employing agency, other organisations and, of course, society itself. As far as IT is concerned, the target system will be, for example, the school and education systems, the youth service, the juvenile justice system and, again, society itself. The action system in pursuing this could include an individual casework approach but more likely will involve group and community work. The difficulties in pursuing this cannot be underestimated and there are obvious dangers for the worker of dismissal or on the other hand, incorporation thereby not changing anything. Nevertheless, I think it is possible to engage in radical social work in general and a radical IT in particular. Radical non-intervention, politicisation seen in relation to systems theory may point the way forward.

In our capitalist society there are always going to be demands that 'something is done' about delinquency. IT proponents and practitioners need to respond to those demands because if they do not the field is left open for those who may be concerned about delinquency to the exclusion of concern for the delinquent. IT itself cannot reduce the overall rates of delinquency as delinquency itself has its roots in the structure of society. However, it does have a role in the management of the delinquent career so as to avoid incarceration. This, seen in terms of radical non-intervention whenever possible, together with a view of a future, socialist society in the form of politicisation and both linked to systems theory, may perhaps lay the foundation for a radical IT.

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the extendable ladder: scotland's 16+ action plan

DAVID RAFFE

The Scottish Education Department's Sixteen Plus Action Plan is one of the most far-reaching educational reforms to appear in the last decade. Despite its implications for the restructuring of all 16+ provision it has received little attention in the rest of the UK. This article outlines the scope of the proposals, the background against which they emerged and the possible impact both in Scotland and elsewhere.

Introduction: the promise of the Action Plan

"Unanimous voice greets 16-18 curriculum reforms"⁽¹⁾

Unanimity among educationists is rare; unanimity in support of government policy even more so. The "unanimous voice" of the newspaper headline greeted the publication, in January 1983, of the Scottish Education Department's Action Plan (AP) for 16-18s. Admittedly, the voice was that of the relatively small elite of opinion-leaders in the Scottish educational policy community; but their views seemed, at least initially, to be widely shared among Scottish educationists.

The AP outlined some of the most far-reaching reforms ever proposed for Scottish education. All non-advanced courses in further education and all non-academic courses for 16-18s in schools, were to be replaced by a system of modular courses, assessed by a single certificate. Each module was to be of 40-hour length; students would have flexibility to construct their own work programmes by choosing appropriate combinations of modules. Some modules would correspond to the common elements of different pre-existing courses; others would be more specialist in nature. Colleges and schools in an area would rationalise provision, and students would be able to cross institutional boundaries in their choice of modules. Students would be able to pick up new modules, and leave or re-join the system, as convenient; the system would offer "a greater variety of entry and exit points". Assessment would be criterion-referenced and largely internal. The curriculum would need to be reformed, or at least rationalised, to match the proposed modular framework. The AP outlined a liberal philosophy of vocational education, based on the promise that "at this stage there should be no abandonment of broadly-based education" and that "the separation of education and training is a false one...The educational arguments will carry conviction only if they include sufficient practical and experimental activities to improve preparation for employment; the vocational arguments will carry conviction only if they are incorporated into a broadly-based educational system which

offers breadth and flexibility in employment prospects, opportunities for personal development and scope for leisure activities."⁽²⁾ The Plan's proposals were to be swiftly implemented. More than half of the eventual target of some 1200 modules for the new National Certificate were ready for the 1984/85 session.

Although more specific than many educational policy documents, the AP was able to offer something to please everybody. It promised to give coherence to the increasingly complex tangle of post-16 provision, to rationalise the use of resources by cutting out duplication across courses and across institutions, to make available new courses which schools and colleges could offer to growing numbers of 'less academic' pupils staying on beyond 16, and to increase students' options regarding the initial choice of course, subsequent changes of areas study and the mode and pacing of study. The emphasis on "general" modules, which could be used in programmes of study relating to a wide range of occupational areas, was compatible with the homogenisation of labour and the demand for a flexible workforce with general, transferable skills. More generally, the AP could be presented in terms that appealed both to the Right and to the Left of the educational policy spectrum. To the Right it offered, not only a more efficient use of resources, but also a framework within which vocational education could be developed and extended, particularly to 16-18 year-olds staying on at school. It also promised to enhance employers' control of the curriculum of employment-based courses, by enabling them to select only those modules that matched their demands;⁽³⁾ they were no longer required to accept (say) liberal studies as part of a 'packaged' group certificate course. To the Left, the AP offered a significant move in the direction of comprehensive post-16 education, which might eventually embrace the academic Higher grade course, the main Scottish qualification for university entrance. A leading educational journalist described this aspiration as follows "In the long term, HM Inspectors have a gleam in their eye. Not usually to spying the farther shores of radicalism, they see the opportunity of bringing together all post-16 certificates under one roof. In other words students at FE colleges pursuing modular courses in plumbing would gain a certificate with the same name as academically inclined school pupils deep in Cicero. The comprehensive ideal would move a significant step forwards."⁽⁴⁾

However, enticing as these promises may have been, they are not in themselves sufficient to account either for the

launch of the AP or for its reception. This article argues that these have to be seen in terms of specifically Scottish circumstances, in particular the desire, part nationalist and part educationist, to avoid being caught up in conflicts internal to England and Wales and to resist the expanding influence of the the MSC. Second, although it is too soon to attempt a thorough-going analysis of the AP in practice, the article outlines some possible elements of an eventual analysis, focussing particularly on the atomisation of knowledge and individualisation of the student experience entailed by the plan, and on the structural constraints on educational change.

Underlying this, the article has a further objective: to help readers, especially in England and Wales, to a better understanding of developments north of the border. Scotland has already helped to inspire examination reform at 16 in England and Wales,⁽⁵⁾ and the 16-18s AP is likely to be at least as influential. Yet educationists in England and Wales tend to be ill-informed about Scottish education - English readers of the Times Educational Supplement "learn a great deal more about education in China and the Republic of Ireland than they do about (the) Scottish system"⁽⁶⁾ - and when they try to learn from the Scottish experience their perspective often reflects English concerns, and typically embraces the myth more than the reality of Scottish education. This article offers an alternative perspective.

Background: pressures on 16-18 education

Many of the pressures which led to the 16-18s AP were similar to pressures experienced south of the border. The first was the effect of demographic trends. The number of 16-18 year-olds in Scotland began to fall in the early 1980s and was set to decline sharply towards the end of the decade. Many courses, and especially those which already covered a large proportion of their potential target group, were likely to lose numbers, and minority subjects were beginning to come under pressure. The SCE Higher grade examination, Scotland's nearest equivalent to the GCE A-level, was likely to be most affected.

The consequences were aggravated by a second pressure, from spending cutbacks. Although (as of 1981) the reduction in secondary teaching staff had been proportionately smaller than the reduction in pupil numbers, some minority subjects were again threatened.⁽⁷⁾

The third pressure was from unemployment and its consequences. As in the rest of Britain, youth unemployment in Scotland rose in the mid 1970s, but the greatest increase occurred in the early 1980s. In the spring of 1979, 66 per cent of the previous year's school leavers were employed, with half of the remainder in full-time further or higher education. Four years later the equivalent proportion was only 36 per cent.⁽⁸⁾ One consequence was an increase in the proportion of young people staying on at school.⁽⁹⁾ This was compounded by a growth in the number of 'Christmas leavers', pupils who were too young to leave at the end of the fourth year (the 'normal' leaving stage for 16-year old leavers) and had to stay on for an extra term.⁽¹⁰⁾ Post-compulsory schooling in Scotland had been almost exclusively 'academic' in focus, and this was slow to change.⁽¹¹⁾ Nevertheless from the late 1970s there was a growing demand for a broader range of post-compulsory courses in schools, and this put a strain on schools, already short of resources, whose energies were largely absorbed by preparations for the introduction, starting in 1984, of new courses for 14-16 year-olds.

Within non-advanced FE the rise in youth unemployment precipitated a decline in the number of traditional part-time day students, an increase in full-time enrolments and more generally a growth in MSC-funded courses.⁽¹²⁾ This stimulated a demand for new types of courses. Some of this demand was met by English-designed courses, but in 1982 a new Scottish Certificate of Vocational Studies (SCVS) was pioneered. In some respects the SCVS anticipated the AP - it offered a flexible, modular framework within which a new set of demands could be accommodated - and it was to be cited by the AP as one of the foundations on which to build.

A further pressure, also linked (if indirectly) with youth unemployment, was the changing climate of opinion which placed increasing emphasis on economic criteria as the justification for educational spending, generally reflected in a demand for more "vocationalism" in education. Although the English and Welsh "Great Debate" of 1976/7 had no precise counterpart in Scotland, many of the political pressures it reflected were British in scope.

The AP can be - and was - represented as a response to these several pressures. It offered coherence, a rationalisation of resource use, ways of maintaining or increasing the range of course choices, more flexible modes of study and a framework within which vocational education could be developed. Yet the response was far from automatic.

In 1979 the new government had issued a Consultative Paper on "16-18s in Scotland: The First Two Years of Post-Compulsory Education". This reflected many of the assumptions of its time. Increased participation in formal education was regarded as almost unproblematically desirable, and its value was seen as linked to, and perhaps enhanced by, youth unemployment. The document elided micro and macro levels of analysis: it implied that education, by helping individuals to gain jobs, might also increase the aggregate level of youth employment. Education might also forestall a deterioration in the "level of attainment" among the unemployed, which would otherwise lead to long-term unemployment resulting in "further disaffection from society leading to anti-social behaviour".⁽¹³⁾ The main focus of the Consultative Paper was on the delivery structures for 16-18 education, the institutional framework and the range of courses; it invited comments on how these might be modified in order to increase participation and to improve the employability of students.

As reported in the AP, the Consultative Paper "was well received and the responses reflected a desire for reform. They did not, however, reveal any consensus of opinion on the changes which were necessary to make better and more co-ordinated provision for the age group."⁽¹⁴⁾ Scotland has no Scottish equivalent of the Further Education Unit, and this may have impeded the development of consensus on curricular matters, although several commentators identified a need for more broadly based courses both in schools and colleges.⁽¹⁵⁾ Consensus on institutional reform was hindered by the natural defensiveness of institutions, especially schools, at a time of falling rolls and spending cuts. Nevertheless in 1981 Scotland's largest education authority, Strathclyde, published proposals for a network or consortium arrangement to accommodate all further and community education.⁽¹⁶⁾

For a long time, however, there was little sign of movement by central government. Indeed, when the SCVS (described

above) was proposed in January 1982, the response of the Scottish Education Department (SED) was luke-warm, expressing scepticism on the grounds that necessary resources were not available.⁽¹⁷⁾ Yet only a year later the SED published its own Action Plan, warmly commending the SCVS as an example of its proposed approach. What had been needed to tilt the balance between passivity and the AP was a realisation of the threat to the SED's control of education, arising from the MSC.

The Scottish Education Department and the MSC

Within educational circles in England and Wales, the MSC has often been seen as an alien intruder. It has been seen as an instrument for vocationalising the secondary school curriculum, and for imposing a relatively illiberal interpretation of vocationalism on further education.⁽¹⁸⁾ However the MSC's challenge has not, in the first instance, been curricular; indeed it is misleading to attribute a single curricular philosophy to the MSC, which has promoted a range of approaches in programmes such as the YTS and especially the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative. The immediate 'threat' posed by the MSC has been to the control of education rather than to the curriculum. In England and Wales the MSC has been used by the government as an instrument for increasing central control of secondary and FE. The irony of this is impressive: a quango, a corporatist body and a product of the Heath government, the MSC has had all the characteristics to make it anathema to the dirigiste Thatcher administration, yet it has rivalled even the Ministry of Defence as a growth area in public spending. The explanation lies partly in the organisational dynamism of the MSC, but more particularly in the fact that the MSC, mainly through the use of specific funding rather than block grants, has been used to overcome the resistance to central direction of a decentralised education system. In schools, colleges and local authorities, the MSC's expanding role has been experienced primarily as a threat to local or institutional autonomy, and to financial management at a time when this is already burdened with problems caused by declining rolls and spending cuts.

Not for the first time Scotland has been caught up in an internal English conflict. The Scottish educational system is more centralised than that of England and Wales, and small enough for local initiatives to be developed and disseminated through the centre.⁽¹⁹⁾ There is a single association of local authorities, and a single schools examination board, an important instrument of central control. With respect to FE, the external assessment and examining role of SCOTBEC and SCOTEC has allowed greater scope for centrally-led innovation than the more validation-oriented roles of BEC and TEC, their former equivalents south of the border.⁽²⁰⁾ Scottish education, much more than that of England and Wales, has the capacity for swift and uniform change led from the centre; from the government's point of view, therefore, there has been no 'need' to use the MSC as an instrument for educational change in Scotland.

Yet the MSC has always been a British body, and until recently there was little differentiation of MSC policy with respect to different circumstances north and south of the border. In 1981 a Scottish Office official explained the position (in the context of YOP) thus: "The overall framework is a GB framework...but when it comes to the implementation of the programme with Scotland, then the MSC will take account of the local position in each area of Scotland."⁽²¹⁾ In other words, any differentiation of MSC policy

occurred at a local, rather than a national (Scottish) level. Since 'British' policies have usually been designed in the light of English circumstances, Scotland risked being caught up in the struggle for control south of the border.

This is not to say that the SED has been powerless in its relations with MSC. Indeed, these relations have widely been felt to be closer and more constructive than those between MSC and DES south of the border. The SED's hand has been strengthened by two factors. First, the very marginality of Scotland has meant that policies designed with England and Wales in mind may need to be adapted to suit Scottish circumstances or Scottish institutions; the MSC has accepted the SED's role in this process of adaptation, partly because its (the MSC's) own energies have been absorbed by problems south of the border, and partly because the SED has been able, more than the DES, to deliver on educational issues. Second, since 1977 the MSC has been accountable to the Secretary of State for Scotland with respect to its Scottish activities "to the extent that it is possible to distinguish a specific territorial dimension to them".⁽²²⁾ This has greatly strengthened the position of the SED which, as a department of the Scottish Office, has more direct access to the Secretary of State than does the MSC.

However, these two factors could only strengthen the SED's position under certain conditions: Scottish circumstances and institutions must be clearly different from those of England and Wales; the "specific territorial dimension" must be apparent; and, to win the political argument, the SED must show that it is capable of achieving the same kinds of policy change without the use of an agency such as the MSC. The Action Plan was the means for satisfying all three conditions.

The launch and reception of the Action Plan

It is hard to identify a specific stimulus to action, but the New Training Initiative marked an intensification of the MSC 'threat'.⁽²³⁾ Not only did it promise to convert the temporary unemployment-based courses that had developed under YOP into a permanent framework of provision, but following the 1982 Youth Task Group Report, it promised to cover much of what remained of employment-based education.⁽²⁴⁾ The involvement of the MSC with the City and Guilds of London Institute (CGLI) in the development of profiling systems posed an additional threat to Scottish control.⁽²⁵⁾

In the early summer of 1982 a single Chief Inspector was given overall responsibility for all 16-18 year-olds, replacing the previous separation of the Scottish Inspectorate into school and FE branches. A few weeks later it was intimated that a ministerial statement would be made towards the end of 1982.⁽²⁶⁾ The AP was eventually published in January 1983.

The Scottish dimension was clearly linked in the Plan to the issue of control: "Because he has combined responsibility for the education service and the MSC, the Secretary of State (for Scotland) is uniquely well-placed to ensure an integrated approach to the whole field of education and training for the 16-18 age group in Scotland".⁽²⁷⁾ The message was not lost on the Plan's audience. Their reactions reflected both **educationist** fears of a MSC takeover - with the attendant perceived threats to educational values and educational control - and **nationalist** fears of an English takeover of large areas of post-16 (and even 14-16) education. The largest teachers union hailed the plan as a "vigorous reasser-

tion of the integrity and worth of the Scottish educational system and a determination to resist the encroachment of outside bodies, particularly the MSC".⁽²⁸⁾ Other educational bodies gave the plan a warm reception.⁽²⁹⁾ The plan coincided with, and in part stimulated, a rediscovery - at least, a reassertion - of the "Scottish tradition" of broad general education. For example the main report of the Education for the Industrial Society Project (the nearest Scottish equivalent to the Schools Council Industry Project) listed the various components of "vocational education" and concluded that "in summary, what is required is a broad, general education fully in keeping with the Scottish tradition".⁽³⁰⁾

The validity of the appeal to this tradition may be questioned. One can discern at least three Scottish traditions of general education: a nineteenth-century one, based on a view of education as embracing work and subsuming the professional and vocational, a more watered-down twentieth-century one which has looked for balance across the elements of a subject-based curriculum, and the proposals of the 1963 Brunton Report (never widely adopted) to use the 'vocational impulse' as a source of motivation in a curriculum which nevertheless avoided occupationally specific training.⁽³¹⁾ The first of these traditions applied to an academic elite selected through a contest model of mobility, the second and third applied respectively to the top and bottom tiers of a bipartite system; none of these traditions corresponds to the kind of comprehensive system indicated, at least in aspiration, by the AP, and none of them has roots in the FE sector.

However, such objections do not invalidate the strength of the appeal to the Scottish tradition, or the reassertion of control that this indicated. The first signs had come in autumn 1982, when the Scottish Office swiftly rejected any involvement in the proposed Technical and Vocational Education Initiative, on the grounds that reforms were already in progress for 14-16s, and were about to be announced for 16-18s. Scotland entered the scheme, largely for financial reasons, a year later when more Scottish 14-16 and 16-18 courses were available to be used in it. A clearer indication came in January 1984, when Scotland was specifically excluded from proposals, in the **Training for Jobs White Paper**, to give the MSC control over 25 per cent of funding for non-advanced vocational FE.⁽³²⁾ The Secretary of State for Scotland announced that he would continue to work to the same end of improving training, "but in ways which are appropriate to our distinctive education system".⁽³³⁾ The White Paper proposals nevertheless increased the sense of urgency of those trying to implement the AP. A senior official of Strathclyde Region, whose consortium arrangements met with local opposition, warned that "successful implementation of the AP is essential if Scotland is to avoid the transfer of funding of this level of education to the MSC".⁽³⁴⁾

Above all, the AP has preserved for the SED a considerable stake in the YTS. The flexible modular structure was designed so that YTS trainees could take modules during their 13 weeks off-the-job education or training, keeping this part of the scheme under Scottish control. A quarter of the students taking modules in 1984/5 were YTS trainees. The modular system also encourages trainees leaving YTS to progress into continuing full- or part-time education, building on the modules already completed. This feature is particularly welcome to the MSC itself, which can argue that

early leavers from YTS may still have gained something of lasting value in terms of education or training. As a result the AP has had a considerable impact on the development of YTS in Scotland, forcing a significant differentiation of the scheme relative to England and Wales. A similar point applies to the MSC's Adult Training Strategy, for which AP modules can be used; the 16-18s AP has, over time, become known instead as the 16-plus AP. The responsiveness of the MSC to the situation created by the AP is indicated by the appointment early in 1984 of James Munn, a prominent educationist and chair of the Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, as chair of the MSC Committee for Scotland. Through the AP the SED regained the initiative in 16-18 education, and forced a greater degree of differentiation of MSC policies north and south of the border than had previously existed.

Implementation

Implementation of the AP has been swift. More than 700 of the 1200 modules for the National Certificate were available for the new session which began in August 1984, 19 months after publication of the Plan. By contrast, also introduced in the same session were the first of the new Standard grade courses for 14-16s, the result of proposals published seven years earlier in 1977.⁽³⁵⁾ The speedier implementation of the AP reflects not only the greater responsiveness and flexibility of FE compared to schools, but also the sense of urgency instilled by the MSC reforms, and the need to keep at least one step ahead of them. It also reflects the degree of central direction of the reforms. These were led by a Departmental Unit Executive Group (DUEG) supported by three Task Groups (on Curriculum and Assessment, Teacher Education and Guidance) and four Development Teams covering broad subject areas. The latter were in turn supported by more narrowly-focussed Short-Life Working Groups in the design of modules. However the DUEG, whose membership was internal to the SED and composed largely of the Inspectorate, retained executive control; the role of the Task Groups was advisory.⁽³⁶⁾

Control was to be exercised through the publication of module descriptors, which outlined objectives and learning outcomes for each module in terms of tightly defined 'performance criteria'. Module descriptors also indicate the type of module, preferred entry level, content and context, teaching and learning approaches and assessment procedures.⁽³⁷⁾ The main limitation on central control in the development stage arose from the need for Development Officers and Short-Life Working Groups to design hundreds of modules in a very short period, whereas draft guidelines on curriculum and assessment were not published until February 1984. To at least one participant, this appeared to make the whole process somewhat arbitrary. "Many of the module descriptors are of poor quality and not at all well thought out. Indeed, as someone who was part of a SLWG involved in fleshing out Industrial Relations Modules, I know that in writing the performance criteria, scant attention was given to the quality of these, the emphasis was on meeting a specified deadline. Members of the group were literally picking performance criteria out of the air and instantly committing these to paper without even a second thought."⁽³⁸⁾

The other main limitation of SED control has come from south of the border: the CGLI has resisted proposals to incorporate its courses within the Scottish-controlled National Certificate.

Subject to these limitations, the learning outcomes and performance criteria have been the main instruments of SED control. In the words of the current chairman of DUEG, "the learning outcomes and performance criteria are prescribed, but there is considerable freedom of selection of content, teaching approach and assessment procedure. This mirrors the traditional and generally creative tension between the national and the local in Scottish education."⁽³⁹⁾ However, local authorities have been able to determine the institutional framework for delivery, and this has varied, with some local authorities moving much further than others towards consortium arrangements involving schools and colleges.⁽⁴⁰⁾ In some authorities this pooling of resources has affected Higher grade (A-level equivalent) courses as well as the modules provided directly under the AP; pupils have been 'bussed' between schools to take minority subjects at Higher grade. Paradoxically it is this - apparently marginal - aspect of the plan that in 1984 attracted most public opposition and media attention; 'public opinion' tends to be aroused only by changes to the more elite levels of education. However, there is also a legitimate fear, that a plan which in some respects moves towards a comprehensive system of 16-18 education may simultaneously threaten the viability of the comprehensive school, particularly in areas most affected by falling rolls.

Towards an analysis

At least two general themes supply possible starting points for analyses of the AP in Scotland or of any similar reform in England and Wales. The themes identify pressures which are to some extent in conflict with each other. The first follows from the modular approach of the AP and concerns the consequent atomisation of knowledge, with its epistemological and social implications, and the individualisation of the learning experience; this in turn has implications for occupational socialisation and for the ideological aspects of education. However, neither educational differentiation, nor its social and political corollaries, can be abolished merely by government decree. The second theme concerns the various impulses towards structure which are found in the educational system and in its context, and the ways in which these might shape or constrain the direction of the reforms.

One aspect of the atomisation of knowledge has implications for the political objective of the AP discussed above. The plan is designed to be compatible with other initiatives in vocational education and training, particularly YTS. Yet the philosophy of YTS is holistic, and may conflict with the atomistic view of knowledge entailed in the plan's modular system. Implicit in the plan is the view that the same collection of modules will yield the same 'educational' experience regardless of the period of time over which they are covered, and regardless of other relevant experiences in work or employment during this period. This contrasts with YTS, where the integration of different types of experience is central to the philosophy of the scheme if not always to its practice. Paradoxically, the explicit philosophy of the AP favours a broad, general view of education, but its structures may instead sustain a much more bureaucratic, credentialist view of education as modules-to-be-completed. Moreover, the plan's philosophy of general education may be contradicted in practice by its modular structure, which enables employers (or students) to select the modules they want; many employers may choose only the more occupationally specific modules, and resist the notion that 'education' (as distinct from 'training') should be provided in the employer's time and at the employer's expense.

The implications of atomisation depend also upon the social organisation of schools and colleges. Any modular curriculum poses problems regarding "cohesion, progression and the inter-relationship between modules".⁽⁴¹⁾ Achieving these requires some set of integrating principles or ideology, which, almost by definition, cannot be represented within a single module and may remain part of the hidden curriculum. The nature of this ideology, should it develop, is of great importance for the eventual impact of the AP; moreover, the very development of an integrating ideology is highly problematic, since it would have to be common, not only to the disparate departments of a college of FE but also to both schools and colleges. Observers of the plan in action need to study, not only the consequences for the structuring of knowledge, but also its interaction with the professional identities, ideologies and practices of school and college teachers and the organisation in which they work.⁽⁴²⁾

Associated with the atomisation of knowledge, and with equally profound if unexpected implications, is the increased individualisation of education represented by the AP. This is reflected, both in the nature of the student experience, and in the ideology of educational mobility embodied in and reinforced by, the new structure. With respect to the student experience, under the modular system it can "no longer be assumed that the students in a teaching group will be there for the full session or are all there for the same reason... Teachers are therefore working with mixed groups whose composition changes every 40 hours, and this gives much less time for getting to know the students, helping them work together, welding their identification with a chosen job or industry".⁽⁴³⁾ Several writers have commented on the part played by traditional FE in the occupational socialisation of young workers.⁽⁴⁴⁾ This process has usually been founded on two premises: that students identify with, and are indeed already engaged in, specific occupations; and that students are taught in relatively stable groups, as the bases around which occupationally related perceptions, expectations, and identities can develop. Youth unemployment has invalidated the first of these premises with respect to "non-traditional" FE; the AP, at least if taken to extremes, threatens to invalidate the second premise with respect to both traditional and non-traditional FE. By individualising the student experience, the AP may undermine the occupational socialisation process in FE.

The AP may also have implications for ideologies of education and mobility, and consequently for the social control of young people, especially the unemployed and those facing the prospect of unemployment. These considerations are suggested by Turner's analysis of 'contest' and 'sponsored' systems of educational selection.⁽⁴⁵⁾ In contest systems selection decisions are postponed, and the bases for selection are less clearly prescribed, whereas in systems of sponsored mobility future members of the elite are identified at an early stage and given separate educational preparation for their future roles. In Turner's analysis educational selection determines access to the elite; in the present context the crucial variable is access, not to the elite, but rather to 'normal' society as indicated by stable employment. Yet several aspects of Turner's analysis are echoed in the AP reforms. Contest principles have traditionally been stronger in Scotland than in England (Turner's example of a sponsorship system), at least with respect to secondary and higher education;⁽⁴⁶⁾ in some respects the AP extends these principles to further (and other 16-18) education.

Turner's analysis is essentially about the norms, rather than the structures, associated with each model. He suggests, for example, that sponsorship norms tend to be preoccupied with the efficiency of educational selection and with minimising the "wastage of ability", whereas contest norms tend to emphasise the motivation of students.⁽⁴⁷⁾ A move from sponsorship to contest might therefore reflect both the current surplus of labour, which makes efficient selection less critical, and the emphasis on the motivation and personal qualities of young workers which has dominated much recent official thinking.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Contest norms tend to value education in terms of its "practical" benefits, with a largely vocational emphasis;⁽⁴⁹⁾ this too is echoed in recent official thinking. Turner also suggests that if it is to maintain social control "a contest system must avoid absolute points of selection for mobility and immobility and must delay clear recognition of the realities of the situation until the individual is too committed to the system to change radically. A futuristic orientation cannot, of course, be inculcated successfully in all members of lower strata, but sufficient internalization of a norm of ambition tends to leave the unambitious as individual deviants and to forestall the latter's formation of a genuine subcultural group able to offer collective threat to the established system."⁽⁵⁰⁾ The AP offers to unemployed young people an educational route to the joining, or re-joining, of adult society. The flexible modular system "avoids absolute points of selection" by extending, at least in principle access to this route, its length and the time that the student can spend on it. Rather than the old fixed educational ladder of mobility to the elite, AP promises an infinitely extendable ladder offering access to stable employment.

However, this promise of the AP cannot always be fulfilled. Tinkering with the supply side of the labour market cannot correct a deficiency of demand; reforms of education cannot create new jobs on aggregate, however much they may help particular individuals at the expense of others in a competitive market. At most the AP can prolong the period in which this competition is mediated through the education system, during which individuals have a continuing motive for compliance. But even in these individualistic, competitive terms, the AP's ability to fulfill its promise (to offer a means whereby individuals can improve their job prospects) may be limited. The extendable ladder will not help people to gain access to a building all of whose entrances are on the ground floor. The AP may increase flexibility within the education system, but its wider promise cannot be fulfilled while it articulates with a labour market whose recruitment practices are made inflexible by age restrictions, by internal labour markets with restricted ports of entry and by arbitrary methods and criteria of selection.

This brings us to the second analytical theme. In the words of one commentator, "modules provide too facile an answer to the immense structural impediments to the reform of the post-compulsory curriculum. Describing as they do the elements of a course that may be assembled in a multiplicity of ways, 'modules' seem magically to dispose of the problems of difficulty, selection and motivation. In the abstract they do...in practice (and in theory), however, modules will not randomly connect one with another; nor will they be randomly or universally provided for all students".⁽⁵¹⁾ The apparent abolition by the AP of structural constraints upon educational change is largely illusory.

One immediate set of constraints arises out of the practical exigencies of timetabling combined with problems of travel-

ling between institutions offering different modules. The flexibility offered by the AP, impressive as it looks on paper, may be less impressive in practice. A strict criterion-referencing approach to assessment⁽⁵²⁾ may compound this inflexibility if, for example, a student fails to complete one of a sequence of modules which is not to be repeated until the next session. Moreover, the scope for rationalisation implicit in the modular approach has proved smaller than originally anticipated. There is less common ground across different occupational areas than originally hoped; the total number of modules is greater than had been expected, with many areas covered largely through their own specialist modules.⁽⁵³⁾ Among other things this may weaken the pull, discussed above, towards the ideological and social integration of different departments in schools and colleges.

More fundamental constraints arise out of the context of 16-18 education, in particular its structure of selection and differentiation and its relation to selection and to differentiation in the labour market or higher education.⁽⁵⁴⁾ The experience of the comprehensive reorganisation of secondary education has shown how abolishing formal educational labels can of itself neither remove educational differentiation nor achieve parity of esteem among different elements of the curriculum, within a education system whose 'selective function' is salient. Yet this function may be enhanced under a contest system of mobility.⁽⁵⁵⁾ As with comprehensive secondary education the effect may be to undermine the goals implicit in the reforms.

The universities, in their role as selectors, have a constraining influence on the development of the AP. They have resisted the incorporation of the academic Higher grade courses into the new modular structure, partly on account of the large element of internal assessment of AP modules.⁽⁵⁶⁾ A precondition for this incorporation - the creation of a single examination board to cover both school and FE courses - awaits ministerial decision and this is unlikely for some time; in the mean time the two FE bodies - SCOTBEC and SCOTEC - are proceeding with their own, already delayed, merger. While the Higher grade remains outside it, the AP offers a comprehensive system that is only two-thirds complete (and therefore not comprehensive); of the tripartite tertiary system of academic, specific vocational and general vocational education, the AP will only have covered the last two elements.⁽⁵⁷⁾

The role played by education in selection for employment may also distort or constrain the direction of the reforms, although this does not necessarily mean a simple strengthening of the influence of the 'needs of industry'. The effect may often be to reinforce traditional educational status distinctions, as employers seek indicators of general attainment levels rather than of specific curricular content. If the detailed certification of the AP proves confusing to employers, they might rely more upon traditional curricular indicators of attainment, reinforcing rather than weakening the kinds of status distinction within education which the Plan is intended to erode.

Conclusion

The analysis outlined above is necessarily tentative and provisional. The development of the AP model in Scotland is not yet complete. At the time of writing, several hundred modules have yet to be introduced; the incorporation of CGLI courses into the new modular system (resisted by CGLI which fears losing its Scottish market) is not finally

agreed; the development of modules in schools, already preoccupied with 14-16 reforms, is at an early stage; and the issue of privatisation - the availability of modules in private colleges, necessary if the AP is fully to embrace YTS - is not finally resolved. Above all, it has yet to be decided whether and when to incorporate the academic Higher grade courses into the new modular system.

It is therefore too early to assess the eventual impact of the AP reforms. It would seem to be even more premature to guess at the likely impact of a similar model introduced south of the border. In part this is because of the model's flexibility; part of the AP's appeal lies in its apparent ability to offer something to all shades of political and educational opinion. A version exported to England and Wales might draw selectively on these elements, or at least with differences of emphasis. It might emphasise, for example, the rationalisation of resource use and the enhancement of vocational education, and play down the aspirations to a comprehensive system or the notion of a broad education. Even in Scotland it is still not clear which of the many promises of the AP will be emphasised in practice.

Moreover, the origins and impact of the AP owe much to specifically Scottish circumstances; not all aspects of the Scottish experience can be generalised to England and Wales. For example, in Scotland the AP was warmly received at least partly because it was perceived as an alternative to MSC control; a similar plan introduced in England and Wales by the MSC itself might produce a very different response. Indeed the degree of central control and direction that has characterised the AP in Scotland would probably be widely resisted south of the border, whether exercised by the MSC or the DES. The impact of an AP model in England and Wales would depend critically on whether the model had to be adapted radically to fit in with the less centralised system south of the border, or whether it was introduced precisely in order to increase the central control and co-ordination of the system.

Nevertheless, the Scottish experience is likely to be influential south of the border. Although in Scotland the AP was introduced partly to pre-empt an MSC takeover, the MSC may itself spread the plan's influence to the rest of Britain. When Geoffrey Holland recently outlined a 'new deal' for education and training up to age 18, he instanced Scotland as a source from which to learn.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Those in England and Wales with an interest in policies for youth will need to be aware, more than before, of Scottish developments, and will also need to judge how the lessons of the Scottish experience might be applied south of the border.

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freedom & equality in alternatives to unemployment

DAVID MARSLAND

This article argues that Community Service, introduced as a radical response to structural youth unemployment, would have an added advantage of undermining the inequality of young women.

Youth unemployment is now manifestly large-scale, deep-seated and structural in nature. Among the 16-24 age group, long-term unemployment has persistently increased since the recession began. Even if general unemployment levels decrease significantly as the economy begins to grow again, it seems unlikely that without radical changes in wage relativities, in labour market structure and in the attitudes of employers and trade unions, young people will benefit more than marginally.⁽¹⁾

It is no exaggeration to suggest that youth employment constitutes a major structural crisis in Britain and for all of the major liberal democracies. The pattern, its causes and its effects are similar throughout Europe.

Acknowledgement of the problem, in Britain as elsewhere has been slow and responses to the crisis have so far been piece-meal and inadequate. Young people have been encouraged to stay on longer in secondary and tertiary education but without much sign of the innovative approaches which are necessary to effectively help these new kinds of students. Special schemes such as the Youth Opportunities Programme and the Youth Training Scheme provided through the Manpower Services Commission have been established and large sums of money expended to keep young people out of the labour market proper but these are for one year at most and thus merely postpone the problem. Employers have been given financial encouragements to take on young people but without sufficient recognition of the longer term damage to the labour market and to young people's interests in particular which may be caused by the distorting effects of subsidies.⁽²⁾

In my opinion none of these approaches are adequate. We need urgently a radical re-construction nationwide of the whole way society handles young people.⁽³⁾ As Dahrendorf suggests the role of youth in modern society is fundamentally awry and some innovative re-structuring of the relations between education, training, employment and service to the community by young people is imperative.⁽⁴⁾

Until some such development is set in train, society and young people in particular, have to face up to the problem of

youth unemployment and the crisis in relations between age groups which it constitutes and symbolises. Among the worst consequences of this situation are **the limitations on the freedom of young people** which it imposes and the exaggerated scope it provides for the operation of **inequalities between young people of different types**.

Many different grounds of inequality are in play for example based upon education, class, religion, race and sex. All these are important, but here I focus on the last of them and examine the impact of sexual and gender differentiation on freedom and equality in relation to employment and unemployment.

In an earlier study I have shown that in relation to the Youth Service, one of the few public services specifically established to help young people with their problems young women feel that their needs and aspirations are inadequately catered for by comparison with those of young men.⁽⁵⁾

Here I explore the dangers of such prejudices affecting the whole range of female opportunities within the various alternatives to unemployment presently available.

Access to work

The importance of women's formal legal and political equality with men in the liberal democracies cannot be overstated. It has been secured only in very recent history and after much struggle. In many parts even of the modernised world it has not yet been achieved even today, nor of course in large parts of the developing world. In some areas the impact of certain religions and ideologies is causing retrogression to a pattern of social relations within which women's subordination and exclusion from legal and political rights is restored and spuriously legitimated.

Nevertheless outside of the formal arena of politics and law, women's social position remains in Britain as elsewhere thoroughly problematical. This applies especially in relation to employment work. There can be little doubt that in the current context of persisting high levels of unemployment we are unlikely, unless we are very careful and firm, to avoid the effects of cultural ambivalence about women working. Given the weak position of young people in the labour market generally this is likely to affect **young women** particularly.

Widespread feelings about the special responsibilities of young men to support families are likely to have an impact on recruitment policies and procedures. The fact that unemployed young men are more likely than young women to express their disatisfactions and frustrations in anti-social behaviour from petty crime to street rioting, is very likely to encourage one-sided recruitment simply to minimise trouble. Persisting tendencies to protect and insulate young women by comparison with their brothers are likely to jeopardise women's opportunities where job-seeking necessitates travel and especially residence outside the immediate locality of the family home.

Even the fact that much of the old work which is being destroyed during the recession is manual, physical, tough and traditionally defined as masculine, whereas much of the new work being created by technological change is white-collar, clean and within the parameters of what has until recently been construed as female work, will not necessarily help much. Suddenly it seems young women's traditional keyboard skills have become unisex and therefore legitimate game for male poaching now that the micro-computer is replacing the typewriter. As manufacturing declines and service industries expand to replace it we suddenly find young men taking over whole tracts of work traditionally reserved for women in nursing, teaching and the social services.

Unless cultural ambivalence is to be translated by default into sexual exploitation - apartheid we shall have to reassess, in the context of our legal commitment to equality of opportunity, how far we are prepared to tolerate de facto inequality in access to work and what can be done to prevent old established ideas overwhelming new principles.

The family trap: the parental home

Discussions of the difficulties of young women from the Asian community in Britain give the impression that the problems they face are uniquely theirs. In fact they are merely an exaggeration of problems shared by most young women.

The age-old double standard still rules the everyday world, even where liberal talk about equality is taken for granted. The freedoms assumed by young men, vis a vis access to family finances, time away from home, obligations for family work, choice of friends and sexual behaviour have to be fought for hard by most young women. In many cases these battles are lost and in very few is overall equality with men ever securely and once and for all achieved.

In traditional working class communities including the inner cities where youth unemployment is at its worst, gross inequalities in these respects persist. They commonly still take the same primitive form as was so vividly described in Henriques' famous study of a mining town.⁽⁶⁾ While even in the leafy suburbs of the south east young women are still presumed, as young men are not, to belong years after they have ceased to be children to their families, with neither the same needs nor the same rights as their brothers to abandon the family home, unless and until through marriage they have a legitimate alternative home to go to.

In consequence the family home constitutes for young women a trap which is not easily sprung even where employment opportunities are good. With youth unemployment at high levels there is a grave danger that young women in large

numbers will simply withdraw from the competitive stress of the labour market into the protected but limited and constraining milieu of the family home. They will occupy their time in return for pocket money in domestic work.

Such a trend might even be received with public approbation, construed as representing somehow a strengthening of the family, while simultaneously reducing the problem of youth unemployment at minimum cost.

However the price would actually be very high in terms of principles and practicalities alike. It would entail both reversal of our commitment to equality and the loss of talents and skills which the economy desperately needs. Unemployment must not be allowed to become an excuse for re-burying young women in the prison home of the traditional family.

The family trap: marriage and children

The second trap is the fire to the frying pan constituted by the first. Large numbers of young women in the categories most affected by the unemployment are married while still teenagers. Among these a very large proportion are pregnant at the time of marriage. Few of these marriages turn out to be permanent.

Early marriage provides an escape from subjugation in the parental family and a dream more or less realistic depending on the situation, of a new life. However it serves precisely the same function objectively as the parental family trap in reducing the competition young men have to face in the labour market.

Youth employment seems likely to increase these dangers. To the powerful pressures of the peer group and the media on young women to find their man the tempting promise of escape from unemployment is now added. At a stroke, an empty, purposeless life can be apparently transformed into a meaningful, honourable future and by the same token the level of youth unemployment is reduced by the instant translation of unemployed young women into housewives employed within the domestic economy.

This second family trap is perhaps even more dangerous and damaging than the first. For its effects are more long term and its influence is more insidious since it apparently promises a future, while in reality merely reproducing the past.

Parents, schools, the youth service and the community as a whole have a large and difficult responsibility for counselling young women wisely and effectively against these dangers.

Education: Separate and unequal.

Even in times of full employment the education system largely reproduces culturally given inequalities between the sexes. Despite some changes in the past twenty years males tend to stay longer in education than females, to attend more prestigious institutions and to take courses and choose disciplines with better paid and higher status employment outcomes.

With increased competition in the schools and colleges caused by lowered labour demand at all levels, these effects are likely to be further exacerbated. Despite evidence that level for level, girls are more successful than boys in academic work, increased involvement in education is

unlikely without changes in its organisation and structure, to have anything other than a negative effect on young women's employment prospects. Every gain by women is likely to be matched and bettered by men. So the system works. In particular women are likely to find themselves for a variety of deep-seated cultural reasons which remain largely mysterious studying subjects with little instrumental pay-off in terms of employment.

A powerful lobby is now pressing for the problem of youth unemployment to be resolved by an extension of compulsory schooling from 16 to 18 or even 19 and an expansion of further and higher education. There are powerful reasons for treating such proposals sceptically.⁽⁷⁾

There is little evidence that the most unemployment-prone of young people enjoy schooling or benefit much from it. Many young people find education a thoroughly negative experience. Attitudes towards higher education and certainly further education are not much more favourable. Those who benefit most, except for a very small elite minority, do so as a result of instrumental expectations related to future employment and the chances of improved career prospects. Generalised youth unemployment largely destroyed this rationale.

Over and above these arguments sexual inequality in education also suggests we need to be particularly careful before wholesale scholarisation of the young unemployed is adopted as policy. There is I think a real danger that the effect would be further systemic depression of young women's work prospects compared with those of men.

More girls than boys would stay on at school at sixteen. Side-tracked in career-irrelevant subjects, they would leave their male peers free to pursue such jobs as are available and to take up places in male experience schemes. Both these strategies would leave girls even further disadvantaged in the labour market.

More girls would also stay on to eighteen. The majority of the new students would be unlikely to obtain A Levels, or at any rate good A Levels, as would newly recruited 16 year olds to get O Levels or even good C.S.E.'s. The tendency would be for them to be occupied by defeated and defeatist teachers in soft subjects with a seasoning of pseudo-job-relevant training. At 18 or 19, a whole new cadre of frustrated and ill-qualified young women would exit onto the labour market, substantially disadvantaged compared with boys the same age or even with sixteen years olds of their sex.

I suspect a similar process would occur in higher education. Indeed its beginnings are already apparent. Male and female students are increasingly polarised between scientific and technical subjects on the one hand and arts social sciences on the other. Young men with career-relevant qualifications in science and technology can move relatively easily into careers, if perhaps at a lower level than as little as five years ago. Female students, by contrast, even if they may have enjoyed their studies more, find themselves unqualified for higher level graduate jobs by comparison with their male peers. They are ill equipped to compete even for lower level professional and executive roles traditionally staffed by graduates because of competition from those who left school at eighteen who are by now cheaper and advantaged by real work experience.

In summary we must beware in case extended education, intended as an answer to youth employment should turn out in fact to be a mechanism for shunting young females specifically out of a diminishing labour market into an irrelevant sex-specific backwater of the modern economy.

MSC schemes and the concept of work.

Increasingly since the beginning of its work on behalf of the young unemployed the MSC has devoted attention to the problems and dangers of chauvinist bias.

This requires continuous assessment of the proportion of female staff involved, of all types and at all levels; the recruitment and placement balance of male and female trainees overall; the distribution of male and female trainees between schemes of different types, for example as between work experience and community service in YOP; the availability of placements specifically appropriate to female trainees; and the concepts of appropriateness explicitly and implicitly adopted in such judgements by MSC staff, employers, supervisors and young people.

In view of the strength of the general discriminatory social forces I have described so far, it is clearly essential for such efforts to be continued systematically and resolutely. No doubt we can be confident this will happen.

However there are very serious limitations to what can be achieved in this direction which need to be acknowledged and attended to. Like earlier schemes **YTS remains fundamentally organised around the concept and institution of employment work.**

There are serious problems for those concerned with equality between the sexes with this concept and with the institution of employment work in practice. The world of work is individualistic, competitive, aggressive and demanding of full-time, long-term commitment to careers. It is for the most part carried through by organisations which are hierarchically managed and presuppose routine compliance with authoritative instructions. Money rewards and incentives are of its essence. It demands simultaneously compliance with conventional routines and the use of individual discretion.

Each of these aspects of work as concept and institution is in more or less fundamental contradictions with institutionalised concepts of the feminine which is generically other-directed, cooperative, tender, capricious, non-authoritarian, controlled by love rather than money or power, resistant to rational routines and slow to shift direction or make decisions.

Whether one construes our imagery of masculinity as arising from the concept of work or our concept of work defined so as to be compatible with an image of what is proper to masculinity, the cultural pair man/work leaves little scope for effective, coherent incorporation of woman into the world of work.

Either woman must be de-feminised or the nature of work has to be radically transformed, or both. Such a change would indeed require the revolution beyond patriarchy which left feminists demand.

Regardless of its desirability, which is arguable, such a revolution is in the short run evidently unlikely. In consequ-

ence, and schemes for providing alternatives to unemployment which are organised in terms of a taken for granted, unproblematical concept of work will necessarily founder on cultural contradiction in relation to sex and gender differentiation. Inequalities will routinely and inelectably be reproduced. No amount of monitoring and policing in terms of meritocratic criteria can succeed in simply cleaning up what might seem to be merely marginal biases but are actually the deep structural effects of fundamental cultural contradictions.

Community Service: a real alternative?

Each of spheres I have examined so far, access to work, the power of the family, educational bias and the nature of work itself is governed by deep-laid social forces which effectively conspire to make it probable that in the competition for jobs provoked by large-scale unemployment, young women will lose out.

I suggested earlier that some more radical reorganisation of the life of young people may be necessary if the problems of youth unemployment and the crisis of youth are to be resolved effectively. With others I have argued that **Community Service** is the key element in the new structure we need.⁽⁸⁾

From 16 to 19 in the first instance and subsequently throughout the whole period of youth from 14 to 24, young people's primary attachment would be to a nation-wide community service organisation. They would not be involved in the ordinary employment labour market at all. Schooling and studentry would be incorporated and subordinated to service objectives and thereby radically transformed. The concepts of work, training, leisure and unemployment would be dissolved into a larger concept of community service. This would provide an arena for young people's need and willingness to serve, to help, to give. It identifies as the target for their energies a multitude of neglected social problems and community needs. It presumes that all young people should have the opportunity of participating. Community Service should be a normal and natural part of everyone's life in the phase of youth.⁽⁹⁾

Without some such fundamental change, I cannot see how the problem of youth unemployment and the crisis of youth can be resolved. It goes indeed without saying that to achieve this resolution through community service will be extraordinarily difficult. There are problems with concept itself and with the practicality of organising community service. To some the whole idea will smack suspiciously of the organisation of youth in totalitarian societies. Despite all this, I believe that, from cautious beginnings we can move successfully and without intolerable risks towards establishing an effective nation-wide programme of community service.⁽¹⁰⁾

Supposing it were feasible, what would be the implications for the life-changes of young women of this radical alternative to unemployment?

One of the primary attractions of community services is that it is at once a radical innovation, going quite beyond mere reform and at the same time feasible because it is restricted to one segment of the life-cycle.

It makes no claim to change childhood experience and socialisation or to challenge the rights or disturb the obligations of the family in child care. It leaves the life of adults

free within the democratic milieu defined by law, liberal political institutions, and the free market. Both childhood and adulthood are thus protected against the destructive transformations promised or threatened by communist, fascist and other pseudo-radical programmes.

Moreover within the sphere of youth which would be encompassed by community service, the fundamental goal would be individual personal and social development. This radically new form of social obligation and control would thus be directed towards creation of diversity and towards facilitating optimal development of autonomous persons, genuinely capable of benefiting from freedom and contributing to the maintenance of the democratic way of life.

In this context, the scope for transforming inequalities of all types is considerably enhanced. Within the organised apparatus of nation-wide community service, young men and women, working together on behalf of the community as a whole, rewarded modestly but equally, attending to their opportunities for service rather than to their future career prospects and insulated from the sex-stereotyping influences of family, media and irresponsible peer groups might indeed work together. Authentic and valuable inter-individual differences would be encouraged and maximised. Inter-group, including inter-sex differences which proved irrelevant to the real tasks at hand would be controlled and minimised.

Youth unemployment has revealed with peculiar vividness the nature and extent of the deep socio-cultural inequalities dividing men and women. Perhaps it will be through our stumbling attempts to find an effective solution to youth employment that we can discover a method by which these same inequalities can be overcome. Certainly, without some such radically innovative method, the structural youth unemployment of the late twentieth century may prove to be the beginning of a historical reversal of the long-term trend towards equality for women and thus a cultural watershed of immense and tragic importance.

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Youth Workers and the Police Complaints System

On 31st. 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. Most of the Act will not come into effect until January 1986, the Home Office believing that its officers require a lengthy period in which to become acquainted with the Act's varied and complex provisions. However this Spring (the exact date was unclear at the time of writing) Part IX of the Act is to be implemented. This part of the legislation describes the new procedures for dealing with complaints about police conduct as well as for disciplinary proceedings. In view of the fact that young people would seem to be particularly vulnerable to abuses by the police of their powers,⁽¹⁾ it is surely wise for all who work with young people to have a working knowledge of the new complaints system, and it is for this reason that this edition's column concentrates upon it. Readers are also referred to a fact-sheet produced by The National Council for Civil Liberties⁽²⁾ which deals specifically with the new system, as well as Chapter II of a promptly-published reference book called 'A Practitioner's Guide to the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984', written by Hargreaves and Levinson and published by the Legal Action Group.⁽³⁾

Abuse by the Police of their powers

That there is frequent and widespread abuse by the Police of their powers can no longer be open to question, particularly in the light of the miners' experiences on the picket lines,⁽⁴⁾ and the contents of the Policy Studies Institute Report on the Metropolitan Police published over a year ago.⁽⁵⁾ This Report, the results of an in-depth study into the Metropolitan Police commissioned by the police themselves, highlighted inter alia 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 the 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 e.g. the definition of maximum detention times at the police station; (c) the police are undergoing the training referred to above.

The dilemma that faces a youth worker when informed of an incident of apparently 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 that 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'⁽⁶⁾ (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 complain, 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 too heavily against the complainant, and that to file a complaint is to acknowledge the fairness of the system. On the other hand with mass boycott of the system a fantasy (there were in excess of 17000 complaints reported to the Police Complaints Board in 1982),⁽⁷⁾ a failure to complain can be seen as a statistic 'for' the Home Office, and it certainly means that the offending officer does not even get one sleeping night. Despite its ineffectiveness (and there is no reason to believe that the new system is going to be any more effective than the old, although no doubt it should be tried before being judged), it surely makes sense both to register a protest within the existing 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, and the awareness of his/her reliable support, can be highly influential. Whether or not the young person chooses to pursue his/her complaint further, there is surely a duty on youth workers, social workers, defence lawyers and others to expose (without breaching confidentiality) the abuses that are all too common.

The new Police Complaints system.

The purpose of filing a complaint is to ask the Chief Officer of the relevant Police Authority (or the Police Authority itself in the case of a senior officer above the rank of chief superintendent) to investigate the possibility that an officer within his force has committed a criminal offence, warranting prosecution by the Director of Public Prosecutions, or breached the Police Discipline Code this laying him/herself open to disciplinary charges. The Police Act 1976 established the Police Complaints Board with the duty to receive reports of police complaints after they had been investigated and decided upon by the Chief Officer, 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. The 1984 Act abolishes the Police Complaints Board,⁽⁸⁾ and replaces it with the Police Complaints Authority. 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'.⁽⁹⁾ To what extent this fear is borne out, will depend to a large extent on whether or not the P.C.A. has the resources, independence and courage to use the not inconsiderable powers given it by the legislature.

Before lodging a complaint, it would clearly be advisable for the young person concerned to seek legal advice from a sympathetic solicitor. Provided the means test is satisfied, Green Form legal aid is available to cover such advice. If the incident on which a complaint is to be based, has led to the potential complaint being charged with a criminal offence, such advice is essential, since the making (particularly the timing) of a complaint could have an influence on the outcome of the criminal proceedings. A solicitor should also advise on the evidence required to substantiate a complaint, as well as the possibility of libel proceedings being initiated by a police officer in response to a complaint. (A recent case "has affirmed that the complaint itself can form the basis of such proceedings, though statement made in the course of an attempted informal resolution (see below) cannot, provided they are relevant to the investigation".)⁽¹⁰⁾ It may be that the solicitor would be prepared to lodge the complaint on behalf of the young person, but if so there is still an important support role of the youth worker in the months ahead.

A complaint is commenced by being made in writing to the Chief Officer. In most instances, he will appoint a senior officer to investigate whether or not the complaint can be 'informally resolved'.⁽¹¹⁾ Interviews with the complainant, and possibly witnesses, will follow. As with all interviews during the investigation of a complaint, the young person should insist that it take place away from a police station, and that it be conducted in the presence of a witness. It is not clear what 'informally resolved' means, but presumably it is envisaged as a 'weeding-out' process, such as happens at present resulting in a number of complaints being withdrawn or left on the file not to be proceeded with. However section 85(10) of the Act does state that 'a complaint is not suitable for informal resolution unless (a) the member of the public concerned gives his consent; and (b) Chief Officer is satisfied that the conduct complained of, even if proved, would not justify a criminal or disciplinary charge'. Thus if the complainant does not agree to an 'informal' resolution or to the complaints withdrawal, the complaint must be dealt with by means of a formal investigation.

The formal investigation will also be carried out by a senior officer who must not have been involved in any attempt at informal resolution.⁽¹²⁾ Some formal investigations will have to be carried out under the supervision of the newly-created Police Complaints Authority.⁽¹³⁾ This body will consist of a chairman (Sir Cecil Clothier, the former Parliamentary Ombudsman, is the first

appointee to this position), and at least eight other members appointed by the Home secretary. No person who is or has been a police constable in the United Kingdom, is eligible for appointment to membership of Authority. It seems that it is to be London-based with a staff of sixty. The P.C.A. shall supervise (N.B. not investigate) the investigation of all complaints involving allegations of death or serious injury, as well as complaints of a type yet to be specified in regulation.⁽¹⁴⁾ 'Serious injury' is defined as 'a fracture, damage to an internal organ, impairment of bodily function, a deep cut, or a deep laceration'.⁽¹⁵⁾ In addition the Authority must supervise the investigation of any complaint if it considers that it is desirable in the public interest to do so.⁽¹⁶⁾ In view of this it would have been interesting to observe the role, if any, of the P.C.A. during the Miners' year long Dispute. 'Supervision' would appear to include the right to approve/disapprove the appointment of the investigating officer, the right to impose certain requirements on the investigation, the right to receive a final report from the investigating officer, and the duty to reply indicating whether or not in its opinion the investigation was carried out satisfactory (so long as it is 'practicable', the complaint should be sent a copy of this opinion).⁽¹⁷⁾ However the police are still left to investigate the police.

Just as under the 'old' system, once the investigation is completed, the Chief Officer is left with very considerable discretion in deciding whether or not it is appropriate for the investigating officer's report to be forwarded to the Director of Public Prosecutions for consideration of criminal charges, or whether or not disciplinary proceedings should be instituted.⁽¹⁸⁾ The Act does build into the system the means by which a Chief Officer's decision following the completion of an investigation, can be reviewed, and indeed overturned. This is because in each case (save for those informally resolved), whether or not P.C.A. supervised or not, the Chief Officer has a duty to supply details to the P.C.A., and the P.C.A. has the power to direct in appropriate cases that the investigating officer's report be forwarded to the Director in Public Prosecutions, or that disciplinary charges be preferred.⁽¹⁹⁾ It will be interesting to note in the P.C.A.'s Annual Reports the extent to which this power is used by the P.C.A. There would seem to be no reason why a dissatisfied complainant should not contact the P.C.A. direct.

The role of police authorities

As stated above, at present a large number of complaints 'get nowhere', thus leaving the complainant with a considerable sense of frustration and grievance. Although there is no official appeals system as such, one possibility to which thought should be given, is to alert members of the local Police Authority to the situation. The Act does impose a duty on Police Authorities to keep themselves informed of the working of Police Complaints Systems with regard to their force.⁽²⁰⁾ Some Police Authorities are relatively independent of their Chief Officer, and some even have sub-committees established to consider the whole question of police complaints. Almost certainly no different result would ensue, but nevertheless the raising of consciousness amongst members (local politicians and magistrates) 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 proceeding arising out of the same incident, does not of course guarantee 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,⁽²¹⁾ is just one of many cases in which civil proceedings against the police have succeeded despite the police not having been upheld. At present 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 results in no action against the individual police officers'.⁽²²⁾

Conclusion

A young person pursuing a complaint alone and without support, could soon feel demoralised. The system appears complicated and unintelligible. 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.

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Content is provided by Gateshead Law Centre, First floor, 13 Walker Terrace, Gateshead NE8 1EB. We apologise to readers of this column who will note that some of the material in this issues' column was addressed in the Winter issue. A proportion of the material was misleading and some of the paragraphs were out of sequence. The material here is now correct.

reviews

Tony Jefferson and Roger Grimshaw
CONTROLLING THE CONSTABLE: Police
Accountability in England and Wales,
Frederick Muller/The Cobden Trust, 1984.
ISBN 0 584 11089 8
Case bound £18.95
ISBN 0584 11088 8
Paperback £7.95
pp. 205

There is a widely held belief that the law has a sort of mathematical certainty about it, and the police being accountable to the law are controlled by automatic safeguards against misuse of their power. The constable of all ranks is often seen as answerable to the law alone and because it does not recognise class, gender, race or other social differences - all are equal before the law - the constabulary must necessarily carry out their duties impartially.

It is clear to many people who have studied or experienced our legal system that in many cases it is anything but fair or equally applied. Research has shown, for instance, that comparing tax evasion losses and prosecutions, with social security losses and prosecutions, a serious class bias in the legal process is evident. Jefferson and Grimshaw, by examining in detail the independence of the constable, illuminate the problems and dangers of simplistic and naive notions of the law and police accountability.

The book may disappoint those who wish to fuel an angry conspiratorial analysis of the use of the police by the capitalist state. The authors analysis, supported by historical and contemporary illustrations, traces identifiable themes from the origins of the police to the present. These themes demonstrate a continuing incoherence, particularly in the areas of the law and police accountability, which needs addressing before it is possible to produce an empirical structure of reform that guards against the misuse of power. The usefulness of the book is that it helps the reader understand the ambiguous and contradictory decision making framework the Chief Constable functions in, without appearing to collude. The authors avoid the trap of utopian proposals by first grounding their analysis in a thorough appraisal of the present system and its relationship to the law, followed by recommendations that go no further than that, which would be possible **without** radical socio/economic change. They justify this by the claim that forces of change at present are "retreating into past miseries" and that radicals need to apply themselves to "concrete ideas and proposals". By taking this path they have produced a

book that should appeal to a broad audience, not only because it is very readable but it attempts to avoid abstract ideas and concentrates on the real situation.

A thematic approach shows that the issue of police accountability has been a constant concern, from the broadly based calls for abolition of the police during the time of their formation, through occasional 'reforms', to present day anxieties. Contemporary proposals for reform are usually based on a notion of 'community involvement' which often assumes that the constable was, to a large extent, democratically accountable and has over the years evolved into an autonomous authority. Jefferson and Grimshaw show that the constable was never **really** controlled by the local community, but strongly influenced by partisan groups whose vested interests affected the constables' activity. Although powerful and individual groups were able to influence police activity, the 'professional' autonomy of the constable, which was rooted in the origins of the police, grew until the present day situation where the Chief Constable, although he may take into account a number of factors, is alone responsible for the maintenance of an efficient constabulary. The influences on him have been separated by the authors into three categories: the legal audience, the democratic audience and the occupational audience. These make up the Chief Constable's social context for operational decision-making. Although the Chief Constable is solely in charge of operational matters - only answerable to the law - he needs to take into account the views of this range of bodies. Also the regularly made claim that policing proceeds with the consent of the policed is a continual influence on operational policy making. Therefore, he cannot ignore pressure or advice from the Home Secretary, Director of Public Prosecutions, the Courts, the Police Authority, etc. - **the legal audience**; the 'local' community and the media - **the democratic audience**; senior officers, the rank and file - **the occupational audience**.

This helps to produce a paradox which is identified by the authors in that the Chief Constable must take these views into account and often explain his decisions to them, but is not legally bound to take specific operational direction from any of these groups. So the Chief Constable is 'accountable' to a number of bodies, insofar as he can be put under a good deal of pressure to account for his actions, but he cannot be ordered to take particular occupational action. He must uphold the law without fear nor favour to anyone, so this broad **accountability**, which can be traced back to the origins of the police, also maintains the professional **freedom** from statutory accountability to any single group or individual. The growth of professional autonomy has led to a situation where the 'democratic audience' has less day-to-day influence than other 'audiences'; distancing the constable from the public influence to a dangerous degree. This has been recognised by the police and steps have been taken in recent years to put the constable more in touch with the 'democratic audiences'. Liaison departments, beat police, community police and consultative groups have all been strategies to reduce the alienation of the constable from the public. However, these efforts to achieve policing by consent have ignored the element of 'control' which is still retained by the Chief Constable.

The emergence of the chief Constable's power 'at the expense of all' has contributed to the replacement of the more tangible local concerns, with a more complex and powerful bureaucratic dimension which is more difficult to engage. The policing policies and strategies developed by a distanced social group are often clumsy and naive, exacerbating rather than controlling and bringing legitimate charges of 'under policing' as well as

'over policing'. In this sense the efficiency of the police is a general problem. Not just to those who accept without concern the power of the police but also those who question it. The instances of clumsy policing during the early 1980's 'riots' abound and can be argued as being a central factor in 'sparking off' many or the disturbances. These urban disturbances are dealt with in detail in the book by using particular instances: Brixton, Southall and Bristol. These disturbances along with the policing circumstances are analysed in detail. Having scrutinised these situations along with the policing of specific industrial disputes, they show that although the disturbances in themselves were clearly caused by a growing anger, particularly in the black community, concerning policing methods, the controversies that ensued stemmed from the present system of accountability. The Chief Constable can only claim to act on his responsibility to uphold the law - to protect the rights of members of the public and to prosecute law breakers without discrimination. In this way bodies like the National Front come under the same 'protection rights' as, for instance the Anti-Nazi League.

In all these cases however there is strong evidence that the police went about their controlling duties with more 'zeal' with some groups than others. The authors recognise this and offer an explanation for the differential treatment by the police of particular groups. Initially, it must be recognised that public order law is extremely unclear and offers the broadest of interpretation and police discretion. The constable, of all ranks, is expected to use a large degree of 'common sense' in the application of this liberal area of law. The authors discuss the ideas which inform the 'common sense' used by the constable.

Again, they do not avoid the ambiguity of police discrimination but demonstrate that there are areas of law application that 'justice' would require discrimination. The element of 'justice' in the legal system is an important consideration in the authors' final proposals in which they suggest a package of reforms. These include "that police activity in generally upholding the law should be made responsible to a democratic form of control which is obliged to address issues of public justice." They go on to propose a mechanism for providing this structure of accountability. They suggest the appointment of new officers of a judicial character that are responsible to a local electorate and would instruct the chief officers in their general legal duties - that is their duty to uphold the law. The authors produce this structure in some detail taking into account the need for a statutory requirement for equality of treatment and a strategy for broad community participation in the processes of electing the new 'commissioners' and influencing the activity of the constable. Other suggestions include a more democratic police appointing and promotion procedure and, predictably, they suggest an independent complaints system. If there is a weakness in the book it is in the region of community participation.

Although Jefferson and Grimshaw put forward a detailed and coherent argument for controlling the constable, including a well thought-out legal framework for this to happen, they do not discuss in the same detail the issues involved in community participation. For instance, the difficulty of defining a neighbourhood and obtaining a consensual agreement on policing priorities from the residents is not clearly dealt with. However, this is a somewhat petty criticism of an extremely useful book, well researched, organised and certainly worth reading by all who are interested in the policing debate and are looking for concrete ways of controlling the constable.

Chris Strawford.

**SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND LEGAL
ACTION RESEARCH PROJECT GENERAL
REPORT 1981-84.**

**A project jointly sponsored by the University of
Sheffield and City of Sheffield MDC and supported
by the Nuffield Foundation.
pp. 38**

This General Report is a fairly brief summary of a research project into the nature and consequences of legal responses to truancy in Sheffield. The findings have already been disseminated in a welter of papers and articles and will eventually, the authors hope, find their collective way into a book. Not having read any of the articles the book would appear to be a good idea. Brevity may be a virtue but in this case it also leaves one with the feeling that however coherent the argument, it remains unsubstantiated by anything but cursory reference to either qualitative or quantitative data.

Put simply (simplistically?) the argument asserts that we cannot understand the effects of legal action in relation to truancy without studying the processes whereby professional agencies come to define particular individuals and their families as appropriate cases for intervention. In consequence our intrepid researchers are taken into the more impenetrable theoretical undergrowth of analysing 'the structural character of each agency's practices'. In the authors' own words, 'discrepancies between professional views and the perspectives of pupils themselves (has) to be linked to some understanding of their roots in social structures and processes'. Pertinent as this perspective is it constitutes a major task and is never really pursued beyond the reflection that professional 'carers' tend to overlook the importance of material deprivation and that those with middle-class backgrounds are unlikely to have direct experience of truancy. From an analysis of 52 case studies (generating over 300 interviews), the roots of truancy are seen to lie not in a cluster of personal characteristics or the teaching styles in different schools. Rather they are seen to stem from family circumstances, unemployment, single parenthood and poor health. The impact of these factors interacts with a perceived lack of prospects in order to reduce the relevance of, and commitment to, regular school attendance.

The question then is not so much 'how do schools help to create or sustain truancy?' but 'why are they so ineffective when it comes to reducing it?'. Most attempts at intervention are seen as unsuccessful and the authors conclude that this is largely due, in the case of school pastoral care staff and the Education Social Work Service (the two most routinely significant professional groupings) to their inability to comprehend the 'world-view' of the client and his or her family. The report advocates that genuine guidance and counselling programmes are developed in schools and that a greater measure of support be given to families experiencing a range of difficulties. If these measures were introduced then perhaps a fewer truants and their families would find their way into the legal processes, the study of which is probably the most interesting aspect of this project. In Sheffield these processes begin with the deliberations of a pre-court forum known as the ROTA. This 'tribunal' is made up of councillors and teacher union representatives. The authors find that this body lacks the procedural fairness of juvenile court particularly in the way in which it allows the professionals' accounts of the 'case' to determine the course of the proceedings.

This analysis reminds me quite forcibly of the manner in which another local education authority employs a similar legalistic procedure in

relation to suspended pupils. Whatever the reports reservations about these processes the keenest criticisms are saved for the much publicised experiment employed in the city of Leeds. The use of adjournment as a routine measure with truants, with the threat of care proceedings for those who do not 'mend their ways' is considered to be both unethical and counter-productive. This research project expresses the wish that its findings will contribute to the development of more constructive ways of addressing the problems of truancy. However noble the sentiments one cannot help but share an underlying sense of pessimism.

Rod Ling

**Mike Chandler and Dave Hill (Editors)
POLITICAL EDUCATION: A RESPONSE TO
THE THOMPSON REPORT ON THE YOUTH
SERVICE**

**West Sussex Institute of Higher Education, Upper
Bognor Road, Bognor Regis, West Sussex
A 021 1HR**

ISBN 0 9503003 5 7

£1.30 (A4 paperback)

pp. 39

This slim publication (29 pages plus appendices), as its title indicates, grew out of a practical response to the section on political education in the **Thompson Report**. More specifically, it developed from a course entitled 'Political Education in the Youth Service' run in Autumn 1983 by Dave Hill from West Sussex Institute and six members of the youth service-the seven of whom, collectively, wrote the publication. The book is, essentially, a mixture of theory and practice mirroring the three stages of the training course on which it is based. These stages were an attempt to 'establish a common understanding of the term 'political education', a consideration of methods of political education appropriate to the youth service, and an exploration of specific courses of action for course members'. The authors end their introductory session with the hope that the book 'may be of practical use to those who read it'. Perhaps on this criterion, therefore, it should be judged.

Sections two, three and four represent the theoretical part of the book together with the appendices, one of which usefully reproduces the relevant paragraphs from the **Thompson Report** and the other gives a short history of political education. The latter is so short that its value must be questioned; I also found it confusing in that it traces the story to the early 1970's and then finishes with some reflections on the importance of participation by young people. The history of the late 1970's and early 1980's is in the introductory section to the book proper. Section two looks at attitudes towards the provision of political education quoting extensively from a speech by Sir Keith Joseph (against!) and a defending, even defensive, HMI. It then considers official and institutional (bureaucratic?) concern using as an example Peter Morrison's now infamous attempt to exclude 'matters related to the organisation and functioning of society in general' and, as a contra-example, the excellently broad aims of the FEU's '**Supporting YTS**'. This sub-section is only marred by a description of the FEU as 'the government's (I can see Jack Mansell's teeth gritting) and a memo from the Department of Employment as emanating from 'the Ministry'.

Section three is the 'heaviest' in the book entitled '**Building a conceptual approach towards political education**'. I found myself wondering what the original course participants made of this as I read through the three sub-sections on the 'Hansard

Society Approach', the 'approaches of the DES and of Crick and Porter', and the 'social education, competence and political literary approach of School Council and NAYC projects'. I found the contrast between the three approaches interesting but scant justice could be done to them in the few pages allowed. I would like to have seen, for example, some consideration of the difference between political **education** and **indoctrination** (the work of I A Snook) and the interrelationship between education and democracy (R S Peters and others). However, one should not expect too much for £1.30. My one concern, other than those of omission, was being told that attitudes are concerned with cognitive skills.

Section three summarises what is, for me, one of the most important chapters of the **Thompson Report**, namely chapter six on the challenges facing the youth service. The challenges are those of coping with alienated young people, unemployed young people (with the associated issue of finding what the role of the youth service should be in relation to the YTS), educational change, a multi-cultural society, creating equal opportunities for girls and women and, inexplicably omitted from the book, work with the handicapped. The section touches on the management recommendations of the **Thompson Report** and ends with the result of a survey of LEAs which found that only 25 had responded to it in any way at all. Although not explained, the 'response' meant seems to be a management or structured one. I am prepared to wager that many more LEA's have found the Report meat for in-service training and staff development.

Sections five, six and seven represent the practical part of the book. The first two of these are characterised by a format which consists, in large part, of a transcribed discussion between members of the course team. I suppose that this saved on editing but I would think that the ten pages overall could have been halved and some trivia omitted. Section five looks at methods of developing political attitudes in young people and so, I realised, does section six as well. There is not much overlap between the two sections and the latter begins with for me, a fascinating discussion on the relationship between full-time paid workers and voluntary management committees. This could have been interesting, had it been more relevant to the book. Section seven is simply a list of resources - books, films and organisations.

Does the book fulfil its aim of being of practical use to those who read it? Overall I must say that I found very little in it which would not have occurred to almost any group of seven youth and community workers collected together except, probably, for the theoretical material in Section three and the appendix. I would therefore say no, I would not spend £1.30 on it. I would however, spend money reproducing the challenging part of the **Thompson Report** which, although to judge from governmental response has been a 'failure' in achieving important and much needed improvement in public support for work with young people, has in my mind been a 'success' in stimulating debate and discussion on important issues including political education. It is on a different plane from the draft circular produced as part of the Government's 'substantive response' which, in its section on 'participation by young people', speaks in pompous and patronising terms of encouraging 'their involvement in decision taking,... to the greatest extent consonant with their stage of development. And who is to judge what their stage of development is? As Robert Lowe said in 1867 'we must educate our masters' and there is still a long way to go.

Lindsay Martin

This is an innovative book whose underlying intent is to introduce the insights of recent radical sociological thinking into analyses of the issues surrounding the related categories of gender and generation. It does this both provocatively and effectively, using recognisable material, situations, institutions and activities as vehicles for the exploration of the dynamics of sex and age relations for young people. At first glance, the collection of eight articles seems to cover a number of disparate and particular themes ranging from Adrian Chappell's illustrated account of a practical photography project, **Family Fortunes**, through to Erica Carter's analysis of consumerism in post-war West Germany, **Alice in the Consumer Wonderland**. Superficially the book gives an impression of inconsistency of depth and relevance between the articles some of which are straightforward and easy to read, others of which are more intense and elusive in style. However, a closer reading reveals an underlying textual unity, a similarity of approach among the authors which gives coherence and relates the articles to each other.

This unity lies in the understanding of human subjects as living and changing beings actively in relationships both with each other and with the private and public worlds which they inhabit. Thus Chappell's article shows how active engagement with creative photographic practice enabled a girl to situate herself and her femininity more clearly in relation to her family. Carter's article explores the way in which teenage girls as the object of consumerism, actively engaged with the market at different levels making statements through their choices about their relationship with modern West German society. The complementary theoretical understanding incorporated into all the articles not only gives the book coherence but also, because of its rejection of the passive, mechanistic subject, injects a sense of movement, vitality and openness which is very refreshing in a publication of this kind. It promotes an engagement of the reader with the text by introducing and exploring issues without being prescriptive.

At the same time, the concentration on ordinary and everyday relations and activities such as Angela McRobbie's paper on dance, **Dance and Social Fantasy**, as a female leisure pursuit containing a relationship with the self and with the other, gives an immediate relevance to the insights offered. As a practising feminist youth worker, I found this extremely useful.

Time and again I was impressed with the way I found myself considering what I had just read in relation to my own working situation, experiences and methods. This was particularly the case with regard to realising the necessity of dealing with young people 'as they are' in their social context and then finding a way through this to provide the means for reflection, criticism and change.

Thus, Barbara Hudson's contribution **Femininity and Adolescence**, which deals with the contradictory pressures suffered by teenage girls within the conflicting discourses of femininity on the one hand and adolescence on the other, prompted me to reflect on the use of language in youth work and the predisposition among youth workers to explain girls' behaviour within the particular categories of sex and age.

At another level, Mica Nava's article on intergenerational sex, **Drawing the Line**, raised a number of important practical questions, the most central of which concerns the disjuncture between the

principles, expectations and boundaries of any radical practice and the inflexible codes and strictures embodied within institutional bureaucracies emanating from a completely different set of values. It is sobering to think that such institutions are the context for a great deal of work with young people.

All the remaining articles have practical implications for the development of a consistent anti-sexist approach to young people. In particular, Julian Wood's sensitive analysis of the manifestations of sexuality in a disruptive unit of comprehensive school, **Groping Towards Sexism: Sex Talk**, should be required reading for male youth workers who prefer on the whole not to consider too deeply the construction of their own masculinity and how this is implicated in boys' developing sexism.

This relevance for practice, which seems to me to be one of the most important features of **Gender and Generation** is achieved largely through the open-ended nature of much of the work incorporated in the book. A great deal of the analysis is tentative and exploratory which permits space for questioning, development and association by the reader while pointing to the possibilities for further analysis. Thus in **Some Day My Prince Will Come**, Valerie Walkerdine ostensibly writes about the way in which the themes and stories in prepubescent girls' comics use fantasy to key into girls' desires and are thus influential in the way in which girls construct their passive femininity. Yet this article opens up the wider question of the production of material resources for use with young people, providing an explanation for the lack of success of many 'alternative' texts which simply change images to fit with what is considered a more appropriate political position. Walkerdine's thesis delves beneath the imagery and suggests the necessity for the creation of resources which similarly engage with fantasy, presenting different options, and which therefore intervene in the psychic struggle wherein gender is actively created. Such a thesis can be carried further. It implies a challenge to a whole convention of working with girls which assumes that the introduction of non-stereotyped activities will of themselves provide girls with real alternatives.

Mica Nava makes a more explicit challenge to this convention in her opening article entitled **Youth Service Provision, Social Order and the Question of Youth**. Nava's provocative theme is that insofar as gender and female subordination are constructed in relation to men, then any anti-sexist practice must include the male sex within its remit. If most of the analyses in **Gender and Generation** are indicative of what meaningful feminist youth work methods might entail, Nava's article frames this within the limits of the Youth Service. She shows how the Youth Service has traditionally not provided for girls to the degree that they do not pose a street problem. When girls do choose to become involved, their participation is limited by their relationship with boys and through the predominance of male youth workers in positions of power. If it is accepted that engagement with men and boys is necessary to change the axis of power, then the contradictions and the struggles this will generate for anti-sexist workers are awesome!

Gender and Generation is an original and important contribution to youth work literature. Those practitioners who do not have background in the social sciences may find its style sometimes dense and difficult, but this is no doubt impossible to avoid given the problems of applying complex theoretical insights to real situations. It should not deter anyone who is seriously interested in developing effective anti-sexist work with young people.

Jean Spence.

Mark Smith
QUESTION FOR SURVIVAL - some problems of political education and how to combat them
National Association of Youth Clubs, Keswick House,
30 Peacock Lane, Leicester, LE1 5NY.
ISBN 0 907095-20-8
£1.10
pp. 56

In producing a booklet that could have been called, 'How to do political education and not get sacked', Mark Smith is on thin ice; in alerting workers to potential pitfalls it would be easy to inflame the very panic about political education that deters workers and makes managers and politicians quake and froth. The publisher's disclaimer, the author's report of legal advice, his own disclaimer and the post-typesetting revision on page 13 may all be seen to be a jumping on thin ice. Together they suggest that 'Questions' might have been a Little Red Youth Work Book for the '80s had Mark and NAYC been less fearless for the sequestration of their assets.

The fat pamphlet that has emerged is, in fact, a thoroughly decent and largely useful publication that could enter or leave the M1 at any junction between Leicester and South Yorkshire and may well clear immigration at Heathrow. The most substantial and useful part of the booklet is the middle section - the seventeen questions of the title. There is here, a framework for a more than usually rigorous thinking through, of both the whys and the hows of political education. Each question is followed by a page or so of suggestions and considerations, which spreads to seven pages after the question about how to handle managers. Most of the questions take the form 'have you/do you/are you..... and in context, the 'you' is mostly singular. This usage reflects the isolation of most youth workers but maybe also reinforces a dominant individualism and, in so doing, undermines the force of question 13 - 'Are you ever tempted to go it alone?' The questions could, however, easily and profitably be used as a format for a series of unit or project training/staff meetings.

The final section - 'Working outside' (of contracts) - cannot in five pages do more than begin to alert workers to the very many pitfalls to be encountered in territory towards which, growing numbers feel themselves driven. A necessary weakness of a booklet of this length is its insufficient recognition of the growing differentiation of youth work. There is a need for one set of questions (including perhaps, 'Why not move?') for those employed by Authorities and agencies of the monetarist right and another for those working within the very different contradictions posed by employers that profess and may aspire to be socialist. There would perhaps have been space to encourage those contemplating extra-contractual action to screen themselves for naive pessimism and to enlarge the earlier hints about discovering and using the footholds to be found in the contradictions that are State youth work. Just as their own politics will inevitably inform youth workers' practice in political education so this booklet is flavoured throughout by its author's politics or a politics negotiated with his publisher's legal advisors. The politics of political education set out in Part 1 - 'Thinking about political education' - are substantially orthodox, containing strands of community development and institutional reform as identified by Steve Butters in **'Realities of Training'**.

The picture painted and assumed is of political education being carried out by educators committed to truth, reason, freedom, justice and equality and being carried out within the worker's institution - whether or not that institution has walls. 'Questions' seems to prevaricate on whether or

not political education is possible or desirable with young people as young people (rather than black youth, young women or other working class youth). There are also clear hints ("racism, sexism are not as easy to tackle as setting up a 5-a-side tournament") that political education is conceived of as additional to the curriculum of youth work. Of these assumptions, maybe the terrain of political education is the most crucial. Many of us would argue that the site of political education is not our institution but the lives and experience of the lives of those with whom we work. If we see young people as active and not just victims of poverty, state brutality and the wretchedness that turns people in on themselves and their own with violence, then we begin to sensitise ourselves to their engagement and resistance. The task then is not to make them our clients in our quest for truth and justice but to make ourselves their allies in their struggle to survive and retain some sense of self, the struggle to stretch the Giro to cover food and shelter and health and to go on and snatch pleasure from the face of adversity. The response of such workers is not the development of political education that is additional to youth work but the development of a political youth work practice. "Questions" is useful and should be read widely and critically.

Andy Smart

ETHICS IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Local Government Training Board,
Arndale House, (4th Floor) The Arndale Centre,
Luton. LU1 2TS.

Discussion papers on ethics make pretty dry reading. They are full of sentences which need to be read twice, to make sure that you saw all the implications the first time round. It is easy to let your mind wander, to switch on TV for something more gripping - like the extracts of the **Clive Ponting** trial and the **Thatcher-Kinnock** exchanges! This surely is the point, the step from the dry word to personal action can be just that short, and the consequences may be just that long, and as personally and institutionally serious. The booklet is a discussion paper, resulting from a seminar called by the **Local Government Training Board** on "Ethics in Local Government". The invited participants were twelve senior officers in local government (Directors and Chief Executives) and two academics in the field, one of whom **Ken Walsh**, produced the background paper and notes on the seminar, which are substance of the booklet.

The basis of the paper is that prior to 1970 there were conventions and rules of conduct which local government employees followed. Everyone knew these "rules", and followed them. Now the rules have gone or are "under challenge" from a whole variety of people. There is a changing relationship between politicians and local government officers. The speed of change is rapid. Nothing has emerged to replace the old rules, except for often unhelpful 'Codes of Practice'; thus offices can be thrown back on their own resources for decisions in this area. The purpose of the paper is to open up the debate on the changes, and the dilemmas and issues raised by them.

It would be easy to make snide remarks about £30,000 of annual salary sitting around discussion - horror upon horror - what are the implications of officers attending political group meetings, or even worse joining unions. As they peer down from their high towers on us poor mortals, they find their safe structure is being demolished; they are alone and vulnerable - what a shame, my heart bleeds for them. However the paper deserves far better than this. It raises vital issues about the nature of personal freedoms and public responsibility, about freedom of information, about

records and information gathering, about access to decision making, about accountability of publicly paid workers.

This is the very stuff of democracy. This paper is correct, the debate needs to be held, and the discussion document does what it sets out to do, highlight a wide range of issues and expand on a few of the implications. It would serve little point to comment on any one of these in so small a space. What seems to be lacking is that the debate has been raging for years, not just in words, but in individual actions of so many, of whom Sarah Tisdale, and Clive Ponting in the national government arena, are just the most recent and celebrated. Professional associations, unions, politicians, political parties pressure groups and the general public have all contributed. The forces which brought about the changes are the debate.

The paper raises two questions for me. "How far can academic debates, however rooted in reality, influence the debate focussed on incidents"? More specifically "How far does this paper contribute to this debate"? My view is that it makes only a small contribution. It is written in language which excludes many people. It is thoughtful, considered and fairly thorough, given its length. The sincerity and concern of the group shine through the language of officers and academics. To give an example "There is now at least a challenge to the many facets of the traditional understanding of officer member relationships. Any code cannot be simply a restatement of the historic relationship for that will not help...." etc. Clearly this document is only opening up the debate for the restricted few.

This is reinforced by the fact that specific issues raised, are not ones which have meaning for the vast majority of local government employees. How many deal with elected representatives, party group meetings or chairpeople? Comparatively few have to decide how they will react when subordinates take industrial action. Many have a view they are those subordinates. This is a document written for senior officers, academics and trainers, by senior officers and academics. If the group is serious about opening up the debate, this is not the tool to do it.

If the Training Board and the senior officers want a wide debate, and wish to be proactive rather than reactive in the matter, then they must create a space and ways of engaging people, in the same way that the issue lead debates has. The solutions offered include "further consideration.....of developing training material, including case studies", or "LGTB commissioning relevant material from a range of authorities with different experiences". Suggestions also include, negotiations of more precise conditions of service in the Purple Book, and considerations of possible changes in standing orders. These strategies seem more appropriate for implementing the outcome of the debate, rather than progressing it.

New situations need new strategies. Is a staff development policy for local government employees which involves discussion of these issues in a way relevant to the employees' need, during induction, a possibility? Could the process of non management supervision, or even management supervision, be introduced? Could this help to relate theoretical positions with actual practice? Finally senior management and trainers alike should remember, "When you are up to your ass in alligators it's hard to remember that your objective was to drain the swamp".

Its even harder to discuss the ethical considerations of so doing.

Gina Ingram

George Johnston, Mary Marken,
Barney McCaughy

GROWING AND LEARNING

The Northern Ireland Association of Youth clubs
and The Industrial Training Service
(available from NIAYC, Hampton, Glenmachan
Park, Belfast BT4 2PJ
£1.50 inc p&p
pp. 23

You could be forgiven for thinking that management in the Youth Service had only been invented since the publication of the **Thompson Report**. There was Before Thompson (BT) and Anno Thompson (AT). In 1984 AT, much thinking, writing, talking and training is going on about this new idea. This might surprise the man himself, since the picture he gives in **Experience and Participation** would have us believe that it is all really pretty easy: a simple matter of "defining objectives, assigning roles, allocating resources and monitoring performance...". (para 8.2) In the rush which has since occurred to fill in this perceived management vacuum, the values underlying approaches to organising youth and community work have often remained hidden. So the who, how and why of 'defining objectives, assigning roles...etc' have been lost as workers and officers, sometimes under extreme political pressure, have sought to examine their own management practise. Perhaps it is too early to judge whether the results of this process are going to be helpful, and anyway, within a climate of rate capping, cuts to services and pressure to conform to centralist ideals, it will be difficult to sort out cause from effect.

One method often adopted for assisting an organisation to develop and manage its present and its future is to call in the experts. This is what the Northern Ireland Association of Youth Clubs (NIAYC) did, in inviting The Industrial Training Service to act as consultants to the organisation. **Growing and Learning...Six Years in The Life of a Voluntary Organisation** is the report which charts the changes to NIAYC from 1977 to 1982. It is sparsely written. The 23 pages contain ten appendices and neither they nor the text could be described as densely packed. But that is no criticism: the language is precise and uncluttered, perhaps reflecting the approach to organisational change which the report describes.

It could be picked up, read and shelved within an hour if that is how you wish to use it. Alternatively, you might search for the lessons about training and change which fit other organisations. For, if the report has any lasting value and is not to be consigned to the National Youth Bureau library shelves to remain unused, then the **Lessons About Change** in chapter three have to be generalisable beyond NIAYC. It is argued that a necessary condition for change is when a clear and shared dissatisfaction with the present, a clear and shared picture of a desired future and an understanding of the next immediate step is greater than tiredness, lethargy, lack of will and other blocks. It is significant that conflict is not, at this stage considered to be a block. The opposite in fact, for later we are told that 'openness, challenge and conflict ... are seen as positive, if at times difficult, behaviour. On a first reading I skipped over this apparently simplistic proposition. But I've returned to it and, in thinking about other organisations have begun to use it as a measure of their readiness for change. How can the County Youth Service (or Voluntary Youth Organisation) whose senior officers say they are ready to change and develop when for whatever reason, they squash dissent and challenge? Dissatisfaction with the present is all too common; but a clear, shared, dissatisfaction? That has to be worked at and implies a conscious

agenda.... Chapter three goes on to look at some other key organisational issues: time - and sensitivity to groups, individuals and process; policy - and its importance in enabling decisions; management persistence - "Good ideas often wither away through lack of care and cultivation"; attracting and using people - linking with task and process, purpose and values; and finally relationships.

Being a youth work organisation, NIAYC has attempted to internalise some of the youth work process. It is difficult to judge from the report the degree to which it has succeeded, but there are clues to be gained from the ten appendices: actual decisions made; evaluation criteria and value statements. These serve to illustrate some of what all the effort was about, but in one sense belong to NIAYC alone. The processes and methods however merit wider claims to ownership, so the assumptions they rest upon bear some examination. Chin and Benne in *The Planning of Change* have suggested that there are three main strategies for change: empirical-rational, normative-re-educative, power-coercive. The second, the normative, relying as it does upon values, but with smatterings of the first - the empirical, is the strategy adopted by NIAYC. Not surprisingly, this fits with their view of people, and of organisations.

Valuing individuals, their differences, skills, experiences; an holistic view of organisations - their environment, resources, systems, purpose and relationships, are basic assumptions upon which *Growing and Learning* is built. Few youth work organisations would deny the former, but I would be surprised if the latter was a widely held view. And yet the link is clear: if the work requires us to value individual young people, then we should perhaps work within a structure which reflects that. *Growing and Learning* presents a powerful argument to suggest that an organisation which values individuals and therefore challenge and conflict, is also (thereby?) manageable. I wonder what it felt like to work there?

Malcolm Payne

**H.M. Inspectors.
YOUTH SERVICE PROVISION IN WALES
(EDUCATION SURVEY 13)**

H.M.S.O. 1984

ISBN 0 86348 028 4

**Available free from The Welsh Office, Cathays
Park, Cardiff. (Tel. 0222 825111)
pp. 199 (appendix pp 122).**

It is inevitable that this report (which has come to be known as the Welsh Report) is being compared to 'Experience and Participation' (the Thompson Report) published in October 1982. The Thompson Report in reviewing the Youth Service in England excluded any consideration of the Welsh Service although it seems likely that the two major outcomes - the setting up of the **Council for Education and Training in Youth and Community Work** and the review of **The National Youth Bureau** will affect Wales because both bodies have a Welsh remit. The Welsh Report published early in 1984 has its roots in HMI surveys carried out before The Thompson Report as well as a second stage of inspections after its publication. Whatever the actual context of its writing it is almost inevitable that the Welsh Report will be perceived as the Welsh version of the Thompson Report, and perceptions about official reports are often of crucial importance. The impetus that official reports provide would seem to lead to two major types of development within the Service. Government led initiatives (including funding where necessary) have clearly been crucial over the years in many areas, including developing training courses, building

programmes and voluntary-statutory relationships. The second type of development comes from the field's reaction to reports, leading to a re-examination of aims and practice. Ideally there should be a dialectical relationship between the government and the field, with each influencing and responding to the other so promoting new thinking and developments. However the present strained relationship between the government and the field, and in particular between central and local government makes dialogue difficult. In this climate official reports cannot be easy to write. The authors have to be conscious of the fact that if they make too many demands on the role of the government, then the report is likely to be rejected out of hand or shelved. At the same time the field is often looking to official reports to see what, if anything, the government is going to do that is positive to develop the service. The result would seem to be that much of what is included in official reports is at such a level of generality that few can disagree except in terms of emphasis or omission, for example - a class analysis in the **Thompson Report**. It is almost as if the absence of the main aim of the report is to lay out a few themes (e.g. experience, participation) which can then be taken up at local level in various conferences and training sessions to tease out their meanings and implications. The danger of not starting from an analysis of local practice is that it encourages the creation of unrealistic utopias which then prove to have little, if any, influence on practice.

The Welsh Report comes from a different approach. As an HMI report it reflects the tradition of detailed, factual description of practice. At first sight this can be off-putting. It is not only the fact of bilingualism in Wales that makes the report long. It is also the 50 tables (included in a separate appendix) and the amount of detail. There are references to kiln-firing, social drama, miming and guessing games, local hospital radio and drop scones! Such detail is valuable in a variety of ways. It provides a much needed overall description of the Welsh Service, including comparisons between the eight Local Education Authorities and the voluntary sector on funding, facilities, staffing and usage. Inevitably there are some doubts about the reliability of the figures (especially membership) but at least these figures provide an important baseline for future years. Of particular interest to the full-time training agencies is that in 1982-3 there were only 157 full-time staff in post in Wales (including officers/advisers), only 32 of these (20%) had a specialist qualification, and only 22 (14%) were women. The factual detail also highlights examples of good practice in the field and inevitably raises the question of how widespread is good practice.

The Welsh Report makes many critical comments about the overall quality and quantity of provision and paints a depressing picture of a service which has in general failed to respond to the challenges and problems of Welsh young people in the 1980's. In particular, the Service has come to respond to a younger age range, at the same time as the problems facing older youth have grown particularly in regard to unemployment. The position of girls in the Service is also noted as a matter of considerable concern. Whereas the Service has always been male oriented it is noted that the position of girls in the service has 'worsened dramatically'.

Analysis of the reasons why the Service has not been more successful is inevitably more difficult in a report which is written solidly within the empirical tradition. However even the lack of an articulated theoretical position does not stop the authors of this report pointing to particular weaknesses and suggesting that the service could do much to improve itself. They also certainly

imply though do not state directly, that greater support from government and other agencies is important. There is of course no guarantee that such a report will lead to more funding at a time of general cutbacks but those in the Service who complain that this report is overly critical should consider whether a report such as this which makes detailed criticisms calling for clear changes does more for improving the service than those reports which state generalised ideals.

John Holmes.

**Anne Campbell
THE GIRLS IN THE GANG:
A Report from New York City
Blackwells, 1984
ISBN 0-631-13374-7**

It is estimated that New York has about 400 gangs of which ten percent are female 'affiliates'. Anne Campbell's book examines the structure and role of female gangs through a study of three women, each a member of a different female affiliate. The question Campbell addresses concerns how far the women's movement has influenced these women and in what sense have they broken from their traditional female roles to become 'revolutionaries'. In an interesting review of the literature, Campbell rehearses feminist complaints that most existing research either relegates girls to marginal roles or refracts their experience through the lens of male researchers and male peers. In reaching beyond this literature, Campbell hopes to discover whether the nineteen seventies have brought about significant changes in female deviant behaviour. She concludes that little or nothing has changed for the 'girls in the gang', that their conformity with capitalist values and especially sex roles remain untouched.

We were not happy with the results of her inquiry nor with the way she pursued it. In terms of method, she scratches at a number of surfaces of interest (among them 'tomboys', promiscuity, romance, female friendship, violence and sexuality) but we felt a lack of focus in her work. As she moved from one question to another few of the contradictions, inconsistencies bravado and self-deprecation of the interviewees were pursued to any depth. Her questions were more descriptive than inquiring and she tended to follow rather than penetrate the immediate responses of these women. Campbell's themes were often drawn from conventional sociology and social psychology at the expense of feminism. This limits her understanding of the forms of opposition and dissent which lie beneath the surface of woman's conformity. For example, whatever conformity in other areas, the women provided subcultural content to a feminist slogan: they have reclaimed the streets and the night; they have invaded male territory and have moved outside the domestic sphere. This break from traditional sex roles needs to be recognised and examined further.

Though Campbell tried to get to the underbelly of female ganglife, she brought back insufficient news to establish her work as a feminist shift from mainstream subculture theory. Campbell shares with the literature of the Chicago and neo-Chicago school, the location of gangs in a urban problematic: with its assumptions about immigrant groups vying for urban territory, about frustrated desires and resort to crime and, in particular, about ethnicity in isolation from problems of racism and class domination. With this framework, Campbell pursues her search for conformity with the women. She bends the stick too far in opposition to a vulgar marxism - which paints street gangs as proto-revolutionary - though she does not directly address it in this way. As Laurie Taylor pointed out in a recent review of her book in the Times Educational Supplement, had Campbell paid more heed to the perspectives

offered by the new sub-cultural theories of Hebdige, McRobbie, Willis and others she would have gained a more nuanced understanding of the relation between conformity and rebellion in sub-cultural behaviour.

Campbell could not embrace British subcultural theory because she did not integrate class in her own perspective. US gang subculture, argues Campbell, is quite different to subcultures like punks or skins which are suffused with some sort of class identity. Because America has failed to produce 'an enduring working class political party, philosophy or culture', there is no critique of capitalism embedded in gang culture. Gangs, she writes, are structured like corporate enterprises or military organisations. Members are subject to an internal disciplinary regime and elaborate rituals of initiation keep the gangs exclusive. This distinction - which overemphasises the absence of class consciousness in American history - makes it more difficult to grasp the tensions between accommodation and critique among American women who have chosen deviate in a very male domain. For example, Campbell's notion that desire for upward mobility is the same as conformism is an erroneous equation rooted in the anti-materialist counter-culture of the American new left. Her discovery that the women wanted decent apartments, colour televisions and men who will relate to them kindly and unviolently does not necessarily prove uncritical adherence to capitalist and patriarchal values.

Campbell's last case study, that of the black woman, Sun Africa, poses particular problems. Sun-Africa's experiences are not entirely analogous to the two Hispanic women Campbell studied. Sun-Africa moved from what she considered to be membership of a gang to membership of an Islamic movement, called the Five-percenter. This movement defined itself as counter-cultural in its retreat from racist and materialist society. The Five-percenter insisted that they were not a gang, but Campbell overrules them. She insists that they are a 'gang', in the same way as the police (the Gang Intelligence Unit) define them, because its members commit acts of crime. Her argument here does not take account of the race and class factors which led to the development of black religious movements, their break from establishment religion and their search for an alternative life in forms of communalism, however sexist the structure. Nor does it pursue the problems in the definition and sanctions imposed upon them by public authorities, such as the police.

Notwithstanding our criticisms, for the testimony of the gang-women themselves, for Ann Campbell's ability to draw them out and for the fact that this is one of few works about 'girls in gangs', this book is well worth reading.

Glynis Cousin and Shosh Morris

David Raffe et al
FOURTEEN TO EIGHTEEN : THE CHANGING PATTERN OF SCHOOLING IN SCOTLAND
ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1984
ISBN 0 08 030374 9
£7.90
pp. 265

This book offers the reader a comprehensive review of the changing patterns of schooling in Scotland. The four authors (Peter Burnhill, Andrew McPherson, David Raffe, and Penelope Weston) detail the changes in policy over the last two decades, and focus on some of the expected results of current policy initiatives. It offers a detailed explanation of "schooling" for fourteen to eighteen year olds, tracing the pupils' progress through this four year period. It further identifies reasons and responses for the various decisions

pupils make in relation to their education. However, despite policy changes, the predominant picture of the Scottish school as it exists today suggests that it relies heavily on established educational traditions and tends to use the more traditional methods. There is little evidence from the pupils of innovative responses by the teaching profession, or any significant movement away from the central role of the importance of gaining educational qualifications.

The pupils' comments reinforce the importance which society places on educational achievement, viewed almost wholly through gaining qualifications. The schooling of this group of pupils appears to focus on the likelihood or reality of passing examinations, and one could be forgiven for the impression that this is almost solely what their education is devoted to. The authors do indicate the relationship of educational achievement to the requirements of entry to Higher Education and the labour market.

There is an underlying theme, particularly when pupils are still passing through the final two years of compulsory schooling, that equality of opportunity is not universal. Much depends on already established factors such as social class of parents, influence of and active participation by the family, parents' educational choices when they were pupils, role of adolescent peer groups, etc. This suggested a certain fatalism on the part of the majority of the pupils to the existing education system, and their chances of achievement within it.

The picture regarding educational achievement appears to alter when pupils choose to continue their schooling voluntarily after completing the compulsory stage. Now the focus is on qualifications and their subsequent improvement. Here, also, the relationship between successful results and school being viewed as worthwhile, is pointed to by pupils. The education system appears to perpetuate the competitive reality of today's society, which rewards the achievers at the expense of non-achievers.

The present state and structure of the labour market as described in the chapter by David Raffe, further emphasised the importance of educational attainment in relation to the greater chances of employment. However he identified a number of other important factors - role of the parents, home environment and area, local level of unemployment, personal characteristics, etc. While these broadened the elements contributing toward gaining employment, they generally favoured children of middle class parents who had been successful in gaining examination success at school.

The chapter title "YOP and the future of YTS" sat awkwardly within the title of the book as it is outside the Scottish school system. However the awareness of the role of the **Manpower Services Commission** in promoting such schemes allied to the potential intrusion, and possible attempts to take over part of the education system, were worthy of discussion.

This book deals carefully with some of the issues that are central to pupils, parents, teachers and society, with regard to schooling for the fourteen to eighteen age group. In each chapter the reader is provided with an appropriate context, followed by the presentation of the evidence from which the conclusions are reached. Overall it is a book which is likely to contribute to the discussion of some of the issues facing those concerned with Scottish education, whether pupil, parent, teacher or employer.

Clive Rowland

Lorraine Trenchard & Hugh Warren
SOMETHING TO TELL YOU
London Gay Teenage Group, 1984
ISBN 0 950 9455 0 1
£2.95
pp. 167

Hugh Warren
TALKING ABOUT SCHOOL
London Gay Teenage Group, 1984
ISBN 0 9509455 2 8
£2
pp. 47

Something to tell you presents the preliminary results of a year long study focussed on 416 young lesbians and gays in London. There is much for heterosexuals to consider although little I suspect, that gay people don't already know. The importance of the book is two-fold; it clearly presents the forms of homophobia encountered in the main spheres of our lives, in the family, education and employment as well as in society generally. Second, the authors' recommendations set out at the end of each chapter, succinctly pinpoint needs demanding immediate attention, amounting in effect to a manifesto for change. The lesbian and gay researchers, Lorraine Trenchard and Hugh Warren, employed by the London Gay Teenage Group, go to great pains to portray a statistical profile of the 416 respondents. The ten tables of figures reveal that two thirds of the sample were men; 90% white; mostly unmarried; the majority totally homosexual and roughly evenly divided between working and middle class. Sexual orientation and social class is based on respondents' own definitions.

One of the most encouraging things about this book is that it shows that many gay teenagers in London, shunned by the official youth service, are organising themselves and providing their own supportive social centres. However, this process is still very much in its infancy. For the vast majority of young lesbians and gay men in London, as elsewhere in the country, negative images and isolation are the predominant experiences. Fewer than half of the teenagers had revealed their homosexuality to one or both parents and fewer than half of those had received support as a result. There can be few, if any, other minority group that cannot count upon the support of the family. For young lesbians and gays, homophobia within the home as well as almost everywhere else is a double burden they have to endure.

To those working within schools and the youth service it will come as no surprise to learn that homosexuality was a topic seldom mentioned in schools. Fewer than half of the respondents recalled the issue arising within the formal curriculum, and for the majority of them it had been discussed in a negative way. It was mentioned least of all in sex education; a reflection of the rarity of the subject I suspect, as much as the willingness of the teachers to address the issue. Several years ago a youth tutor told me that there would be no point in using the CHE slide/cassette kit, **Homosexuality: A Fact of Life**, because there were no homosexuals in his school or youth club. More recently a youth worker told one of my students that 'there is nothing good in a homosexual' and that 'there is no place for homosexuals in youth clubs'. The research reveals that hardly ever had the young people experienced a discussion of homosexuality in youth clubs unless they had initiated it themselves. The vast majority of youth workers and teachers by their silence are supporting and maintaining stigma, oppression and violence against homosexuals.

The book vividly illustrates the extent to which families, schools, youth clubs, work and non-work places remain essentially hostile environments for young lesbians and gays despite the increased public discussion and media coverage of homosex-

uality during the past decade. In their final summary, the authors bring together the essence of their recommendations:

1. "Clear, positive and straight/forward information... to counteract the traditional negative and stereotypical portrayal of homosexuals."
2. "...active education to overcome the ignorance and fear that surround homosexuality...for example, teacher training courses should address issues concerning homosexuality, and in turn homosexuality should be dealt with positively in the school curriculum."
3. "funding for existing lesbian and gay organizations and...the development of further facilities for young homosexuals."

This imaginative research project, funded by the Greater London Council, has established an unprecedented bench-mark and provided a wealth of information and insights which, hopefully, teachers and youth workers will not only study but act upon.

Talking about school develops the issues raised in the chapter on school in *Something to tell you*. Much of the text, particularly in the first half, is vividly illustrated. For example, the statement by the headmaster of Highbury Grove Comprehensive school, echoing, regrettably, the typical head teacher's view: "I don't think that school is the place for homosexuality to be discussed. (p11) is followed by line drawings of two boys calling a third boy 'poof' and 'queer'. The booklet is at its best when juxtaposing heterosexism, which pretends homosexuality doesn't exist/has no place in school, with the reality of homophobic queer-bashing. The pervasiveness of heterosexism throughout the curriculum is illustrated with a wide range of examples such as the one taken from *Focus on Physics* (Wheatons) where a male and female together show attraction to each other whereas two males together and two females together show repulsion. Hardly a value-free way of explaining the behaviour of positive and negative forces in science! (Incidentally, no prizes for guessing which sex illustrated the negative quality!).

The cumulative effect of such examples during the first half of the booklet generates a momentum which is necessary to support the point that: "teachers should always challenge anti-lesbian and anti-gay abuse, just as they should racist and sexist abuse." (p31) but it is not sufficient to carry the burden or the argument. Like all examples, they are the outcome of analysis and the analytical framework, if only in outline form, needs to be explicit, especially since the primary function of the booklet is to introduce a new, and for many readers, a challenging perspective on social relationships. As it stands the reader could be forgiven for concluding that heterosexism and sexism are quite unrelated. Further, if the idea that anti-gay and anti-lesbian abuse is as much a problem for the abuser as it is for the abused is to be more than a mere slogan for the initiated, then some presentation of the analysis of sexism is a basic pre-requisite.

In short, without a clearly articulated analytical framework, the danger is that homosexuals could be treated as 'a special case', not to be scorned, but tolerated. Rather than being perceived within a perspective which not only permits but accepts and celebrates difference. Also for the benefit of those seriously considering sexuality for the first time, a brief outline of the legal situation would have been useful, if only in the form of an appendix, together with brief examples of the ways in which lesbians and gays are discriminated against in both the criminal and civil courts. Many heterosexuals may be surprised to know that being lesbian or gay has been upheld in courts to be sufficient grounds for dismissal from employ-

ment, particularly where work with young people is concerned. Admittedly, more and more employers in the public sector are declaring themselves to be an equal opportunity employer; in Camden that means lesbians and gays are welcome but it does not mean that in Rugby! A fuller presentation of the actual situation vis a vis employers, employees and unions would have underscored the urgency for change and for the recognition of the politics involved.

The final criticism concerns the bibliographies and resources guide in both *Something to Tell You* and *Talking About School*. Publishers and dates of publication go unrecorded except for *Breaking the Silence* (1981), now out of print and noted to be published by the Joint Council of Teenagers (disbanded at the beginning of 1983). Also, *Young, Gay & Proud* is credited differently in each book. It did originate in Melbourne from a group of gay teachers and students as indicated in *Talking about School* but is now only available in this country via the US publisher as shown in *Something to Tell You*. Many of the books listed in the former are briefly described; it would be helpful if all were and if the same practice were adopted for the latter on the next reprint. Names and addresses of women's publishers and the Gay Men's Press would have been useful. Inexplicably, in neither resources list is there mention of the excellent CHE slide/cassette pack, *Homosexuality: A Fact of Life* designed for use with young people and although published in 1978 still an invaluable aid in a field with very little visual resource material. Needless to say, despite the critical notes, both books deserve their current sales successes and everyone concerned with young people should regard them as required reading.

Peter Kent-Baguley

Joan Hughes edit
THE BEST YEARS?
Reflections of School Leavers in the 1980s
Aberdeen University Press
ISBN 0-08-030405-2
pp. 138

The Best Years? is a collection of views from a cross section of 1979/80 school leavers. The authors are those school leavers who participated in the 1981 Scottish School Leavers Survey, one of a series of surveys undertaken by Edinburgh University's Centre for Educational Sociology. It is the second book to be based on the 1981 survey. The first being 'Fourteen to Eighteen' which used data from the same survey to discuss the state of Scottish schooling and the case for reform.

The book is in two parts. The first containing comments on ten aspects covered by the questionnaire used in the survey. These range from what makes a perfect school, to the experience of YOP and WEEP. The comments in Part 1, the Editor states, have been selected for their intrinsic interest rather than their representativeness. Part II contains a random cross section of responses to the more general questions concerning life at school and after leaving. They are reproduced in full and the lack of editorial intervention, together with the less specific nature of the questions, results in more scope for the participants to reflect on their experience of school.

Brief biographical details of the participants are given and their responses have been grouped according to their levels of achievement in public examinations. This latter point may well be anathema to Youth Workers who by and large resolutely resist the categorising of young people. It does however make for ease of reference and comparison aided by the clear indexing and layout. Comparisons, whilst they might indeed be odious, are none the less intensely interesting!

It should be said that the views reflected in The Best Years? are not truly representative of the total population of leavers of 79/80. The Editor points out that despite the high response to the questionnaire (about 90%) and the reasonably high coverage of the target sample (about 72%) there are disproportionately more school leavers with 'highers' than there are those with no certificates at all. This imbalance is hardly surprising given the medium used and the fact that the young people were asked to participate in their last weeks at school; those about to leave with no qualifications declined to co-operate in greater numbers than those who were to leave with certificates. The questionnaires were completed nine months after leaving school.

So what does it say? What is school like and how could it be better? Youth Workers will recognise much of what is said but familiarity doesn't lessen its impact. The apparent pointlessness of much of the curriculum, the resentment at the uncaring attitude of many teachers, the emphasis on exams (disliked by those who did well in them as much as by those who did not) the lack of interesting and relevant preparation for life after school, the institutionalisation. For some too there was interest, challenge and fun, and for them these years will no doubt be 'the best'.

Suggestions for making things better are sharp and to the point. The curriculum needs to be more interesting, practical and useful. It should include social skills, involving much more discussion and debate, with sex, money and politics mentioned across the academic spectrum. Schools are required to be more available to the local community, teachers are asked to display some interest in the pupils, pupils should be more involved in decision making and buildings should be warm, clean and comfortable.

I confess to turning straight away to 'The perfect school' and here ideas came thick and fast...and very contradictory! The perfect school should have a shorter day; a longer day; should start at 8.00; should start at 10.00; there should be little PE; there should be much more PE; here a plea for more emphasis on discussions, there a desire for more attention to written work. For some fortunate people the perfect school existed - they had been to it.

The Best Years? claims to provide a platform for young people to air their views though it is in Part II that this claim is more fully met. Since the responses here are reported in their entirety we are able to gain more insight as to the issues of concern to those involved and the priority they are given. The opening sentence of one account for example states starkly... 'the belt doesn't work... For another the lesson included... 'humiliation... a very cold and lonely humiliation'... Some responses are long and rambling and reveal little. Others speak volumes in their brevity. Some regretted not working harder, nostalgia was already in evidence, and many missed their friends. A lot are sharp in their criticism, a few unstinting in their praise.

One factor that emerges above all others from these accounts is that schooling from the point of view of the young people concerned is overwhelmingly about teachers. Time and again the quality of the relationships between pupils and teachers is focussed upon. The good relationships are valued by achievers and non achievers alike and the bad relationships both resented and despaired. The Best Years? is a useful source of information on what school leavers in Scotland think of their schooling. To a large extent it confirms what is already known. As evidence of how things are it is interesting, but its value will depend on how the evidence is used to influence the reforms being undertaken.

Anne Foreman.

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Meteyard: Vocation, Profession or Job: The State of Residential Care.
Atkins: The Pre-Employment Curriculum: A Right of Passage.
Lorenz and McCullagh: Helping Troublesome Kids: A Hidden Curriculum?
Allen: Social Workers and the Juvenile Court.
Leslie: "Time, the subtle thief of youth". Historians and youth.

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Code

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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 | |

V40 N94

Apprenticeship Schemes WA

Mr. Gordon Wilson asked the Sec S Employment how many youngsters were participating in apprenticeship schemes in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development countries at the latest available date; and what percentage of the total number eligible in each country these figures represent.

Mr. Peter Morrison: Information is not available in the precise form requested. The following is the latest information available from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development:

*Young people leaving compulsory education in OECD countries in most recent years
Distribution among full-time education labour force and other activities*

Percentages

| Country | Year | Full-time education | | | Labour force | | Outside labour force | Not known (4+5+6+7+8) | Total (4+5+6+7+8) |
|-------------------|---------|---------------------|----------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| | | Secondary | | Total (2+3) | Apprenticeship (c) | Other | | | |
| | | General (a) | Vocational (b) | | | | | | |
| | | 1 | 2 | | | | | | |
| Australia (e) | 1975 | .. | .. | 60 | (p) .. | 29 | (d) .. | (d) .. | 100 |
| Austria (e) | 1976 | 15 | 24 | 39 | 54 | 7 | (d) .. | (d) .. | 100 |
| Denmark (f) | 1976 | 69 | 1 | 70 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 100 |
| Finland (e) | 1977 | 43 | 20 | 63 | 1 | 25 | .. | 11 | 100 |
| France (e) | 1975 | 34 | 36 | 70 | 8 | 22 | (d) .. | (d) .. | 100 |
| Germany (g) | 1977 | .. | .. | 31 | 64 | 4 | 1 | (h) .. | 100 |
| Greece | 1974 | 70 | 10 | 80 | 3 | 17 | (d) .. | (d) .. | 100 |
| Ireland (f) | 1976 | 50 | 14 | 64 | 4 | 26 | 5 | (h) .. | 100 |
| Japan (m) | 1977 | 61 | 32 | 93 | (n) 3 | (o) 4 | .. | .. | 100 |
| Netherlands (3) | 1968-69 | .. | .. | 82 | 5 | 6 | 7 | (h) .. | 100 |
| Norway | 1975 | 45 | 31 | 76 | 5 | 19 | (d) .. | .. | 100 |
| Portugal | 1975 | .. | .. | 69 | 3 | 20 | .. | 8 | 100 |
| Sweden | 1974 | (j) 37 | (k) 30 | (l) 68 | (d) .. | 28 | 4 | (h) .. | 100 |
| Switzerland (e) | 1975 | .. | .. | 17 | 55 | 28 | (d) .. | (d) .. | 100 |
| United Kingdom | 1974 | .. | .. | 21 | 18 | 51 | 10 | (h) .. | 100 |
| England and Wales | 1976 | .. | .. | 23 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |

Notes:

- Some students in this category may later proceed to vocational training.
- Excluding apprentices are enrolled in part time education
- Numbers entering apprenticeship. In the official statistics apprentices are included in the employed labour force.
- Included in column 6.
- Young people becoming 16 during the year and having completed compulsory education.
- Age 16, completion of school beyond compulsory.
- Plans of school-leavers mostly aged 15-16, (Berufsbildungsbericht, 1978, table 27).
- Included in column 7.
- Theoretical lines in the comprehensive school.
- Vocational lines in the comprehensive school.
- Includes 0.5 per cent. in other forms of education.
- Graduates from lower secondary education.
- Excludes students in upper secondary education with jobs.
- Includes entrants into special training schools.
- Not available. However it is known that 15 per cent. of young people aged 16 enter apprenticeships.
- Not available.

Source:

OECD Manpower and Social Affairs Committee paper MAS (80) 27.
Information contained in this table is based on estimates provided to OECD by national authorities.

Youth Training WA

Mr. Parry asked the Sec State Employment what types of youth training schemes are at present involved under the Manpower Services Commission on Merseyside. Mr. Peter Morrison: The MSC Youth Training WA

Mr. Parry asked the Sec State Employment what types of youth training schemes are at present involved under the Manpower Services Commission on Merseyside. Mr. Peter Morrison: The MSC is having discussions with employers, local authorities and others on Merseyside about the provision of places under the youth training scheme. We anticipate that many of these places will be with employers and others will be in training workshops or on community projects where these satisfy the

criteria of the scheme. It is estimated that the scheme will provide places for some 16,000 unemployed young people on Merseyside in 1983-84.

Mr. Parry asked the Sec State for Employment which trade unions support the MSC youth training schemes on Merseyside which are in existence at the latest date.

Mr. Peter Morrison: Up to 6 April 1983 the following trade unions had been consulted and had given their support to youth training schemes on Merseyside.

General and Municipal Boilermakers and Allied Trade Union
Management and Technical Staff Association
Transport and General Workers Union
Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians
National Union of Furniture, Leather, Timber and Allied Trades
National Union of Hosiery and Knitwear Workers
Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers
National Association of Local Government Officers
National Union of Public Employees
Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staff
Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers
National Graphical Association
Equity
Military and Orchestral Instrument Makers Trades Society

Mr. Parry asked the Sec State Employment (1) if he will list the locations of Manpower Services Commission youth training scheme projects on Merseyside at the latest available date.

Mr. Peter Morrison: The area manpower board for Merseyside met on 6 April and approved 46 schemes in the districts of Knowsley, Wirral and St. Helens, and in the postal areas of Liverpool 1 to 9, and Liverpool 14 to 17.

V40 N95

Armed Forces (Youth Training)

The Secretary of State for Defence (Mr. Michael Heseltine): With your permission, Mr. Speaker I will make a statement on the participation of the armed forces in the Government's youth training scheme.

I have been considering the role of the armed forces in the Government's programme to provide training and work experience for unemployed school leavers. The high quality of the training provided by our armed forces has convinced me that they should play a part. I therefore propose to make available some 5,200 places for the youth unemployed volunteering for such opportunities which will be on the same basis as the youth training scheme. The precise number of places available in the first year will depend on the number of applications and the capacity of the services training organisation.

The young people will volunteer to join one of the services on a 12 month engagement, part of which will be spent in formal training and the remainder in work experience. All volunteers will receive the same basic training as regular service men and women, and some will go on to learn skills and trades. All applicants for the scheme will be volunteers, will have to satisfy existing entry standards and will be able to leave at any time on 14 days' notice.

They will be service men and service women and in all but a few respects will qualify for the same benefits as single regulars and under the same disciplines. They will receive, as will youngsters joining civilian employers in the scheme, an allowance of £25 per week. I have decided that a deduction from this will be made for food and accommodation of £10 per week.

The Ministry of Defence will receive the same subvention as civil employers. As the YTS volunteers will pay less than the normal service food and accommodation charge, my Department will contribute about £1 million to subsidise this lower deduction.

To give effect to these proposals I shall be laying before the House statutory instruments to amend the appropriate service regulations. I hope that the scheme will be in operation before September this year.

I am sure that the House will applaud the willingness of the armed service to devote some of their training skills for the benefit of young people. I recommend the scheme to the House.

New University of Ulster Polytechnic (Mergers)

Rev. Ian Paisley asked the Sec State for Northern Ireland if he will make a statement on the progress of the merger between the New University of Ulster and the Polytechnic.

Mr. Scott: The steering group is planning the new institution on the basis that the first intake of students will be in September 1984. Detailed work is being carried forward on three fronts:

- constitution and structures of governance - a draft charter and statutes have been circulated to interested parties for comment;
- faculty structures and course planning - a subgroup chaired by the vice chancellor designate, Mr. Birley, is considering academic issues, and further senior staff will soon be designated to carry forward detailed planning;
- administrative arrangements and possible legislation.

Drug Abuse WA

Mr. Kilroy-Silk asked the Sec State Social Services if he will list those organisations providing services for drug abusers in receipt of grants from his Department; and what was the amount of the grant in the last year.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke: The following is the information:

| 1982-83 | £ |
|--|--------|
| Blenheim Project | 7,600 |
| City Roads (Crisis Intervention) | 92,804 |
| Community Drugs Project | 5,300 |
| Elizabeth House Association | 14,786 |
| Esther Association for Prevention of Addiction | 3,770 |
| Herts Standing Conference on Drug Abuse | 1,700 |
| Hungerford Day Centre for Drug Addicts | 12,700 |
| Inward House Trust | 259 |
| Turning Point | 95,800 |
| Yeldall Manor | 6,210 |

In addition the following grants were made towards the operating costs of national organisations working in the field of drug abuse;

| 1982-83 | £ |
|--|---------|
| Institute for the Study of Drug Dependence | 143,000 |
| Standing Conference on Drug Abuse | 60,000 |

Youth Training WA

Dr. Hampson asked the Sec State Social Services whether he has yet completed his review of the application of the supplementary benefit 21-hour rule to young people leaving the youth opportunities programme or the youth training scheme.

Mr. Newton: Yes, the current regulation provides that young people who complete such a course have then to spend a three months' period available for work in receipt of benefit before becoming eligible to study under the 21-hour rule.

We have now decided, after consultation with the Departments of Education and Science and of Employment, that it is right to eliminate this delay in respect of young people who have completed an MSC training course and do not find work. Accordingly, my right hon. Friend has today referred to a draft regulation to the Social Security Advisory Committee, providing for time spent on the youth opportunities programme or the youth training scheme to count towards the three months' qualifying period for eligibility to undertake part-time study under the 21 hour rule whilst in receipt of supplementary benefit.

The draft regulation will form part of the set of Supplementary Benefit (Miscellaneous Amendments) Regulations which has already been referred to the Social Security Advisory Committee for consideration.

V41 N97

Charities OA

Mr. Dubs asked the Attorney-General in respect of how many charities he has made representations to the Charities Commission that charitable status should be withdrawn.

The Attorney-General (Sir Michael Havers): I have made representations for the withdrawal of charitable status only in respect of the two charitable trusts which are associated with the Unification Church.

Mr. Dubs: Does the Attorney-General agree that the law on what constitutes charitable status is confused? Does he also agree that that leads to difficulties in distinguishing between charitable work and lobbying, which means that the charities commissioners have to make difficult political judgments? Is he aware that that results in anomalies for organisations that want to further peace and disarmament, because they are denied charitable status while organisations such as the British Atlantic Committee are not?

The Attorney-General: The problem is that the charities commissioners have to work under the existing law. If the purpose of the hon. Gentleman's question is to change the law, he should address a question to my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary.

Mr. Michael Morris: Is my right hon. and learned Friend aware that my right hon. and learned Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer persistently gives as one of the reasons for not giving exemption from VAT to charities that certain charities, such as the Moonies, are "undesirable"? In the light of that, will my right hon. and learned Friend make strong representations to the charities commissioners to review charitable status so that such problems can be solved?

The Attorney-General: The law is not altogether clear. That is why there has been a problem with the two trusts that I mentioned. Any major change in charity law requires legislation, and questions about that should be addressed to my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary.

Mr. Christopher Price: Does the Attorney-General agree that the law is in chaos as a result of the various judgments handed down over the years about what charitable status is? Does he agree that it is wrong that the charities commissioners should decide what is "political"? They have suddenly decided that peace is political in a sense that it was not before. Should there not be some other mechanism, so that three individuals do not pronounce what is political and what is not? Does the Attorney-General agree that the commissioners' powers affect all types of organisations, including Oxfam which is widely respected?

The Attorney-General: Charity law is not in chaos. Charity law is of long standing. Many judicial decisions upon which the charities commissioners act are rather old. The law has not, perhaps, kept up with the change in the nature of trusts seeking charitable status. Originally the law was designed to deal with rogues and crooks and the misuse of charitable funds. The law is probably necessary. Perhaps we shall see a way forward after the final decision is taken on the Moonies. It may then be necessary to reconsider the whole of charity law.

Mr. Arthur Davidson: Although the Attorney General is right to have a test case for the Moonies, does he agree that that is a cumbersome way of clarifying the law on charitable status? Will he consider conducting a quick review to examine the implication of the confused and hazy state of the law, and in particular the powers of the charities commissioners?

The Attorney-General: I share the hon. and learned Gentleman's views about the law being cumbersome. That is one of the reasons why I sought to persuade the charities commissioners to hold and inquiry under section 6, rather than just to refuse to deregister. The litigation process will be long and expensive. Any review of the existing charity law is a matter for my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary.

V41 N98

Unemployment Benefit WA

Mr. Gwilym Roberts asked the Sec State Social Services if he will change the regulations for registering for unemployment to allow unemployed men and women not to register on two fortnightly dates per year, thus enabling them to take holidays.

Mr. Rossi: No. We have no immediate plans to remove the requirements that unemployed claimants

must show that they are still available for work, if they are to be entitled to benefit for a period when they are on holiday.

V41 N98

Armed Forces Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Harold Walker asked the Sec State Employment if any transfer of funds will be made from money allocated to the youth training scheme to finance the armed forces youth training scheme. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** Because the youngsters in the armed services scheme would otherwise be eligible for the youth training scheme there will be an appropriate reduction in the youth training scheme budget, and a corresponding amount will be available for the armed services youth training scheme.

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Harold Walker asked the Sec State Employment how many places have been offered by employers for trainees taking part in the youth training scheme; how many of these are in the private sector; how many in the public sector; and if he is satisfied that his target will be fulfilled. **Mr. Peter Morrison** I regret that while discussions are continuing between the MSC and employers and other potential providers of places, the information sought is not available. Most places will be with employers, but there are no separate targets for the public and private sectors. I have no doubt that the overall target of 460,000 entrants to the scheme in 1983-84 will be met.

V41 N100

Heroin WA

Sir Paul Hawkins asked the Sec State for the Home Department if he will take steps to place members of the Metropolitan police drug squad in European and other countries to gain information about the importation into the United Kingdom of heroin. **Mr. Mayhew:** I understand that the Association of Chief Police Officers is considering a recommendation from its national drugs conference held earlier this month relating to posting abroad police officers for drugs intelligence liaison work. Any recommendation from ACPO will be carefully considered.

Hostel Accommodation WA

Mr. Charles Irving asked the Sec State Environment what progress has been made in increasing the availability of modern hostel accommodation through housing associations; which groups are primarily catered for; and how this compares with the position in May 1979. **Mr. Stanley:** Under the present Government the Housing Corporation had up to 31 March 1983 approved hostel and other shared housing schemes providing over 7,000 bedspaces in newly built or newly improved accommodation. This includes the accommodation approved under the programme for replacing the Camberwell reception unit. Over two thirds of the 7,000 bedspaces is for single homeless people including the elderly, and about a quarter is for ex-offenders, former psychiatric patients and the mentally handicapped. The remainder is for other groups including unmarried mothers, battered wives, refugees, former drug addicts, ex-alcoholics and the disabled. The number of hostel bedspaces approved in 1982-83 was approximately three times greater than 1978-79.

V41 N100

Hostel Accommodation WA

Mr. Charles Irving asked the Sec State for the Environment what progress has been made in increasing the availability of modern hostel accommodation through housing associations; which groups are primarily catered for; and how this compares with the position in May 1979.

Mr. Stanley: Under the present Government the Housing Corporation had up to 31 March 1983 approved hostel and other shared housing schemes providing over 7,000 bedspaces in newly built or newly improved accommodation. This includes the accommodation approved under the programme for replacing the Camberwell reception unit. Over two thirds of the 7,000 bedspaces is for single homeless people including the elderly, and about a quarter is for ex-offenders, former psychiatric patients and the mentally handicapped. The remainder is for other groups including unmarried mothers, battered wives, refugees, former drug addicts, ex-alcoholics and the disabled. The number of hostel bedspaces approved in 1982-83 was approximately three times greater than in 1978-79.

Students Grants WA

Mr. Shersby asked the Sec State Education what would be the estimated cost of providing a full non-means-tested grant to all students in higher and further education.

Mr. Waldegrave: We estimate the cost to be over £750 million. This is made up by £160 million to abolish the parental contribution for those students now in receipt of mandatory awards and around £600 million to extend maintenance awards on this basis to all full-time students - in advanced and non-advanced further education - who do not at present hold a mandatory or discretionary award. These figures exclude fees, the costs of which are currently paid by public authorities for all mandatory award holders and for most discretionary award holders.

Mr. Shersby asked the Sec State Education and Science what would be the estimated cost of introducing a £25 a week grant for all students at further education colleges.

Mr. William Shelton: In 1982-83 in England and Wales, there were 575,000 full-time and sandwich home students in maintained, assisted and grant-aided institutions of further education. Of these, 215,000 already received either a mandatory or discretionary maintenance award. The cost of introducing a £25 a week grant - 1,300 a year - to the remaining 360,000 students and increasing the grant to current award holders whose means-tested award is below the level would be over £500 million per annum.

V41 N101

Young Persons' Rights Bill

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. Tom Clarke (Coatbridge and Airdrie): I beg to move, That the Bill be now read a Second time.

In presenting this important Bill, I am aware, as is the House, of the enormous problems facing young people today. Many of us believe them to be the greatest problems of the 1980s. I am sure that the House would wish to address itself to those problems.

If the measures proposed in the Bill are approved, Parliament will, as stated in clause 1(1),

"(a) ensure opportunities for work, or training for work, for all persons aged between sixteen and nineteen years;

(b) ensure educational facilities for all persons below the age of nineteen years; and

(c) provide a cost of living allowance net of essential expenses for all such persons."

The proposals are made at a time when the high national level of unemployment is extremely unpleasant and represents a challenge to the House. I know that there is much discussion nowadays - and rightly so - about the role of the family within our community, but when the Prime Minister refers to those matters she might usefully recall that it cannot be helpful to a family if there are within it one or more young persons who find no prospect whatever of a job of any industrial or commercial future. In that context, youth unemployment is a great blow to the family, and I invite the House to consider the problem in that way. etc.

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr Harold Walker asked the Sec State Defence if trainees enrolling under the armed forces youth training scheme will have the guarantee of 13 weeks off-the-job training; and in what kind of establishment this training will be provided. **Mr. Wiggin** The Armed Services youth training scheme will provide training within the normal structure of the three services and their establishments, related to the aptitudes of the applicant and the vacancies available and consistent with the objectives of the civilian youth training scheme.

Borstal Training WA

Miss Richardson asked the Sec State Home Department how many persons sentenced to borstal training spend time in adult prisons after sentence but prior to the commencement of borstal training. **Mr. Mellor** Approximately 7,500 borstal trainees were received into prison department establishments in England and Wales in 1982. Of the borstal trainees in prison department establishments on 31 January 1983, it is estimated that immediately following their sentence and prior to their allocation to a training borstal about 40 per cent. were received into a remand centre, 40 per cent. into a local prison and 20 per cent. into a borstal allocation centre.

Medical Students WA

Mr. Nicholas Winterton asked the Sec State Education how many students entered medical school in each year since 1978. **Mr. Waldegrave** The numbers of new entrant undergraduates to courses of pre-clinical medicine and dentistry in the universities of Great Britain since 1978-79 are as follows:

| | 1978-- 79 | 1979-- 80 | 1980-- 81 | 1981-- 82 | 1982-- 83* |
|------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| Pre-clinical medicine | 3,819 | 3,841 | 3,857 | 3,919 | 4,018 |
| Pre-clinical dentistry | 951 | 960 | 974 | 967 | 968 |
| TOTAL | 4,770 | 4,801 | 4,831 | 4,886 | 4,986 |

*Provisional.

V41 N102

Heroin WA

Sir Paul Hawkins asked the Sec State Home Department how many registered heroin addicts in Great Britain there were for the last five years for which records are available. **Mr. Mellor:** The available information is given in the following table.

*New addicts to the Home Office who claimed addiction to heroin**

| United Kingdom | Numbers of persons |
|----------------|-----------------------|
| 1977 | 613 |
| 1978 | 859 |
| 1979 | 1,110 |
| 1980 | 1,151 |
| 1981 | 1,660 |

*Alone or in combination with other drugs.

V41 N103

University Entrants OA

Mr. Andrew F. Bennet asked the Sec State Education what percentage of 18-year-olds entered university in 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981 and 1982; and how this compares with the expected figures for 1983 and 1984. **The Under-Secretary State Education (Mr. William Waldegrave):** Young home entrants to university were 7.5 per cent. of the 18-year-old age group from 1978 to 1980, 7.2 per cent. in 1981 and 6.9 per cent. in 1982. The University Grants Committee's planning targets imply a figure of about 6.6 per cent. by 1984. The comparable participation rate in higher education as a whole has risen from 12.4 per cent. in 1978 to 13.5 per cent. in 1982. **Mr. Bennett:** Does the Minister agree that the cuts in opportunities for young people to go to universities are outstanding acts of vandalism by the Government? as the Government now claim that economic recovery is under way, why do they not expand the opportunities in universities to take advantage of those extra resources this autumn and next year? **Mr. Waldegrave:** The limitation on the numbers in universities as opposed to other institutions of higher education was sought by the UGC to protect the research base. The Government can stand proudly on their record of providing increased opportunities overall in higher education. **Mrs. Shirley Williams:** Is the Minister aware that, compared with most industrial countries, we are cutting back on higher education? Can he justify the savage attacks on the technological universities, which one would think should be at the centre of our industrial recovery? **Mr. Waldegrave:** The right hon. Lady will be interested to know that of the large numbers of overseas Ministers who visit the Department from time to time, almost all are grappling with the problem of having to restrain expenditure on education. As for savage attacks on technological universities, the right hon. Lady should note that at the top of the UGC's list were two former colleges of advanced technology, allowing for the absurd distinction between technological and other universities. **Mr. Whitehead:** As the Minister has encouraged the public sector to raise numbers over the next two years, why does he not take similarly hard line with the UGC over the figures for 1984-85? Does he realise that most of us see this as the division of higher education into two sectors across the binary line - an elite sector in universities and an under-provided and under-privileged but larger sector in the public sector. **Mr. Waldegrave:** It must be for the public sector institutions to judge how many students they can take without damaging standards. The hon. Gentleman knows that the greater part of our effort on research is concentrated on the university side. That is why the UGC took the line that it did.

V41 N105

Schools (Lead Paint) WA

Mr. Cryer asked the Sec State for Environment whether he is now prepared to make financial assistance available to local authorities such as Bradford which wish to remove lead paint on both internal and external surfaces of schools and replace it with non-toxic paints; and if he will make a statement. **Mr. Giles Shaw:** Wholesale removal of lead paint is usually neither feasible nor cost-effective - simple coating with low-lead paint in the course of routine redecorating will normally reduce any hazard appreciably. If any additional remedial measures are necessary which require an increase in expenditure, I would expect the local authorities concerned to reorder expenditure priorities so as to meet the requirement within their existing targets. Circular 22/82, issued in September last year by my Department, explains the position in more detail.

Drug Misusers (Treatment and Rehabilitation) WA

Mr. Forman asked the Sec State Social Services when the guidelines on the central funding initiative for service and for the treatment and rehabilitation of drug misusers will be issued; and if he will make a statement. **Mr. Fowler:** We are today issuing guidelines for health and local authorities and local voluntary bodies wishing to apply for grants from the £6 million the Government have made available over the next three years for improving services to drug misusers. They are being widely distributed to health and local authorities, to voluntary organisations and professional organisations concerned with drug misusers and to individuals who have made known their interest in this scheme. The number of narcotic drug addicts known by the Home Office to be receiving drugs in 1972 was 1,620 - by 1982 the figure had risen to 4,400. But these figures relate only to known narcotic addicts. The true figure for drug misuse is much higher and must take account of people who are dependent on other types of drugs. Research suggests there could be as many as 40,000. The objectives of this central initiative are through pump-priming grants—

- to provide for regional and local assessments of the nature and spread of drug misuse problems;
- to increase the ability of professionals and others working in this area to help people with drug related problems;
- to improve links between health services provision and other community based services; and
- to improve the effectiveness of services available and ensure that they provide value for money.

Under this scheme, revenue-dependent projects can be funded for up to three years. Projects which have longer-term revenue requirements should look to other sources for support beyond the period of central funding. The guidelines ask for application for the first round of grants to be submitted by 29 July 1983. The Department will, as far as practicable, respond within six weeks. We will aim to ensure a reasonable geographical spread of projects and distribution of funds between different organisations and different types of projects. This may mean that consideration of some high-cost projects has to be deferred until the second round in 1983-84 or possibly 1984-85. In the light of the Advisory Council on the Misuse of Drugs report and the comments we received on it, we will be considering whether to give preference in the second round in 1983-84 and there-after to bids for projects of particular kinds or in selected areas. The guidelines also invite by 30 August 1983 notice in outline of projects in preparation but not ready for application. I hope this extra money will encourage health and local authorities as well as local voluntary organisations with an interest in drug misuse to give urgent consideration to this problem in their areas and to co-operate in producing responses. We want to make sure that the £6 million is spent where it is most needed by local agencies developing local projects. I see some of the money going on more facilities—special walk-in centres for addicts not presently going for treatment, or for hostels, halfway houses and rehabilitation centres in the community. Money could also be very usefully spent on getting more people to help addicts—key staff such as extra psychiatric nurses—an on local training projects.

Alcoholism WA

Mr. Freud asked the Sec State Social Services if he will state the number of places available in special units for the treatment of alcoholics in 1979 and in 1983. **Mr. Kenneth Clarke:** The latest information which is readily available is shown below:

*Mental Illness Hospitals and Units 1979 and 1981
(England)
Available Beds in Special Units and Wards*

| Type of care | 1979 | *1981 |
|------------------------------|------|-------|
| Alcoholism | 397 | 404 |
| Joint Alcohol/Drug Addiction | 145 | 140 |

*Provisional

V41 N106

Enterprise Allowance Scheme WA

Mr. Stephen Ross asked the Sec State Employment whether he has any plans to restrict the enterprise allowance scheme to 18 to 25-year-olds. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** The enterprise allowance scheme is open to unemployed people aged between 18 and state pension age, and there are no plans to alter the age limits when the scheme is extended to the whole country in August.

V42 N107

Armed Forces Youth Training OA

Mr. Hardy asked the Sec State Defence how many senior non commissioned officers will be required to supervise and train the unemployed young people who are to be taken into the armed services under the Government's recent proposals. **Mr. Wigg:** Participants in the armed services youth training scheme will train and work alongside other service men and women. It is therefore not practicable to say how many senior non commissioned officers will be involved in their supervision and training. **Mr. Hardy:** Is it not surprising that the Manpower Services Commission's staffing is tightly restricted while this gimmick is so frivolously pursued? Will the Minister re-examine the commitment of senior NCOs? Does he accept that military efficiency depends to a large extent on them and that they will be diverted from essential duties in this frivolous approach? **Mr. Wigg:** I take the view that they will be employed on essential duties. The scheme is neither frivolous nor a waste of time. The services will contribute about £1 million towards the scheme, which will be of great benefit to a large number of young people. **Sir Hector Monro:** Does my hon. Friend agree that the Opposition's attitude to this excellent new scheme is entirely misguided? Does he agree that the scheme will give young men a wonderful opportunity to be involved in outward bound activities and to learn about discipline and character development, which should stand them and their country in good stead for the future? **Mr. Wigg:** My hon. Friend is absolutely right. The Opposition line reveals a patent dislike of all matters relating to defence. **Mr. Ashley:** If any of the young service men are severely injured during the course of their duties, other than on military action, will they retain the right to sue for negligence that they now have as civilians, or will they lose that right as all service men lose it under section 10 of the Crown Proceedings Act 1947? **Mr. Wigg:** Section 10 of that Act will apply to the young service men, in the same way as it applies to all service men. The right hon. Gentleman makes a slightly poor point because service men can obtain generous disability and other pensions for the remainder of their lives, which are substitutes for the right enjoyed by an ordinary civilian to sue an employer.

V42 N108

Drugs Offences WA

Mr. Skeet asked the Sec State for the Home Department how many prosecutions for drug offences took place in each of the past five years; and what was the nationality of those (a) prosecuted and (b) convicted. **Mr. Mayhew:** Table 1 Persons proceeded against for drugs offences by nationality and year United Kingdom

| Year | Total | United Kingdom | Nationals of | | | | | Canada Australia New Zealand | Not recorded |
|------|--------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|--------|------|-----|------------------------------------|-----------------|
| | | | America (excl. USA and Canada) | Europe (excl. UK) | Africa | Asia | USA | | |
| 1977 | 13,658 | 11,488 | 598 | 504 | 229 | 271 | 371 | 165 | 32 |
| 1978 | 14,463 | 12,071 | 774 | 592 | 233 | 270 | 381 | 128 | 14 |
| 1979 | 15,072 | 12,380 | 836 | 610 | 269 | 396 | 350 | 152 | 79 |
| 1980 | 18,130 | 14,627 | 1,137 | 842 | 438 | 472 | 337 | 165 | 112 |
| 1981 | 19,081 | 15,836 | 1,100 | 682 | 511 | 402 | 309 | 131 | 110 |

*Table 2 Persons found guilty of drugs offences by nationality and year
United Kingdom*

| Year | Total | United Kingdom | Nationals of | | | | | Canada Australia New Zealand | Not recorded |
|------|--------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|--------|------|-----|------------------------------------|-----------------|
| | | | America (excl. USA and Canada) | Europe (excl. UK) | Africa | Asia | USA | | |
| 1977 | 12,704 | 10,730 | 521 | 476 | 212 | 242 | 338 | 155 | 30 |
| 1978 | 13,394 | 11,174 | 719 | 563 | 212 | 250 | 346 | 117 | 13 |
| 1979 | 14,054 | 11,576 | 743 | 579 | 246 | 371 | 325 | 144 | 70 |
| 1980 | 16,919 | 13,658 | 1,037 | 797 | 398 | 444 | 323 | 160 | 102 |
| 1981 | 17,667 | 14,714 | 965 | 642 | 476 | 362 | 288 | 124 | 96 |

V42 N110

School Leavers (Unemployment Statistics) WA

Mr. Strang asked Sec State Scotland how many school leavers were unemployed in January of each of the following years; 1950, 1955, 1960, 1965, 1970, 1975, 1980, 1981, 1982 and 1983. **Mr. Alexander Fletcher:** Information is not available prior to November 1961. The table shows the number of unemployed school leavers registered at employment exchanges, jobcentres and careers offices — the old basis of the unemployment count — in Scotland at January in each of the years specified between 1965 and 1982, together with the number of unemployed school leaver claimants at the unemployment benefit offices — the new basis of the count — in Scotland at January 1983.

Number of unemployed school leavers in Scotland in January

| | Number |
|-----------------|--------|
| 1965 | 1,794 |
| 1970 | 1,429 |
| 1975 (February) | 3,692 |
| 1979 | 13,022 |
| 1980 | 13,301 |
| 1981 | 20,123 |
| 1982 | 24,642 |
| 1983 | 25,278 |

Note:

Information for January 1975 is not available owing to industrial action at that time; the figure for February has been given instead.

V42 N111

Youth Opportunities Programme WA

Mr. Peter Robinson asked the Sec State for Employment what percentage of the trainees in the youth opportunities programme in England and Wales were placed in jobs by the end of their training period in 1982-83. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** The success of youth opportunities programme trainees in subsequently obtaining employment is measured by means of a survey carried out 12 months after the date of entry to the scheme. The most recent results are as follows:

| <i>Date of entry to youth opportunities programme</i> | <i>Percentage in employment 12 months later</i> |
|---|---|
| March-June 1981 | 41 |
| July-September 1981 | 54 |
| October-December 1981 | 44 |

Of those young people who joined the programme between October and December 1981, about 40 per cent. found employment immediately upon leaving their schemes.

V42 N111

Secondary School (Staff Shortages) WA

Mr. Craigen asked the Sec State Scotland which subjects in secondary schools in Scotland presently experience shortages of staff; and, in particular, give figures showing the present demand and supply position for teachers in technical subjects in Strathclyde. **Mr. Alexander Fletcher:** The latest available information about shortages of teachers by subject is contained in the Scottish Education Department's Statistical Bulletin No. 7/C1/1982 of July 1982. At the beginning of the current session about 300 students were taking courses leading to a teaching qualification (secondary education) in technical education, of whom about 120 were in their final year; the comparable figures for Jordanhill college of education are 180 and 80. These numbers are expected to be adequate to meet likely demand.

V42 N112

Young Persons OA

Mr. Jones asked Sec State Employment how many young men and women under 18 years are without jobs or training. **Under-Sec State Employment:** At 13 January, 123,769 men and 97,976 women aged under 18 in UK were unemployed claimants.

NORTHERN IRELAND

School Leavers WA

Mr. Peter Robinson asked Sec State Northern Ireland how many young people who left school in June 1982 in Northern Ireland (a) have found employment, (b) are still out of work (c) are employed in Youth Training Programme. **Mr. Adam Butler:** There were 2,543 young people aged 17 or under unemployed between April and December 1982 still unemployed at 14 April 1983.

On 25 March 1983 there were 7,564 young people aged 16 and 17 in full-time training under YTP.

Young Detained Persons (Youth Training) WA

Mr. Christopher Price asked the Sec State for Employment what arrangements he is making for young people in custody to continue and complete youth training and other courses. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** Young people taken into custody while participating in the youth training scheme will generally be eligible to complete a full year within the scheme provided they are released and are able to take up a place within two years of the date on which they left full-time education

V42 N113

Solvent Abuse WA

Lord James Douglas-Hamilton asked Sec St Scotland how many persons have lost their lives directly or indirectly as result of inhaling solvents for each of last 10 years; how many persons were referred to NHS in Scotland for treatment arising out of inhaling solvents in each of those years. **Mr. John MacKay:** Deaths in Scotland attributable to solvent abuse, in each of last seven years — is as follows:

| | Number |
|-------|--------|
| 1976 | 1 |
| 1977 | 2 |
| 1978 | 2 |
| 1979 | 2 |
| 1980 | 3 |
| 1981 | 9 |
| 1982 | *14 |
| TOTAL | 33 |

*Provisional figure.

Number of persons referred for treatment arising out of inhaling solvents is not known as diagnosis of solvent inhalation is frequently masked by other diagnoses—(asphyxia). The scope of the problem may be reflected in number of persons coming to notice of police as being involved in solvent abuse from 1979 to 1981 as follows:

| | Number |
|------|--------|
| 1979 | 2,240 |
| 1980 | 2,399 |
| 1981 | 3,312 |

Lord James Douglas-Hamilton asked Sec State Scotland how many persons have lost their lives directly or indirectly as a result of inhaling solvents for each of the last 10 years; how many persons were referred to hospitals or to the NHS in Scotland for treatment arising out of inhaling solvents in each of those years; **Mr. John MacKay:** The number of deaths in Scotland attributable to solvent abuse, both directly and indirectly, in each of the last seven years—the only period for which information is available—is as follows:

| | Number |
|-------|--------|
| 1976 | 1 |
| 1977 | 2 |
| 1978 | 2 |
| 1979 | 2 |
| 1980 | 3 |
| 1981 | 9 |
| 1982 | *14 |
| Total | 33 |

*Provisional figure.

The number of persons referred for treatment arising out of inhaling solvents is not known as the diagnosis of solvent inhalation is frequently masked by other diagnoses—for example, asphyxia. Detailed information about the incidence of solvent abuse in Scotland is not centrally available; but the scope of the problem may be reflected in the number of persons coming to the notice of the police as being involved in solvent abuse from 1979 to 1981 as follows:

| | Number |
|------|--------|
| 1979 | 2,240 |
| 1980 | 2,399 |
| 1981 | 3,312 |

V42 N115

Students (Grants) WA

Mr. Wardell asked the Sec State Employment if he has plans to extend MSC funding so the MSC can give a grant to employers who offer placements to students completing the training element of their three-year higher national diploma course so that students can be paid. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** The MSC provides financial support to employers who offer industrial placements to college-based sandwich course students at degree or HND level in engineering, technology or computer science. Grants are made available through industry training organisations, which may have to decide priorities for support within the criteria laid down by the commission. Payment to students is a matter between student and employer.

V46 N32

Mr. Boyes asked the Sec State Employment how many people are currently employed on the youth training scheme, divided by sex and age. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** The information is not available in the precise form requested. Young people can enter the youth training scheme either as trainees or as employees, but no information is available centrally on the employment status of entrants. The following table provides details of young people who entered the youth training scheme in the three months ending June 1983, either as trainees or employees.

| <i>Age on leaving education</i> | <i>Male</i> | <i>Female</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|---------------------------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| 16 | 12,350 | 8,400 | 20,750 |
| 17-18 | 475 | 350 | 825 |
| Unknown* | 75 | 50 | 125 |
| Total | 12,900 | 8,800 | 21,700 |

*The school leaving age of those entrants entitled to less than one year's training on the scheme is not held centrally.

V47 N33

Pupil-Teacher Ratio WA

Mr. Teddy Taylor asked Sec State for Education what are the pupil to teacher ratios in Essex and in England, respectively. **Mr. Dunn:** The provisional pupil-teacher ratios for maintained schools in Essex and in England in January 1983 are as follows:

| | <i>Essex</i> | <i>England</i> |
|--|--------------|----------------|
| Pupil-teacher ratios within maintained nursery schools | 27.4 | 20.1 |
| Pupil-teacher ratios within maintained primary schools | 24.1 | 22.3 |
| Pupil-teacher ratios within maintained secondary schools | 17.3 | 16.5 |
| Pupil-teacher ratio overall* | 19.7 | 18.1 |

*The teacher numbers in the overall ratio include all qualified teachers, student teachers and instructors paid for service in maintained nursery, primary and secondary schools.

Youth Opportunities Programme WA

Mr. Michie asked the Sec State Employment what compensation has been awarded to young persons who have died or been injured on youth opportunities programme in the period April 1980 to March 1983. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** The responsibility for insuring trainees rests with scheme sponsors. The MSC is not a party to claim for damages arising out of personal injury and cannot therefore supply any information concerning the number of claims or compensation paid. However, the MSC does make payments of benefit equal to those available to employed persons under the statutory injuries scheme. During the years 1981-82 and 1982-83 payments totalling £154,295 and £169,705 respectively were made by the Commission. **Mr. Michie** asked the Sec State for Employment how many days have

been lost by trainees on youth opportunities programme as a result of accidents in the period April 1980 to March 1983. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** During the period April 1980 to March 1983, when nearly 1.5 million young people entered the programme, 8,853 accidents involving young persons on the programme were reported to the commission. The great majority of these involved absence from work of three days or less. **Mr. Michie** asked the Sec State Employment how many trainees on youth opportunities programme have died or been seriously injured in the period April 1980 to March 1983. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** The information is as follows:

| | April 1980 March 1981 | April 1981 March 1982 | April 1982 March 1983 |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Fatalities | 4 | 6 | 7 |
| Major injuries reportable under NADOR 1980* | 176 | 271 | 311 |

*Notification of Accidents and Dangerous Occurrences Regulations 1980.

Of the seventeen fatalities, ten occurred in an industrial environment, four were as a result of road traffic accidents and two were swimming accidents during lunch breaks.

Youth Training Schemes WA

Mr. Michie asked the Sec State for Employment if any steps have been taken, or are to be taken in the near future, to ensure that sponsors or managing agents have statutory obligations under the Health and Safety at Work etc. Act 1974 in respect of trainees on youth training schemes. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** To bring the full powers of the Act as well as other health and safety legislation to bear on this scheme the Health and Safety commission has announced its intention of bringing forward proposals for regulations which will have the effect of putting YTS trainees on the same footing as employees.

Youth Training Scheme and Community Programme WA

Mr. Michie asked the Sec State for Employment how much has been spent on advertising for YTS and community programme, respectively. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** The total advertising expenditure, up to September 1983, for the youth training scheme has been £2.6 million and for the community programme £0.6 million.

V47 N37

Higher Education WA

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett asked the Sec State Ed & Science how many teaching staff were employed in higher education in May 1979 and each year since. **Mr. Brooke:** Estimates for public sector institutions in England and figures for universities in Great Britain are as follows. Public sector higher education in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland is the responsibility, respectively, of my right hon. Friends the Sec State Scotland, for Wales and for Northern Ireland.

Teaching staff employed in higher education

Thousands

| Academic year | Public sector institutions* (England) Full-time plus full-time equivalent of part-time | Universities Full-time | (Great Britain) Part-time (numbers) |
|------------------|---|---------------------------|---|
| 1978-79 | 31.0 | 32.4 | 6.5 |
| 1979-80 | 31.0 | 32.9 | 6.1 |
| 1980-81 | 30.5 | 33.0 | 5.9 |
| 1981-82 | 30.0 | 32.5 | 5.9 |
| 1982-83 | 29.0 | 30.5 | 6.1 |

*Including voluntary and direct-grant institutions.

All figures are estimated and have been rounded to nearest 0.5 thousand.

Including Open University
Estimated.

V47 N38

Students (Statistics) WA

Mr. Chris Smith asked Sec State Ed & Science what are the most recently available statistics of the numbers of full-time students resident at or in (a) colleges or halls of residence, (b) parental homes and (c) privately rented accommodation who attend (i) universities, (ii) polytechnics, (iii) colleges of education and higher education and (iv) further education colleges in (a) England, (b) Wales, (c) Scotland and (d) Northern Ireland. **Mr. Brooke:** The following table shows the type of residence of full-time students at university in 1982-83. Similar information in respect of non-university institutions is not available.

| | Thousands Colleges/halls of residence | Home | Rented accommodation | Other types |
|------------------|---|------|-------------------------|-------------|
| Universities in | | | | |
| England | 115.0 | 23.3 | 84.9 | 7.9 |
| Wales | 9.0 | 1.6 | 8.4 | 0.5 |
| Scotland | 16.1 | 14.8 | 12.7 | 1.2 |
| Northern Ireland | 1.7 | 3.4 | 3.5 | — |

V47 N40

Student Awards WA

Mr. Shersby asked Sec State Ed & Science whether a British citizen having the right of abode in the United Kingdom who is under the age of 18 years and who is living abroad with his or her parents is regarded as being ordinarily resident in the United Kingdom for the purposes of being entitled to a mandatory award by a local education authority for a degree course at a British university. **Mr. Brooke:** Not normally. To be eligible for a mandatory award students must normally have been ordinarily resident in the United Kingdom for the three years immediately preceding their course. An exception is made, however, where a student is unable to meet the ordinary residence requirement only because he, his spouse or parent is, or has been, temporarily employed abroad during the relevant period. **Mr. Shersby** asked the Sec State Ed & Science what effect the provisions of the Education (Grants and Awards) Bill have on the position of a British citizen have the right of abode in the United Kingdom who is living abroad to entitlement to a mandatory award from a local education authority for a degree course at a British university. **Mr. Brooke:** None. The Education (Fees and Awards) Act 1983, and the regulations made under it, are concerned only with fees and certain discretionary awards, and not with mandatory awards.

V48 N46

Youth Custody WA

Mr. Foster asked the Sec of State for the Home Department to what extent the number of young

people given a youth custody order exceeds the planned accommodation; and if he will make a statement. **Mr. Hurd:** In accordance with section 12 of the Criminal Justice Act 1982 priority in the use of youth custody centre places is accorded to youth custody trainees with sentences between four and 18 months and to juveniles with sentences not less than 21 days. On 30 September 1983 the total number of remaining young prisoners and youth custody trainees was about 8,370 and the certified normal accommodation of the youth custody centres was 7,126. In view of the shortage of youth custody centre places, plans are being made to change some detention centre accommodation to use for youth custody centre. In the longer term additional youth custody places will become available under the prison building programme.

V48 N46

Full-time Education (Staying-on Rates) WA

Mr. Foster asked the Sec of State for Education and Science what is his latest estimate of the current staying-on rates in full-time education and what effect the YTS is having on those rates. **Sir Keith Joseph:** Estimates for English regions are not yet available. Early returns to the 1982-83 school leavers survey indicate that the proportion of pupils in England reaching the minimum school leaving age and staying on to the first year sixth form this autumn was 31½ per cent, a fall of 1.1½ percentage points compared with the previous year. It is provisionally estimated that the proportion attending full-time further education courses fell from 20 per cent. in 1982-83 to 17 per cent. in 1983-84; the proportion attending part-time courses rose from 9 to 16 per cent. over the same period. It is not clear how far YTS has affected education participation rates, particularly since YTS itself is currently under-subscribed. The position is being closely monitored as more information becomes available. There is some evidence that job opportunities for minimum age school leavers have increased significantly in many parts of the country and this would also have an effect on participation rates.

V48 N47

Housing Benefit (Students) WA

Mr. Alton asked the Sec State Social Services whether, housing benefit is awarded to students, it takes into account unavoidable costs, such as cleaning costs, where these form an integral part of the rent. **Dr. Boyson:** Eligible rent for housing benefit purposes includes charges for any services for which the claimant has no option but to pay, and which the local authority considers are reasonably necessary for the proper enjoyment of the dwelling. A few charges specifically excluded from eligible rent. Those for cleaning of windows, except communal areas, sports facilities and laundering. **Mr. Alton** asked the Sec State Social Services, whether when housing benefit is awarded to students, it takes into account the fixed kitchen charges, covering costs of maintenance and fixtures but not food, where these form an integral part of the rent charged. **Dr. Boyson:** Regulation 16(2) of the Housing Benefit Regulations 1982 provides that eligible rent for housing benefit purposes shall exclude any amount which is charged for the provision of board.

V48 N48

WA Mr. Nellist asked the Sec of State for Employment what was the average length of time an unemployed person spent out of work in Coventry, in the west midlands and nationally in the month of May in 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982 and 1983 and the latest available date. **Mr. Alan Clark:** The following table gives, for the areas specified, the median duration of unemployment in weeks at each April (not available for May) from 1979 to 1983 and on 14 July 1983, the latest date for which an analysis by duration of employment is available.

| | Coventry travel-to-work area | West Midlands region | United Kingdom |
|------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| April 1979 | 25 | 24 | 24 |
| April 1980 | 25 | 21 | 20 |
| April 1981 | 27 | 24 | 23 |
| April 1982 | 43 | 38 | 32 |
| April 1983 | 43 | 41 | 34 |
| July 1983 | 44 | 43 | 35 |

V48 N49

Drug Abuse WA

Mrs. Renée Short asked the Prime Minister what proposals the Government have to counteract the increase in heroine use among teenagers and school children; and if she will set up a joint working group of the Department of Health and Social Security and the Department of Education and Science and other Departments to find ways and means of combating such drug abuse. **The Prime Minister:** The Government are advised on all aspects of drug misuse by the statutory Advisory Council on the Misuse of Drugs. Government Departments work closely with the council. The council last year completed a report on treatment and rehabilitation following which the Government made available an additional £2 million this year and in each of the next two years for new initiatives at local level.

V48 N50

Drug Abuse WA

Mrs. Renée Short asked the Sec State for Social Services how many hospital beds are available for drug addicts in each regional health authority. **Mr. John Patten:** Latest information is as follows. This relates only to those beds reported as being in distinct units or wards, and thus excludes available beds which are located in general psychiatric wards.

Mental illness hospitals and units: beds reported as available in special units and wards at 31 December 1981.

| Regional Health Authority | Drug Addiction | Joint Alcoholism/ Drug Addiction |
|--|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| Northern | — | — |
| Yorkshire | — | 12 |
| Trent | — | 16 |
| East Anglia | — | — |
| North West Thames | — | 57 |
| North East Thames | — | — |
| South East Thames | 46 | — |
| South West Thames | — | — |
| Wessex | — | — |
| Oxford | 11 | — |
| South Western | — | — |
| West Midlands | — | 27 |
| Mersey | — | 28 |
| North Western | 6 | — |
| Board of Governors (Special Health Authorities since 1 April 1982) | 21 | — |

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Nellist asked the Sec of State for Employment how the figure of £25 allowance for trainees on YTS was determined; what items that £25 is supposed to cover; when, and to what level, he next intends to increase it; and if he will make a statement. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** In determining the level of the trainee allowance, the Government took account of a number of factors, including the level of the existing allowance paid to young people on the YTS and the need to ensure that maximum resources are available to meet training costs. The allowance is intended to meet trainees' normal travel and other expenses and to reflect the benefit of the training they receive. The Government have no plans to review the allowance at present.

V48 N52**Drug Abuse WA**

Mr. Renée Short asked the Sec of State for Social Services what is the policy of Her Majesty's Government to deal with the widespread drug abuse now evident on housing estates in some of the larger cities. **Mr. Mellor:** I have been asked to reply. I refer the hon. Member to the reply given to her question on 15 November by my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister—[Vol. 48, c. 360.] **Mr. Alton** asked the Sec of State for Social Services if he will make a statement on the level of drug abuse on Merseyside. **Mr. Mellor:** We are concerned that the level of drug misuse in Merseyside appears to have increased substantially over the last three years, as it has in many other parts of the country. The Government will continue to use all available means to tackle this problem, through efforts to stop the supply of illicit drugs at source, through effective law enforcement action by Her Majesty's Customs and Excise and the police, and through improvements in prevention programmes and treatment and rehabilitation services, taking into account recommendations of the advisory council on the misuse of drugs.

V49 N53**Drugs Offences WA**

Mr. Terry Fields asked the Sec of State for the Home Department if he will call for a report from the chief constable of Merseyside as to (a) how many police officers are employed on Merseyside to deal specifically with drug abuse, (b) how many officers are employed to deal with the increase in heroine sales and abuse, (c) how many arrests of drug dealers have taken place in each of the years 1979 to 1983 and (d) what was the conviction rate of arrested drug deals in the years 1979 to 1983; what were the average levels of punishment in those years; and if he will make a statement. **Mr. Hurd:** The chief constable of Merseyside has provided us with the following information:

- (a) All Merseyside officers may deal with drugs offences but the following are specifically deployed to deal with the more serious offences and to act in an advisory capacity:
- 1 Detective chief inspector
 - 1 Detective inspector
 - 5 Detective sergeants
 - 5 Detective constables
- (b) There is no specialisation within the force in offences involving heroin.
- (c) Figures for arrests for trafficking in controlled drugs for each of the years requested are as follows (figures for 1979 are not available):

| | Number of arrests |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1980 | 60 |
| 1981 | 48 |
| 1982 | 61 |
| 1983 (to 30th June) | 55 |

- (d) The number of convictions for the arrests listed in (c) above are as follows (figures for 1979 and 1980 are not available):

| | Number |
|------------------------|--------|
| 1981 | 44 |
| 1982 | 55 |
| 1983 (to 30th June) | 48 |

Figures for levels of punishment for the above convictions are not available in the form requested. Information for the years 1981 to 1983 is however available as follows:

| Court disposal | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 (to 30th June) |
|-------------------|------|------|------------------------|
| Fine (up to £500) | 33 | 28 | 11 |
| Imprisonment: | | | |
| Suspended | 2 | 8 | 7 |
| 0-12 months | 4 | 7 | 6 |
| 12 months-2 years | 0 | 4 | 5 |
| 2-5 years | 2 | 2 | 6 |
| 6-10 years | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| Other disposals | 3 | 5 | 7 |
| Total | 44 | 55 | 48 |

V49 N55**School Leavers (Tyne & Wear) WA**

Dr. David Clark asked the Sec S Employment how many young people left school in Tyne and Wear in the summer; and, how many (a) entered employment (b) joined YTS and (c) are currently employed. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** A total of 13,215 16-year-olds left school in Tyne and Wear in summer 1983. 2,532 had found employment, 7,314 who were on the youth training scheme and 1,603 who were unemployed.

V49 N55**Youth Training Scheme WA**

Mr. Nellist asked the Sec State Employment if he will make it the policy of the Health and Safety Executive that every workplace where a youth training scheme trainee has on-the-job training should be visited by a Manpower Services Commission officer. **Mr. Gummer** [pursuant to his reply, 22 November 1983, c. 55]: The Health and Safety Executive will continue to monitor workplaces according to their hazard-rating systems. The presence of young people in the workplace is a factor that is considered in the assessments made. In addition to statutory obligations, managing agents have a contractual commitment with the Manpower Services Commission to secure the health, safety and welfare of all young people participating in their training programme to the same extent and in the same manner as an employer is required to do in relation to his employees under current legislation. Both organisations will continue to play their part in seeking to reduce accidents. In this context, it is not appropriate for the Health and Safety Executive to seek to direct the Manpower Services Commission in the way indicated by the hon. Member.

Women (Training) WA

Mr. Barnett asked Sec S for Em what steps his Dep are taking to encourage training of women for employment in non-traditional areas. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** Government training prog, including YTS and training opportunities scheme, are open equally to men and women. The Sex Discrimination Act 1975 allows certain training bodies to provide training or encouragement to women to enter areas of work where they have been under represented in the previous 12 months. 45 such bodies have been designated.

V49 N62

WA Mr. Deakins asked Sec S Employment how many places on YTS currently unfilled in London borough of Waltham Forest and Greater London. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** One hundred and sixty of places currently available on YTS in London borough of Waltham Forest have not yet been taken up; equivalent figure for Greater London as a whole is 16,000.

WA Mr. Nellist asked Sec S Employment if he will give figures for each of the YTS job splitting and young workers showing savings to be achieved in each. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** Estimated savings are £55 million for the YTS, £10 million for job splitting scheme, £19 million for young workers scheme.

V50 N63**Young Workers Schemes WA**

Mr. Sheerman asked Sec S Employment how many people are presently on young workers schemes; and what were figures for three, six, nine and 12 months ago. **Mr. Alan Clark:** Estimated there were 107,000 people being supported under young workers scheme October 1983. Department's estimate of numbers supported in preceding quarter are as follows:

| | Number |
|--------------|---------|
| July 1983 | 94,000 |
| April 1983 | 108,000 |
| January 1983 | 110,000 |

V50 N64**Youth Training Scheme OA**

10. Mr. Ardley asked Sec S Employment whether he has detected any trends of regional imbalance in regard to. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** Take-up places on YTS has varied between regions. There are now sufficient places available to meet needs young people throughout Great Britain this year, and I am confident the undertaking to offer a place to all unemployed 16-year-old school leavers by Christmas will be met.

Youth Training Scheme WA

58. Sir David Price asked Sec S Employment what is his latest estimat of take-up on YTS for 1983-84. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** By 24 November, some 276,000 young people had entered YTS.

33. Mr. Key asked Sec S Employment if he will make a statement on degree of co-operation received from employers, voluntary organisations and unions in organisation of YTS. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** Over 430,000 YTS places have been approved.

V50 N65**CND Membership (Armed Forces) WA**

Mr. Beaumont-Dark asked Sec State for Defence whether it is his policy to retain members of the armed forces who join Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament; and if he will make a statement. **Mr. Stanley:** Under successive Governments service men have been debarred from taking on active part in the affairs of any political organisation or party.

V50 N66**Juvenile Offenders WA**

Mr. Kilroy-Silk asked Sec State for the Home Department (1) how many juveniles held in remand centres on 30 June 1982 had received custodial sentences; and for what offences; (2) how many juveniles held in prisons on 30 June 1982 had received custodial sentences; and for what offences. **Mr. Hurd:** The information available is given in the following table.

| Sentenced juveniles in remand centres and local prisons in England and Wales on 30 June 1982 by offence and type of establishment | | RemandCentresLocalPrisons | |
|---|----|---------------------------|--|
| Offence | | | |
| Violence against the person | 7 | 3 | |
| Sexual offences | 2 | — | |
| Burglary | 4 | 7 | |
| Robbery | 7 | 3 | |
| Theft, handling, fraud and forgery | 2 | 3 | |
| Other offences | 5 | — | |
| Total | 27 | 16 | |

V50 N68**Handicapped Young Persons WA**

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett asked the Sec State for Education how many handicapped young people over the age of 16 years are in full-time education. **Sir Keith Joseph:** In January 1983, there were 8,281 handicapped pupils over the compulsory school leaving age in special schools in England. Information on the number of handicapped pupils over school leaving age in schools other than special schools or in further education is not available.

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Maude asked the Sec State for Employment what is the expected outturn cost of the youth training scheme in 1983-84. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** By the end of October, some £390 million had been spent against an allocation of £852 million for youth training in 1983-84. The final outturn for the year is still uncertain, although it is now clear that not all the resources originally allocated will be required. **Mr. Maude** asked the Secretary of State for Employment how many places under the youth training scheme were expected to be taken up in 1983; and how many places have been taken up. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** It was originally estimated that the youth training scheme would need to cater for up to 460,000 youngsters in 1983-84. By the end of November, some 284,000 youngsters had entered the scheme.

Youth Custody (Girls) WA

Mr. Kilroy-Silk asked the Sec State for the Home Department how many 15 to 17-year-old girls were sentenced to four months youth custody since the implementation of the Criminal Justice Act 1982. **Mr. Hurd:** Girls aged under 17 cannot be given a youth custody sentence of exactly four months. The central records available to us show 24 females aged 15 to 17 received into prison department establishments in England and Wales from the implementation of part 1 of the Criminal Justice Act 1982 to 30 November 1983 under a youth custody sentence very close to four months, taken as 120 to 125 days; seven of them were aged 15, nine aged 16 and eight aged 17. Six of the 17-year-old girls received a sentence of exactly four months.

V50 N70**Police (Recruitment) WA**

Mr. Lyle asked the Sec State Home Department whether there has been any improvement in the educational qualifications of recruits to the police service during the past five years; and how many graduates have been recruited during this period. **Mr. Brittan:** In 1978, only 39 per cent. of recruits had educational qualifications of five O-levels or better; in 1982, the figure was 59 per cent. During the five years ending on 31 December 1982, 2,000 graduates joined the police service, 626 of them in 1982.

V50 N71**Solvent Abuse WA**

Mr. Boyes asked Sec St Social Services how many fatalities related to solvent abuse, inhalation of toxic chemicals have been recorded in (a) the Houghton and Washington constituency, (b) Sunderland borough (c) the north-east of England. **Mr. John Patten:** Since 1971 one death in Sunderland Metropolitan District and 14 deaths elsewhere in the north-east of England — Northumberland, Durham, Cleveland and Tyne and Wear.

V50 N72**Young Persons WA**

Mr. Nellist asked Sec S Employ if he will publish each year since 1978, at 1983 prices a. Allowance paid on the YOP and YTS, b. Level of young workers' wages generally, c. Average rate paid to 16 year olds apprentice in engineering, d. Average earnings for manual workers, excluding overtime and bonuses, e. (a) as a percentage of (d) and (g) (c) as a percentage of (d). **Mr. Peter Morrison:** The table sets out available information on allowances, rates and average earnings in cash terms and adjusted for the change in retail prices, in respect of each April between 1978 and 1983.

| | April 1978 | April 1979 | April 1980 | April 1981 | April 1982 | April 1983 |
|---|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| (1) Allowances under Youth Opportunities Programme £ per week | 19.50 | 20.55 | 23.50 | 23.50 | 25.00 | 25.00 |
| (2) Average earnings of full-time males aged under 18* £ per week | 35.60 | 40.30 | 48.30 | 54.50 | 59.80 | 61.00 |
| (3) Minimum wage rate for 16 year old apprentice engineering £ per week | 24.22 | 25.50 | 32.85 | 37.50 | 39.45 | 41.33 |
| (4) Average earnings of full-time manual males excluding overtime and bonuses* £ per week | 57.70 | 65.20 | 79.80 | 90.50 | 98.90 | 105.90 |
| (5) Retail price index—January 1974=100 | 194.50 | 214.20 | 260.80 | 292.20 | 319.70 | 332.50 |
| Items (1) to (4) adjusted for changes in retail prices to April 1983 — | | | | | | |
| (1) | 33.33 | 31.89 | 29.96 | 26.74 | 26.00 | 25.00 |
| (2) | 60.80 | 62.50 | 61.60 | 62.00 | 63.40 | 61.00 |
| (3) | 41.39 | 39.58 | 41.88 | 42.68 | 41.01 | 41.33 |
| (4) | 98.60 | 101.20 | 101.70 | 103.00 | 102.90 | 105.90 |
| Item (1) as percentage of item (4) | 33.80 | 31.50 | 29.40 | 26.00 | 25.30 | 23.60 |
| Item (2) as percentage of item (4) | 61.70 | 61.80 | 60.50 | 60.20 | 60.50 | 57.60 |
| Item (3) as percentage of item (4) | 42.00 | 39.10 | 41.20 | 41.40 | 39.90 | 39.00 |

V51 N74

Mr. Eyre asked Sec State Education Science if he is able to announce his decisions on local authority higher provision in 1984-85 and the distribution of the 1984-85 capped advanced further education pool in the light of the national advisory body's advice; and if he will make a statement. **Sir Keith Joseph:** I have written to the chairman of the committee of the national advisory body (NAB) accepting their advice in its entirety on student members and programmes of academic work in local authority higher education (LAHE) in 1984-85. I have also accepted the NAB's advice on the associated financial allocations for local education authorities (LEAs) from the 1984-85 AFE quantum. Letters are being sent to local education authorities and institutions notifying them of my decisions. Copies letter to NAB committee chairman and of the NAB's report and detailed advice on individual local authorities' and institutions' academic plans, together with details of the 1984-85 pool allocations, have been placed in the Libraries of both Houses. The NAB's advice to me was in the context of the AFE quantum for 1984-85 of £580.5 million which I announced in the House on 17 November. This figure represented a significant increase in expenditure compared with previous plans, intended both to allow local authority institutions to provide for more students in 1984-85 than the NAB committee had earlier judged that they could reasonably admit, and to assist the NAB in facilitating effective rationalisation within LAAHE in 1984-85 and later years. As I indicated then, this implies continuing reductions in lecturer numbers and unit costs across the LAHE sector. Within this framework, the NAB recommended a slightly higher full-time and sandwich student intake in 1984-85 than in 1982-83 thereby providing for the age participation rate nationally to be maintained at around its present record level. A key feature of the NAB's recommendations is a significant shift in subject balance towards science, engineering and other areas of particular value to employers together with a strengthening of technical level work. These measures represent a substantial redirection of the efforts of the sector, and of institutions within it to meet more closely the needs of industry, commerce and the professions. The recommendations also include a measure of rationalisation, the need for which is reinforced by resource constraints and the prospective decline in student numbers. I endorse the further work relating to 1985-86 proposed by the NAB, with its continued emphasis on rationalisation. The principles underlying the distribution of the capped AFE pool for 1984-85 in association with the target numbers of students proposed by the NAB, which I have now endorsed, represent a further refinement of the methods developed in recent years. The resulting allocations will place the greatest pressure for economies on the high spending institutions and afford a substantial measure of protection to the more economical institutions.

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Holt asked Sec State Employment what are his proposals for the youth training scheme for 1984-85; and if he will make a statement. **Mr. Tom King:** The youth training scheme has made a successful start. Almost 300,000 have already joined the Scheme. All the signs are that it is establishing itself as a major training scheme for young people to have achieved so much within 18 months of the scheme's announcement is remarkable and I would like to congratulate the Manpower Services Commission, its staff and everyone who helped to make this possible. It has been a considerable achievement involving co-operation not only between all the employers who have offered so many places, but also trade unions, local authorities, voluntary organisations, colleges, schools and the Careers Service.

I have now received the commission's advice on the scheme for next year. It recommends that 1984-85 should be a year of consolidation with the emphasis on developing the quality of training. It also recommends that efforts should be made to increase the coverage of 16-year-olds and to that end the young workers scheme should not apply to 16-year-olds, and that the present unemployment condition for 17-year-old leavers should be removed.

I accept that the emphasis must be on consolidating the major advances made this year. We must continue to develop the quality of the training offered and we must ensure that we forge the right links with vocational education and further skill training. I have considered the recommendation for a change in the eligibility of 17-year-old leavers, but I think it right to concentrate in 1984-85 on improving and extending the scheme broadly within the present client groups.

I have also considered carefully the proposals put to me by the MSC that the relationship between the YTS and the young workers scheme should be changed. I am concerned to ensure in the interests of helping young people into employment that our training objectives under the youth training scheme are met and also that the YWS continues to encourage the payment of realistic rates of pay for young people. The availability of YWS for 16-year-olds may discourage employers from providing training through YTS for those who leave school at the minimum age.

In order to avoid this and encourage employers to provide more jobs for trainees completing their year on YTS, I have decided that in 1984-85 YWS should no longer be available for those who leave school at 16 until they have been out of school for a year. This change will apply to those who take up jobs on or after 1 April 1984. Young people staying on in education and leaving at 17 will continue to be eligible for the young workers scheme immediately on leaving education. Employers will be able to claim a subsidy of £15 a week in respect of eligible young people earning £50 or less a week in jobs taken up on or after 1 April 1984.

I have also decided to accept a recommendation from MSC to reduce the threshold above which trainee travel expenses are reimbursed, so as to help those participants with high travel costs, particularly in rural areas. The threshold will be reduced from the current £4 to £3, with effect from February 1984.

The costs involved in these proposals will be met from within the agreed resources of the MSC and my Department.

Student Maintenance Grants WA

46. Sir William van Straubenzee asked Sec of State for Ed and Science what savings to public funds he calculates will flow from his recently announced decisions on the methods of calculating parental contributions for student maintenance grants. **Mr. Brooke:** The level of expenditure on student awards in 1984-85 will be reduced by approximately £21 million compared to what it would otherwise have been as a result of the changes to the parental contribution scale and the minimum award announced by my right hon. Friend on 17 November 1983. The net effect of all the changes announced by my right hon. Friend, however, will be to increase previously planned levels of provision for student awards by £12 million.

Pupil Costs WA

31. Mr. Spearing asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science what is the current annual median cost per secondary school pupil among education authorities in England and for the inner London education authority, respectively. **Mr. Dunn:** In 1981-82, the latest year for which full information is available, the median of net recurrent expenditure per secondary pupil by English local education authorities was £871; this compares with expenditure of £1,474 per secondary pupil by the inner London education authority.

V51 N76**EDUCATION AND SCIENCE W/A****Students (Educational Costs)**

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett asked Sec State for Ed Science what is the average cost to Government of educating a non-scientific postgraduate research student. **Mr. Brooke:** Net institutional expenditure in 1981-82 per advanced non-scientific student is estimated as Polytechnics—England (financial year) £2,604. Universities—GB (academic year) £3,350.

It is not possible to identify the average cost of post-graduate research students separately.

In addition the average DES award (excluding the fee element) for eligible postgraduate students was £2,340.

Mandatory Awards

Mr. Cartwright asked Sec of State for Ed Science in what circumstances he intends that the rule in paragraph 5(3) of schedule 3 to the Education (Mandatory Awards) Regulations 1983 should be applied; and what guidance he has given to local education authorities at this point. **Mr. Brooke:** Paragraph 5(3) of schedule 3 may be applied wherever an authority is satisfied that a student's parents have, or will have, suffered a 15 per cent. or more reduction in their income between the previous and current financial years. The Department's Notes for Guidance give general advice to local education authorities on this paragraph, but it is for individual local authorities to consider its application to individual cases on the basis of their particular facts.

V52 N78**Babies (Illness Statistics) WA**

Dr. Owen asked the Sec of State for Social Services what are the latest figures for the percentage of babies who have at birth: (a) anencephaly, (b) spina bifida, (c) severe mental handicap, including Down's syndrome, and (d) Down's syndrome, born to (i) mothers under 30 years, (ii) mothers over 45 years, and (iii) all mothers. **Mr. John Patten:** The available information is shown in the following table:

| Percentage of babies notified as having anencephaly, spina bifida or Down's syndrome by mother's age, 1982. | | | |
|---|------------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| England and Wales | | | |
| Malformation | Percentage All ages | Under 30 years | Over 45 years |
| Anencephaly | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.15 |
| Spina bifida | 0.08 | 0.08 | 0.15 |
| Down's syndrome | 0.08 | 0.05 | 0.62 |

Notes:

Figures are derived from a voluntary system of notifying congenital malformations observed at birth or up to seven days after birth and are therefore an incomplete measure of the total number of affected infants, since many are not diagnosed until after the first week of life.

Mentally Handicapped Children WA

Dr. Owen asked the Sec of State for Social Services what is the latest figure for the number of mentally handicapped children in hospital in England. **Mr. John Patten:** At 31 December 1982, the latest date for which provisional figures are available, the number of children under 16 years of age in mental handicap hospitals and units of various sizes in England was 1,629.

V52 N81

School Population WA

Mr. Ernie Ross asked the Sec of State for Scotland what projections he has made of the effect of birth rates upon the school population in (a) primary education, and (b) secondary education over the next 10 years. **Mr. Allan Stewart:** The effect of historic and projected variations in births are subsumed in the following projections of primary and secondary numbers:

Projected Pupil Numbers in Education Authority Primary and Secondary Schools

| Session | Primary schools | Secondary schools |
|---------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1984-85 | 434,000 | 380,000 |
| 1985-86 | 428,000 | 362,000 |
| 1986-87 | 424,000 | 343,000 |
| 1987-88 | 423,000 | 324,000 |
| 1988-89 | 425,000 | 305,000 |
| 1989-90 | 433,000 | 289,000 |
| 1990-91 | 440,000 | 280,000 |
| 1991-92 | 447,000 | 278,000 |
| 1992-93 | 454,000 | 279,000 |
| 1993-94 | 462,000 | 282,000 |

The figures exclude pupils attending education authority special schools and nursery schools.

V52 N82

Nursery Schools WA

Mr. Evennett asked the Sec of State for Education and Science what percentage of children under the age of five years attended nursery school in England during the last year for which figures are available. **Mr. Dunn:** In January 1983, the number of full-time and part-time pupils aged under 5 years attending maintained nursery schools in England represented 4.3 per cent. of the population aged 3 and 4 years. In addition, an equivalent 17.4 per cent. of this population attended nursery classes in primary schools and a further 18.5 per cent. attended other classes in primary schools.

WA Mr. Kenneth Carlisle: asked the Sec of State for Scotland how many cot deaths there were in Scotland in the last full year; and if he will break down the numbers to indicate deaths for each month of age. **Mr. John MacKay:** Information for 1983 is not yet available. Information for 1982 is shown in the table:

Scotland 1982

| Age | Underlying Cause of Death | | Total |
|---------------|---|---|-------|
| | Sudden Infant Death Syndrome ('Cot deaths') | Other, with mention of 'Cot Deaths' or similar term | |
| Under 4 weeks | 13 | 2 | 15 |
| 1 month | 24 | 3 | 27 |
| 2 months | 37 | 2 | 39 |
| 3 months | 17 | — | 17 |
| 4 months | 21 | 3 | 24 |
| 5 months | 14 | 1 | 15 |

WA Mr. Boyes asked the Sec of State for Employment (1) how many people are taking part in the youth training scheme in the northern region; and what percentage is handicapped. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** The table below provides the total number of young people in training on the youth training scheme, and the number of disable young people recorded as having entered the scheme, as at the end of December 1983.

| | Total number of entrants to end December 1983 | Entrants to YTS recorded as disabled |
|-----------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| MSC South Tyne Area Office* | 6,204 | 17 |
| Northern Region | 23,265 | 102 |
| Great Britain | 304,309 | 1,899 |

V52 N84

Drug Abuse

Mr. Soley asked the Secretary of State for Social Services how many deaths were caused by drug abuse during 1978, 1979, 1980 and 1981 and 1982. **Mr. John Patten:** The following table shows separately numbers of deaths where the underlying cause was drug dependence, non-dependent abuse of drugs, accidental poisoning and other forms of misuse.

Number of deaths from drug* abuse, 1978-1982

England and Wales

| ICD Codes | 8th Rev | 9th Rev | 1978 | 1979 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 |
|------------|---------------|--|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 304 | 304 | Drug dependence | 106 | 111 | 111 | 61 | 132 |
| | 305.2-305.9 | Non-dependent abuse of drugs | | | 5 | 3 | 10 |
| E850-E859 | E850-E858 | Accidental poisoning by drugs, medicaments and biologicals | 528 | 436 | 428 | 424 | 448 |
| E950(Part) | E950.0-E950.5 | Suicide and self inflicted injury by drugs and medicaments | 1,527 | 1,509 | 1,444 | 1,353 | 1,004 |
| E962(Part) | E962.0 | Homicide by drugs and medicaments | 6 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| E980(Part) | E980.0-E980.5 | Injury undetermined whether accidentally or purposely inflicted by drugs and medicaments | 618 | 600 | 537 | 463 | 493 |

Youth Custody

Mr. Birmingham asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department what was the increase in the

total number of young persons sentenced to periods of imprisonment in youth custody centres or detention centres during the first six months of the scheme's operation in 1983 compared with the total number of young people sentenced to equivalent periods during the similar period in 1982; and if he will give details of the increase. **Mr. Hurd:** The number of offenders aged under 17 received into prison department establishments in England and Wales under sentence of youth custody or a detention centre order in the first six months after the implementation of the Criminal Justice Act 1982 was about the same as the number received under sentence of borstal training or a detention centre order in the corresponding period a year earlier. We plan to publish shortly a statistical bulletin giving details of the changes. **Mr. Birmingham** asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department (1) how many males between the ages of 15 and 17 years who have been sentenced to periods of youth custody are currently being held in adult prisons, broken down by length of sentence; (2) how many females between the ages of 15 and 17 years who have been sentenced to periods of youth custody are currently being held in adult prisons, broken down by length of sentence. **Mr. Hurd:** The latest available information is given in the following table:

Youth custody trainees aged 15, 16 or 17 held in adult prisons in England and Wales on 30 November 1983: by sex and length of service

| Sex | Length of sentence | | | | | Total Number* |
|--|---------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | 21 days to 4 months | Over 4 up to 6 months | Over 6 up to 9 months | Over 9 up to 12 months | Over 12 months | |
| <i>Adult prisons with young offender wings</i> | | | | | | |
| Male | 4 | 23 | 6 | 10 | 18 | 61 |
| Female | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| <i>Other adult prisons</i> | | | | | | |
| Male | 5 | 23 | 11 | 20 | 35 | 94 |
| Female | 2 | 5 | — | 1 | 2 | 10 |

* The figures are those recorded centrally and are approximate: detailed checking of individual cases would involve disproportionate cost.

Including Ashford, Manchester and Risley remand centres.

V52 N85

Housing Benefit

Ms. Harman asked the Secretary of State for Social Services what was the total figure paid in housing benefits in the last year and the total amount paid in rent and rate rebates for every year since 1976. **Dr. Boyson:** The total cost of local authority rent rebates and allowances and rate rebates from 1976-77 to 1982-83 was as follows:

| | Rent rebates £ million | Rent allowances £ million | Rent rebates £ million |
|---------|---------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1976-77 | 174 | 27 | 148 |
| 1977-78 | 206 | 39 | 164 |
| 1978-79 | 207 | 38 | 167 |
| 1979-80 | 238 | 40 | 201 |
| 1980-81 | 317 | 48 | 266 |
| 1981-82 | 490 | 64 | 374 |
| 1982-83 | 594 | 73 | 445 |

The cost of housing benefit paid in 1982-83 under the partial start of the new scheme was as follows:
1982-83 350 0 126

Supplementary Benefit

Mr. Gordon Brown asked the Secretary of State for Social Services if he will provide the latest figures available for (a) the numbers claiming supplementary benefit, (b) the total number dependent on supplementary benefit, and (c) the number of children dependent on supplementary benefit. **Dr. Boyson:** At August 1983, the latest date for which information is available, there were 4.3 million people in Great Britain claiming supplementary benefit. The total number of people dependent on supplementary benefit was 7.2 million, including 1.9 million dependent children. **Source:** Quarterly statistical inquiry.

Stop and Search

Mr. Peter Bruinvels asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department in which areas within England and Wales the police authority has additional stop and search powers under any local force act. **Mr. Hurd:** Powers of stop and search are available to the police in England and Wales under the following provisions in local legislation:

- Burnley Borough Improvement Act 1871, s. 342.
- City of London Police Act 1839, s. 48.
- County of Merseyside Act 1980, s. 33.
- Hertfordshire County Council Act 1935, s. 130.
- West Midlands County Council Act 1980, s. 40.

The powers are in addition to powers of stop and search conferred in public general legislation—including the Metropolitan Police Act 1839—and in private legislation promoted by statutory undertakers.

V53 N89

Degree Courses (Cost)

Mrs. Dunwoody asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science what is the average cost of a university degree course including student grant. **Mr. Brooke:** In the academic year 1982-83 the estimated average cost of a university place, inclusive of the average mandatory award, was about £5,750 cash, representing an average total cost of about £17,250 for a three year degree course.

V53 N90

Student Incomes WA

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett asked the Sec State for Education and Science if he will publish a table showing income per student received from Dep Ed Science by each university in England. **Mr. Brooke:** The income per full-time equivalent student from recurrent grant through the University Grants Committee for each university in England in the academic year 1981-82 was as follows. The figures do not include capital or furniture and equipment grant.

| English Universities | Recurrent Grant per FTE Student Academic Year 1981-82 £ | English Universities | Recurrent Grant per FTE Student Academic Year 1981-82 £ |
|----------------------|---|----------------------|---|
| Aston | 2,901 | Leicester | 2,764 |
| Bath | 2,554 | Liverpool | 3,876 |
| Birmingham | 3,354 | London | 4,615 |
| Bradford | 2,836 | Loughborough | 2,400 |
| Bristol | 3,349 | Manchester | 3,384 |
| Brunel | 3,836 | UMIST | 3,211 |
| Cambridge | 2,595 | Newcastle | 3,208 |
| City | 4,003 | Nottingham | 3,042 |
| Durham | 2,930 | Oxford | 2,583 |
| East Anglia | 2,850 | Reading | 2,644 |
| Essex | 2,071 | Salford | 2,862 |
| Exeter | 2,224 | Sheffield | 3,358 |
| Hull | 2,049 | Southampton | 3,056 |
| Keele | 2,721 | Surrey | 3,098 |
| Kent | 2,064 | Sussex | 2,587 |
| Lancaster | 2,202 | Warwick | 2,348 |
| Leeds | 3,124 | York | 2,422 |

V53 N91

Solvent Abuse WA

Mr. Galley asked Sec St Social Services if he will publish number of deaths associated with solvent abuse in latest year for which statistics are available; and if he will give breakdown between different medical causes of death. Mr. John Patten: 57 confirmed cases occurred in England and Wales in 1983. The following table shows these deaths analysed by physical cause of death categories used in national study of deaths associated with abuse of volatile substances.

Deaths associated with Solvent Abuse by Physical Cause of Death, 1983, England and Wales

| Cause | Number |
|----------------------------|-----------|
| Asphyxiz* | 20 |
| Suffocation by plastic bag | 9 |
| Inhalation of vomit | 14 |
| Hanging | 2 |
| Drowning | 5 |
| Multiple injuries | 3 |
| Other | 4 |
| TOTAL | 57 |

*Includes general terms for toxic effect of solvents, eg cardiac failure, respiratory failure.

V53 N94

Adoption WA

Mr. Hayes asked the Sec of State for Social Services how many juveniles and children were adopted against the wishes of their natural parents in 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982 and 1983. Mr. John Patten: The majority of adoption orders are made with the agreement of the natural parents. The information requested is as follows (England and Wales):

| | Number of adoption orders registered | Number of orders where parental agreement dispensed with |
|------|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1979 | 10,870 | 673 |
| 1980 | 10,609 | 763 |
| 1981 | 9,284 | 731 |
| 1982 | 10,240 | 898 |
| 1983 | *9,000 | *950 |

Young Workers Scheme WA

Mr. Sheerman asked the Secretary State Employment what were the numbers on the young workers scheme at the latest available date; and of these how many were (a) 16 years old, (b) 17 years old. Mr. Alan Clark: It is estimated that 105,000 young workers in Great Britain were being supported by the young workers scheme at 31 December 1983. It is estimated that of the young workers covered by the scheme in January 1983, a little over one quarter were aged 16.

V54 N98

Youth Service WA

Mr. Lawler asked the Sec of State Education how many staff members in his Department by Civil Service grades are responsible for the youth service; and what percentage of the total staff of his Department this constitutes. Sir Keith Joseph: Six and a half members of the Department's administrative staff, in full-time equivalent terms, have responsibility for youth service matters. The breakdown of this total by grade is as follows:

| | No. |
|--------------------------|------------|
| Assistant secretary | 0.3 |
| Personal secretary | 0.3 |
| Principal | 1.0 |
| Higher executive officer | 2.0 |
| Executive officer | 1.4 |
| Clerical officer | 1.0 |
| Clerical assistant | 0.5 |
| Total | 6.5 |

The total constitutes 0.4 per cent. of the total staff of the Department excluding Her Majesty's Inspectorate. Additionally, members of Her Majesty's Inspectorate spend some time on youth service matters.

V54 N100

Youth Training Scheme WA

58. Sir Kenneth Lewis asked Sec Defence how many recruits under have been taken into services; and the success of this scheme. Mr. Lee: Six hundred and fifty-three have been accepted for ASYTS and 589 have been taken into armed services. About 3,000 applications have been received for some 1,900 places available this financial year.

V54 N101

University Students WA

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett asked the Sec State of Education how many home students were admitted to universities in the United Kingdom in each of the last five years; and what percentage this was of the age group. Mr. Brooke: The following information relates to all home entrants to full-time undergraduate courses in universities in Great Britain; the age participation rate is the number of such entrants aged under 21 expressed as a percentage of the 18-year-old population. Information for universities in Northern Ireland is not readily available.

| | Initial entrants (thousands) | Age participation rate |
|---------|------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1978-79 | 73.5 | 7.5 |
| 1979-80 | 75.2 | 7.5 |
| 1980-81 | 76.9 | 7.5 |
| 1981-82 | 75.1 | 7.2 |
| 1982-83 | 72.1 | 6.8 |

V55 N114

Young Persons WA

Mr. Forman asked Sec State Education what latest estimates of numbers of 16 and 17-year-olds in (a) in full-time education, (b) on youth training schemes and (c) unemployed; and how these figures compare with the previous year. Sir Keith Joseph: Prov est in Jan 1984 are given in the following table those aged 16 and 17 years (as at 31 August) together with the equivalent data for January 1983.

Education/Labour Market Status of Young People January 1983 and 1984—Great Britain

| | Aged 16* | | Aged 17 | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| | 13 Jan 1983 | 12 Jan 1984 prov. est | 13 Jan 1983 | 12 Jan 1984 prov. est |
| Total population | 910 | 900 | 930 | 910 |
| Full-time education | 440 | 400 | 290 | 280 |
| - Schools | 290 | 280 | 180 | 170 |
| - Further education | 150 | 120 | 110 | 110 |
| YTS/YOP | 170 | 220 | 70 | 50 |
| Claimant Unemployed | 130 | 110 | 160 | 160 |
| Other (mainly employed outside YTS) | 170 | 170 | 410 | 420 |

* Ages as 31 August of preceding year.

Excluding YTS/YOP.

Mainly those in employment outside YTS but also includes some who are seeking work but not claiming benefit, some who are neither employed nor seeking work (eg. because of domestic responsibilities) and net errors in the other estimates.

Estimates are rounded to the nearest 10,000.

V55 N116

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Greenway: asked Sec Employment if he will make a statement on content and aims of courses. Mr. Peter Morrison: The aims to provide young people participating in the scheme with a better start in working and adult life through integrated programme of training, planned work experience, further education; to provide the employer participating in the scheme a better equipped young work force which gained some competence and practical experience in a broad range of jobs and skills; and to develop, highly motivated and productive work force which will assist Britain to complete successfully in the 1980s and beyond.

V56 N119

Youth Unemployment WA

Mr. Parry: asked Sec Employment if he will list the Official Report (a) the number (b) percentage of unemployed youth in special development areas at the latest date and the comparative figures for June 1979. Mr. Alan Clark: The following table gives numbers of registered unemployed under 18 years in July 1979 and number of unemployed claimants January 1984 for travel-to-work areas or jobcentre areas which comprise special development areas. Figures are not seasonally adjusted; in particular figures for July 1979 are seasonally high due to school leavers registering as unemployed and January 1984 figures for Scotland will include Christmas school leavers.

Unemployed aged under 18 in travel-to-work areas and jobcentre areas in special development areas

| | Registered unemployed July 1979 | Unemployed claimants January 1984 |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| South West | | |
| Redruth | 310 | 203 |
| Falmouth | 132 | 130 |
| North West | | |
| Birkenhead | 3,714 | 1,766 |
| Liverpool | 10,375 | 5,307 |
| Widnes | 1,316 | 842 |
| Skelmersdale* | 468 | 335 |
| North | | |
| Consett | 702 | 509 |
| North Tyne | 4,012 | 2,361 |
| Peterlee | 1,071 | 358 |
| South Tyne | 4,262 | 2,112 |
| Teeside | 4,740 | 2,733 |
| Wearside | 3,287 | 1,777 |
| Hartlepool | 1,153 | 568 |

| | Registered unemployed July 1979 | Unemployed claimants January 1984 |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| Wales | | |
| Bargoed | 526 | 383 |
| Ebbw Vale | 716 | 381 |
| Holyhead | 327 | 227 |
| Port Talbot | 1,286 | 766 |
| Shotton | 1,166 | 507 |
| Wrexham | 889 | 530 |
| Ferndale* | — | 139 |
| Tonypandy* | 788 | 185 |
| Treorchy* | — | 101 |
| Scotland | | |
| Ayr | 728 | 748 |
| Dumbarton | 503 | 580 |
| Glasgow | 9,940 | 9,087 |
| Greenock | 1,199 | 880 |
| Irvine | 1,322 | 941 |
| Lanark | 530 | 275 |
| North Lanarkshire | 3,816 | 3,592 |
| Paisley | 1,433 | 1,379 |
| Arbroath | 269 | 213 |
| Cummock | 306 | 330 |
| Dundee | 1,308 | 1,419 |
| Kilmarnock | 529 | 535 |
| Glenrothes* | 315 | 280 |
| Livingston* | 430 | 486 |
| Sanguhar* | 1 | 58 |

V56 N122

Student Grants

Mr. Freud: asked Sec Ed Sc what proportion of the 1983-84 overspend on student grants was due to the changes in ordinary residence status. **Mr. Brooke:** The cost of additional students brought into awards systems due to the changes in ordinary residence status accounts for 26 per cent. of total forecast overspend. **Mr. Freud:** asked the Sec Ed Sc whether he proposes to introduce legislation to abolish parental contribution to students grants; and if he will make a statement. **Mr. Brooke:** No. The cost of abolishing the parental contribution system in 1984-85 is estimated at about £250 million. Resources are not available for this at present. **Mr. Freud:** asked the Sec of Ed Sc how many students in tertiary education not receiving full grants would cease to be assessed in terms of parental contribution if threshold were raised by £100, £200, £500 and £1,000, respectively. **Mr. Brooke:** Information not available in respect of discretion are awards made by local education authorities. It is estimated that the number of mandatory award-holders in England and Wales in the academic year 1984-85 for whom an assessment for parental contribution will result in a nil contribution would increase as follows if the threshold for commencement of parental contribution was raised above the planned level of £7,600:

| Increase in threshold £ | Number of students 000's |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 100 | 2 |
| 200 | 5 |
| 500 | 11 |
| 1,1000 | 23 |

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Lawler: Sec State Em what is total number work places with youth training scheme participants placed in them; and, latest date, what percentage has been visited by staff. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** At the end of January there were 10,849 schemes under YTS involve the provision of training or work experience at a number of different workplaces. Exact figures for the total number of workplaces involved are not available. All schemes with occupied places have been visited at least once by Manpower Services Commission officials.

YTS

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benefits

This regular feature examines State Benefits and Welfare Rights, particularly as they affect young people. The content is provided by Rod Crawford, Welfare Rights Worker at the East End Citizens Rights Centre, Moor Terrace, Sunderland, Tyne and Wear, to whom suggestions or enquiries should be made.

Correction

In the last column on the November Up-Rating of Benefits, the Blindness Addition for those on Supplementary Benefit should have read £1.25. The new Benefit Rates, including local authority benefits are still available in a handy pocket size edition from the above address (price 10p & P & P).

Fowler Reviews

In an earlier column examining the possibilities of the Flower Reviews of Social Security I painted a fairly gloomy picture of the likely outcome. Unfortunately the passage of time has, if anything, led to a worsening of situation. It now appears clear that the Green Paper to follow the Budget will call for parents to take on more "responsibility" for teenagers, whether or not they can afford it. Increased financial support for young people staying on at school was not even considered by the Review team. In the absence of jobs the Government's overall strategy is to coerce young people into YTS schemes under the threat of the complete loss of their benefit.

Board and Lodging Cuts

As already outlined in this column the new restrictive interpretation of the "suitable alternative furnished accommodation" rule, has made it very difficult for young people to set up home in their own right, through the difficulty of getting furniture grants from the D.H.S.S. The local offices in Sunderland have encouraged young people, even though they have gained the tenancy of a local authority flat, to take up residence in one or other of the Hostel type accommodations available. Many claimants have had to survive on bare boards for 3 months before they could successfully re-apply. After 3 months claimants are no longer treated as new tenants and no longer subject to the restrictive rule, and can therefore ask for a review of the original decision not to award furniture.

To make the situation more ludicrous even as D.H.S.S. local offices are encouraging young people into Hostels the Government are proposing to radically alter the system for paying benefit for those in board and lodging accommodation. The proposals will effectively punish claimants for the profiteering of exploitative landlords.

The present system whereby the maximum amounts payable by the D.H.S.S. for different types of accommodation are fixed on a local basis by local offices, is to be scrapped. Instead the maximum amounts will be set in London and will apply throughout the country regardless of local variations in cost and availability.

The maximum amounts proposed are on average £10 to £30 per. week less than the present rates, it is also proposed that these rates should remain in force until November '86. In the new proposal those aged 16 to 17 would not be allowed, except in exceptional circumstances, to claim anything at all for board and lodging type accommodation. Single unemployed claimants, claiming outside their own areas would only receive board and lodging payments for a maximum of 4 weeks.

In this way the problem of unemployment, lack of adequate Housing and profiteering landlords is to be tackled by hitting claimants. The certain result of these proposals is an increase in the number of young people living rough and existing on the streets.

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