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reflections on 'short, sharp shock'

STEPHEN SHAW

Home Secretary Leon Britton has announced an extension of the 'short, sharp shock' regime to all 19 detention centres (DC's). This article traces the development of the DC system since the early 1950's. Attention is drawn to the practical and ideological imperatives which have changed the government to disregard its own evaluation which catalogued the ineffectiveness of the 'shock' tactics. The short, sharp shock is part of a consistent philosophical assault upon the tenets of the post-war consensus. Yet paradoxically, it has proven unpopular with the courts and prison officers and has been dismissed as 'gimmickry' by the Right-wing Monday Club.

It has become a common place that many measures of penal reform have been both ambivalent in the principle and disappointing in practice. The legacies of those 25 years of penal optimism that followed 1945, parole, suspended sentences, training regimes and so on, are now widely discredited. More recently, IT has been criticised for its extension of what Foucault called the 'carceral network'.⁽¹⁾ In a widely-reported dictum Louis Blom-Cooper summed up the lessons of bitter experience: penal reform is not to be mistaken for penal progress.

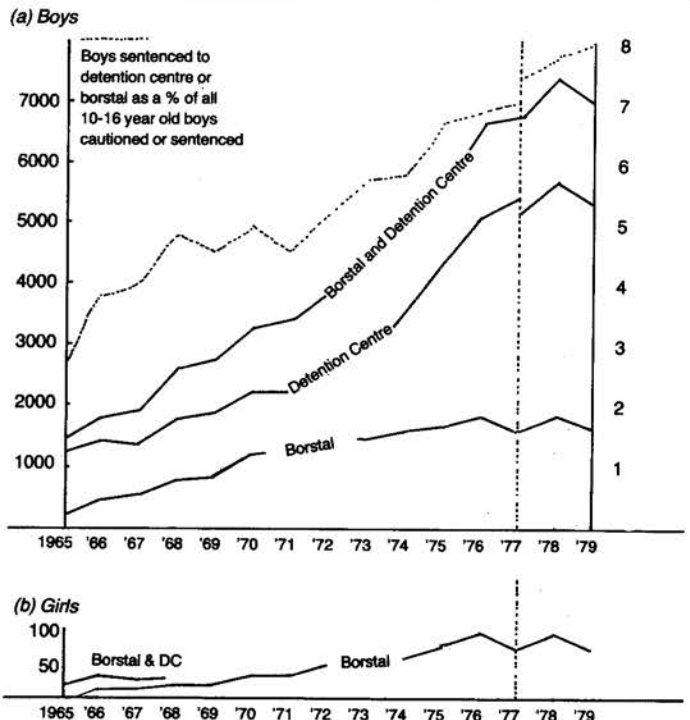
However, there is no doubt that since the nationalisation of the prisons in 1877 the more overtly barbaric penal practices have gradually been abolished. The treadmill, the crank, hard labour, the execution shed, the cat o' nine tails, bread and water diets, have all disappeared many of them in the last 40 years. The new Borstals of the 1930's developed out of a sense of care and concern for young delinquents. It was hoped that their public school ethos would build and reform boys battered by adversity. The reforms of the 1950's, 60's and 70's, with their emphasis upon 'treatment' and pathological models of criminality also shared a belief in the inevitability of reform or cure through enlightened 'progress'. Sixteen years ago, the Children and Young Persons Act (1969) actually embraced an abolitionist strategy for DC's. The chaplain and the workhouse overseer have long since given way to the psychologist and the social worker. Yet what is perhaps most remarkable about the changes outlined above is that they relate to the nature of imprisonment. There is, of course, no very adequate proxy for the misery of incarceration. Nevertheless, in its corporal if not in its psychological aspects, prison has become more 'enlightened' or, in popular parlance, 'softer'.

By contrast, if we consider the extent of imprisonment, it is apparent that Britain's punitive obsession has become wider

and more profound. We have a total prison population which exceeds that of almost any other country in Western Europe. A prison population which has just passed 46,000 for the first time. We have more prisoners, more young prisoners, more life prisoners and the longest prison sentences. Criminological research suggests that it is not coincidental that these features co-exist with a sentencing structure which includes an array of non-custodial options and a wide variety of custodial regimes. The complexities of the sentencing system create confusion in the mind of the courts and afford a bogus rationalisation for the use of imprisonment 'when all alternatives have failed' no matter how trivial the offence.

On the young offender side the proportionate use of custody has mushroomed. Since 1970 the proportion of young adults given a custodial sentence has been higher than for those over 21. In the ten years following the children and Young Persons Act the number of juveniles sent to DC or Borstal rose at three times the rate of increase in recorded offending.

Juveniles Sentenced to Detention Centre or Borstal for Indictable Offences 1965-1979.



Sentences for indictable offences to 1977 and indictable/triable-either-way offences from 1977.

Source: DHSS Offending by Young People: A Survey of Recent Trends 1981

The apparently inexorable increase in the use of imprisonment combined with overwhelming evidence as to its ineffectiveness in controlling crime has provoked a wide range of reactions. On the one hand, Metropolitan Police Commissioner, Sir Kenneth Newman, has expressed the view that the police, courts and penal establishments serve essentially as symbols. Meanwhile from a different perspective, academic criminologists bemoan the failure of policy-makers to respond to research findings.

However, perhaps the most interesting responses have been political. From both left and right wing the perceived irrelevance of the nostrums of penal optimism has coincided with more fundamental critiques of welfarist social policy. On the Left the traditional Fabian approach to criminal justice, which held sway from the 1920's onwards, is being superseded by a more rigorous analysis of State institutions and the purpose of the criminal justice system itself.⁽²⁾ Equally on the Right there have been dramatic changes in the parameters of legitimate debate. *The Times* has felt stirred to publish an article advocating judicial flogging.⁽³⁾ The Government has also moved to curb the instruments of the old optimism. In 1983 the Home Secretary introduced executive restrictions which struck at the heart of the parole process. Then in the middle of 1984 he announced an extension of the explicitly punitive 'short, sharp shock' regime to all DC's.

This then is the context of the short, sharp shock. In the remainder of this article will be detailed the origins and development of the DC system, the practical considerations impelling Brittan's announcement and the ideological standpoint which it represents.

Attlee and Butler

DC's were established under the Attlee Government's 1948 Criminal Justice Act. However, the first Junior Centre (boys aged 14-16) was not opened until 1952 after two elections had passed. The first Senior Centre (boys aged 17-20) was brought into use in 1954. Only two more centres were opened throughout the 1950's.

The purpose of DC's was admitted to be punitive and deterrent rather than reformatory. Although the nature of the regime was ill-defined (it apparently included ten changes of clothing a day) the centres soon acquired a dubious reputation for meting out a 'short, sharp shock', a formula which has since been revived in a guise of desirability by Lord Whitelaw and Leon Brittan.⁽⁴⁾ DC's were a quid pro quo for the abolition of corporal punishment which formed a central part of the 1948 Act. The abolition of corporal punishment as a sentence of the court was a cross-party commitment. The Labour Government merely incorporated the provisions of a 1938 Criminal Justice Bill which had not passed into law because of the outbreak of the Second World War. Corporal punishment **within** penal establishments was not abolished until 1967.

The real growth of the DC system may be traced to the document which marks one of the watersheds in penal policy since 1945, R.A. Butler's White Paper **Penal Practice in a Changing Society**. This posited the emergency of the DC as the standard short-term custodial sentence for young people and an alternative to incarceration in adult prisons. Compulsory aftercare was introduced in the 1961 Criminal Justice Act in which year four senior DC's were opened. Six more followed over the next three years, including one for girls.

This was closed only shortly afterwards and no young women has received a detention order since 1968.

In Parliament, Butler confirmed that in the extension of the DC system the regime was to lose none of its rigour: "There have been rumours that the regime in detention centres has weakened..... There is no intention whatever of not having the strictest regime for young people at detention centres."⁽⁵⁾ However, ten years later following a report from the Advisory Council on the Penal System the regime was amended to include a wider range of educational opportunities. Positive regime developments of this sort may incidentally, have done as much for the self-esteem of prison officers as they did for the education of the boys.

At the end of the 1950's fewer than 2,000 young men passed through a DC each year. By the mid-1960's with the growth in the number of centres, the numbers had reached 6,000. By 1975 the number had passed 10,000 and in 1982 over 13,000 DC orders were imposed. There are presently some twelve Senior Centres and seven Junior Centres.

There is no alternative

In the run-up to the 1979 General Election it was soon clear that crime, or rather the populist battle-cry 'law and order', was to play a central part in the Conservative Party campaign. William Whitelaw, then Shadow Home Secretary, had already signalled the re-emergence of the short, sharp shock - a good catchy slogan - as a major element in that campaign:

"I want to go further and have one (detention) centre with severer discipline Those who criticise me must answer this question - if we do not try an experiment on these lines, what is the alternative? My critics have no alternative I do not say that this scheme will necessarily succeed."⁽⁶⁾

The introduction of the shock treatment, officially described as an "experiment" in the Conservative's 1979 election manifesto, was announced soon after Mrs Thatcher's first Administration took office. Addressing his victorious Party Conference, Whitelaw described the 'new' experimental regime in parade-ground language befitting a former Guardsman:

"...life will be conducted at a brisk tempo. Much greater emphasis will be put on hard and constructive activities, on discipline and tidiness, on self respect and respect for those in authority. We will introduce on a regular basis drill, parades and inspections. Offenders will have to earn their limited privileges by good behaviour ... these will be no holiday camps and I sincerely hope that those who attend them will not ever want to go back there."⁽⁷⁾

The message emanating from the Home Office at the time was that, despite this lurid exposition, Whitelaw himself had no faith in the regime he had introduced. Indeed, when the experimental tactics were extended to a further two DC's, it was widely interpreted as simply a sop to the Tory Right-wing.

Just as DC's were first introduced as the price for abolishing corporal punishment in the late 1940's, so the increased wattle of shock treatment in the mid-1980's was the corollary of Whitelaw's proposed early release scheme for adult pris-

oners. This scheme was intended to reduce the prison population overnight by some 7,000. However, after facing a uniquely hostile audience at the 1981 Conservative Conference (during which the Prime Minister openly sided with the Conference against her Home Secretary and official Deputy) a badly shaken Whitelaw abandoned his early release proposals. Whitelaw subsequently blamed interference by the senior judiciary but their role was very subsidiary by comparison. This left the short, sharp shock bereft of its alleged *raison d'être* but now subject to an expensive and detailed evaluation to give it scientific respectability.

Results of the evaluation

The experimental regime began at Send (near Woking) and New Hall (near Wetherby) in April 1980. Two other DC's (Haslar, a Senior DC in Hampshire, and Foston Hall, a Junior DC in Derbyshire) were added to the experiment in September in 1981. The evaluation of the experiment was conducted by the Home Office's Young Offender Psychology Unit (YOPU). The more independent and internationally respected Home Office Research and Planning Unit was not invited to carry out the study, perhaps because of its record of intellectual rigour, perhaps because of its reputation for leaking embarrassing findings to the press.

Because the evaluation was not published for four years, in contradiction to Ministerial commitment, perhaps inevitably there followed rumours in the press that the study was deliberately suppressed. However although the Home Office frequently merits such cynicism, in this case it was misplaced. Clearly, senior civil servants felt no urgency about publication. They knew full well what the results would be.⁽⁸⁾ The implicit message to the YOPU was that they should take whatever time was necessary to carry out the evaluation. When YOPU suffered staff shortages which delayed analysis of the computer printout, no tears were shed and no effort was made to transfer-in replacements. This amounted more to a question of priorities than to suppression.

When the evaluation report was finally published in July 1984 it proved to be a preposterously long and frequently absurd document of over 250 pages. Given the Home Office-inspired obfuscation which was to follow, it may be useful to state what the report itself describes as the pilot project's "primary purpose": "to assess whether spending a period of weeks in a DC with a more rigorous and demanding regime could effectively deter young offenders from committing further offences".⁽⁹⁾ However the report itself contains a wide variety of other information. There is a splendid diagram covering a whole page detailing the approved layout for clothes in the boys' bedside lockers.⁽¹⁰⁾ We also learn that prior to the appearance of the Prison Service Drill Manual (sic) the teaching of drill "was beset by minor differences in the movements required by each officer, differences reflecting his own particular service experience".⁽¹¹⁾ By contrast, the account of the warden's initial interview with each boy is almost surreally comic:

"The 'sir (or madam)' ending to each sentence is quickly learned, so that when the warden concludes his interview with 'have you questions to ask me lad' the reply 'no sir' comes more readily to their lips. He then informs some of them 'yes, you have lad: the way to the nearest hairdresser'. Such homely jests are employed to reassure the trainees....."⁽¹²⁾

Apparently a compulsory hair-cut forms part of the 'shock' treatment for most boys - skinheads of course are forced to grow their locks to the regulation length.

Far more seriously, the evaluation records the "DC's contain a disproportionate number of temperamentally difficult and unhappy individuals".⁽¹³⁾ Amongst the boys in the 14-16 age bracket, over half had previously been in local authority residential care, 40% had some previous psychiatric contact, 11% had a history of self injury and 13% were recorded as being "unable to read". These figures exclude those boys sent for the 'shock' treatment but then transferred on medical grounds. One boy sent to Send DC apparently arrived with a broken arm in plaster and others came in limping with leg injuries. By September 1981 over 150 boys had been transferred out as unfit through physical or mental ill-health.⁽¹⁴⁾

The central findings of the evaluation may be summarised briefly. The announcement of the 'shock' policy did not affect crime rates generally nor in the catchment areas of the pilot projects. There was no discernable effect on reconviction rates (57% of the boys under 17 were reconvicted within a year of release; 48% of the older boys). The trainees undergo a "fair degree of personal stress, insecurity and uncertainty" in the first couple of weeks, but this generally wears off. Ironically there is "considerable doubt as to whether the pilot regimes were actually experienced by trainees as 'more rigorous and demanding'". Contrary to what may be presumed to be liberal preconceptions: "drill soon became an enjoyable pursuit...and aspects of physical education positively attractive".⁽¹⁵⁾

One of the many ironies of the experimental regime was that it was prison officers who found drill to be "a waste of time, a boring and demoralising activity". In April 1982, the Prison Officers' Association recorded that the regime "does not enjoy the confidence of Prison Officers".⁽¹⁶⁾ Since DC's were first established, prison officers have to their credit found it impossible to sustain a purely negative approach, particularly with the youngest boys.

In a written answer to an arranged Parliamentary Question, the Home Secretary announced that following the evaluation a tougher regime would be extended to all DC's.⁽¹⁷⁾ Formal drill sessions and extra physical education would be dropped and replaced by "basic and unpopular work such as scrubbing floors". The disorientation suffered in the first weeks away from home was to be accentuated with privileges and association kept to a minimum. Life would continue to be conducted at a brisk tempo.

With no apparent sense of embarrassment, the Government now stated that the fact that reconviction rates were unaffected by the experimental regimes "hardly comes as a surprise".⁽¹⁸⁾ Reconviction rates for Junior DC's now stand at about 75% reconvicted within two years, and between 55% and 60% for Senior DC's. As with all institutions, reconviction rates have increased over the last 30 years, reflecting the much higher level of recorded crime as a whole. For this reason, it is only true at superficial level that DC's are less effective today than they were in the 1950's. Given the level of recorded crime at any one time, DC's are no more ineffective than any other form of custodial experience.

The new "consistent" regime took effect at the beginning of

March 1985. In the remainder of this article I will consider the two principal rationales: the under-occupation of DC's since the 1982 Criminal Justice Act and the Government's own ideology of discipline.

Empty Spaces

The 1982 Criminal Justice Act introduced wide-ranging changes in the sentencing structure for young offenders and juveniles. I have argued elsewhere that the Act represents the culmination of the judico-political campaign waged during the 1970's against the Children and Young Persons Act.⁽¹⁹⁾ On the other hand, it appears that some of its most repressive aspects, curfew and residential care orders, have in practice rarely been used.⁽²⁰⁾ What the Act has done, contrary to the forecast of either its supporters or its critics, is to give a boost to the inflationary period spiral by shifting youngsters out of DC's and into youth custody.

Under the 1982 Act the minimum and maximum lengths of DC orders were reduced to 3 weeks and 4 months respectively. Since sentences of imprisonment for those under 21 were also abolished all sentences in excess of 4 months are now served in youth custody.

For the most part, youth custody centres operate a 'training' regime little different from that of the old Borstals. However, there is one new and important aspect of their operation which I shall briefly detail here because I consider it has been insufficiently debated. The youth custody system consists of the old open and closed borstals and a small number of youth custody wings in adult prisons. The system guarantees a training place to those serving less than 18 months. The pressure on places means that those serving more than 18 months are most unlikely to be transferred and accordingly serve their sentences in the far more restricted atmosphere of an adult prison. Paradoxically, those adult prisoners serving the longest sentences are held in the best conditions. In the young offenders system, those serving the longest sentences are held in the worst conditions.

In their sentencing policy the courts have clearly expressed a preference for a longer period of custodial 'training' over a shorter period of parade-ground bombast. The stories of sentences of 4 months and one day are not apocryphal. Several hundred sentences of this length have been imposed to ensure a place in youth custody rather than in a DC.

The effects on the Prison Department have been devastating. Many of the DC's have been only half-full since the implementation of the new sentencing structure. Indeed, one is tempted to think that if DC's were mines, the Government would have imported Ian MacGregor to close them down. By contrast, the youth custody centres have become increasingly overcrowded.

The following table compares the occupancy rates of selected DC's and youth custody centres at the end of January 1985:

	Population Accommodation Occupancy (%)		
Detention Centres			
Eastwood Park	56	146	38
Werrington	50	110	45
Send	58	118	49

Population Accommodation Occupancy (%)

Detention Centres

Blantyre House	61	122	50
Whatton	123	237	52
New Hall	57	105	54
Haslar	65	100	65
All Detention Centres	1263	2140	59

Youth Custody Centres

Portland	441	510	86
Hollesley Bay	391	413	95
Rochester	353	367	96
Wellingborough	337	344	98
Hatfield	176	176	100
Eventhorpe	369	304	121
Stoke Heath	438	360	122
All Youth Custody Centres	6564	6782	97

Source: Home Office Statistical Department.

The extension of the short, sharp shock regime can only be understood in the light of the figures in Table 1. The shorter DC order has proven very unpopular with the courts. Leon Brittan's announcement of the application of the regime in all DC's is a desperate attempt to forestall the system's total collapse by offering the courts a wider diet of red meat. The irrelevance of the official evaluation of the experiment was amply demonstrated by the fact that Brittan made his first public announcement **before** he had even seen the results. His intentions were also clear from his House of Commons statement:

"In incorporating much of the experimental regime on a permanent basis **it will provide a penalty to which the court can turn with confidence** when dealing with an offender for whom a short period in custody is necessary"⁽²¹⁾ (emphasis added).

The idea seems to be that by 'toughening up' all the other DC's the courts will start using them in place of youth custody 'training' regimes. It remains to be seen if the Courts will in fact march to Brittan's military tattoo.

An ideology of discipline

Whatever else may be said about manifesto promises, the Conservative Government can fairly claim to have fulfilled its commitments to the criminal justice system. Police pay, recruitment and powers have all been increased. The powers of the courts have been extended. A massive investment has been made in prison building and in the numbers of prison staff. An understandably worried Treasury has discussed "the apparent incompatibility of the Government's economic and penal policies".⁽²²⁾ But the conflict is not a real one. 'Law and order' has been explicitly excluded from the monetarist equations. Because prison officers are technically civil servants, the Home Office is one of only two Departments of State with a larger staff today than it had in 1979.

Without descending into crude reductionism, it is surely possible to locate the Government's 'law and order' policies within a wider economic and political context. The 25 years after 1945 witnessed unprecedented economic advance, social harmony and political consensus. In crime policy this coincided with theories of treatment and welfare, positive

criminology and what has been termed "penal pragmatism". With economic stagnation has come the intellectual advance of the New Right, a critique of welfare and the embracing of penal policy within the reach of "conviction politics".

Central authority is being extended over education and industrial relations; the scope of criminal and civil law has been increased; the Victorian value of 'discipline' is advanced in the workplace, schoolroom and the home. The 1982 Criminal Justice Act explicitly repealed the welfare approach to young offending and extended the powers of the courts. The banal psychology of the 'short, sharp shock' is part-and-parcel of the same hierarchy of ideological values.

However, it is true that the anti-empiricism of the 'shock' tactics has outraged more traditional Conservative theorists. For example, in a paper advocating the use of institutions run on public school lines, the ultra-right wing Monday Club has strongly criticised the statements of Whitelaw and Brittan:

"A very small number of young offenders may benefit from a brief period away from their homes under 'short, sharp shock' regimes. However, (we) are critical of the emphasis given to DC's by the two Home Secretaries since 1979. That emphasis is not proportionate to any evidence of effectiveness. The media is mistaken in assuming that policies based on gimmickry have the effect of 'appeasing the right wing of the Conservative Party'. The traditionalist Tory approach...is that youngsters should acquire a sense of purpose in life. They should develop selfconfidence, a disciplined life-style, responsible attitudes and a feeling that they have a positive contribution to make to society, whatever mistakes they have made in the past. This cannot be achieved by shouting at them, giving them meaningless tasks, and trying to make them feel as humiliated, isolated and worthless as possible. For many youngsters, a period in a DC would be a trivial, but potentially damaging, intervention in their lives".⁽²³⁾

But if the Government has alienated one section of its Right-wing, it is fair to admit that as yet it has failed to respond to the imprecations of another and arguably more influential Conservative lobby. The Adam Smith Institute, funded by industry, has called for privatisation of the prisons, more private investment in crime detection, the discouragement of probation and the introduction of high-tech surveillance methods including electronic bracelets for offenders.⁽²⁴⁾

Discussing the development of the DC system in the early 1960's, Hilary Land has written:

"The development of DC's depended little on whether they were judged to be a 'success' or 'failure'. The evaluation of their effects on young offenders was interpreted in the most optimistic light by the Prison Commissioners because, at the end of the fifties, they needed a relatively cheap and quick method of expanding custodial training to meet the increasing demands that the rising crime rate was making on their penal institutions; magistrates were determined to use them whatever the research findings said and ten weeks in a DC was considered preferable to corporal punishment or a short spell in prison. In this

sense DC's were an experiment which could not be allowed to fail".⁽²⁵⁾

Clearly the political considerations of the 1980's are different. Lord Whitelaw needed the short, sharp shock as the price for his early release scheme and as a symbol of his commitment to a version of 'law and order' with which, as a high Tory, he personally was very uncomfortable. Leon Brittan is a more enthusiastic New Right ideologue but he too has needed the short, sharp shock to buttress his relatively weak position within the Cabinet and to forestall the embarrassment of closing half-empty and grossly uneconomic DC's.

Costly, crass and ineffective though the short, sharp shock may be, it remains today the one 'success' that even this most brazen of administrations can guarantee.

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unemployment, youth & national community service

JEAN SPENCE

Calls for a national system of community service for young people appear initially attractive in the current atmosphere of high youth unemployment. This article shows that the commonsense arguments used to support such schemes are often contradictory and flawed.

The recent campaign towards a nationally coordinated system of community service for young people was launched by a group of concerned individuals with the publication of their pamphlet, **YOUTH CALL: A Debate on Youth and Service to the Community**, in May 1981.⁽¹⁾ The stated aim of this publication was "to stimulate a public debate on whether it is desirable, acceptable and practical for large numbers of young people to have an opportunity of engaging in some form of service to the community across the nation".⁽²⁾ Although the idea was not a new one in 1981, it was nevertheless an opportune moment for arousing public interest in such a scheme in an atmosphere of rising youth unemployment and visible environmental decay as the cuts in public services began to bite. Moreover, the case had been given theoretical motivation with the publication of a discussion paper by the LSE's Centre for Labour Economics, **NATIONWIDE SOCIAL SERVICE: A Proposal for the 1980's** by Enrico Colombatto in December 1980.⁽³⁾ More recently the idea has been endorsed by the Tawney Society⁽⁴⁾ developing David Owen's declared enthusiasm in January 1984; by the Times Newspaper who commissioned a MORI poll on the subject⁽⁵⁾ and by David Marsland's research findings that there are adequate opportunities available in the field simply waiting to be tapped.⁽⁶⁾

That the idea has proved attractive to and motivated a wide spectrum of political opinion is not to be denied.⁽⁷⁾ Indeed, proponents of the scheme are at pains to stress that this is not a party political issue but one of practical good sense, of morality and of social and economic rationality. In these terms, opponents are understood as either misguided, failing to understand the good intentions, as politically ("ideologically") hidebound or as simply over-cautious about the problems of cost and practical implementation. Yet such a position obscures the fundamental philosophical, political and economic questions. It assumes a moral consensus on these underlying issues and proceeds to set the terms of the debate within common sense values. As such, it can concentrate its endeavour around the practicalities and deflect more serious criticism: "We should...like to see any future discussions move away from issue of whether towards the question of how".⁽⁸⁾ Although the arguments advanced in

favour of service for young people vary in complexity and rigour of analysis, they all revolve around two central themes - that society has a moral duty towards young people and that young people have a moral duty towards society; that there is "Work to be Done"⁽⁹⁾ in the field of environment and welfare for which the State cannot afford to pay and that there are thousands of young people willing and eager to be socially useful whom the State cannot afford to employ or for whom a period of service would be of real and lasting value in their future careers.

There can be no doubt that any society has a moral duty towards its young people nor that in an ideal world young people would have a moral duty towards society. However, this is not an ideal world and society is failing massively in its duty towards some young people. Not only are they unemployed in ever increasing numbers, but thousands of them come from families and communities where unemployment is endemic, where poverty has been the order of their childhood and wherein they have been denied access to many of the benefits of life in an affluent, consumer oriented world. Inadequate housing conditions, cuts in education, welfare, health and public services have served to compound the basic problems of poverty. Young people are as unequal as adults and their youth makes them no more immune from these problems. It merely causes them to suffer in different ways from adults. Society's moral duty towards young people involves dealing with the political and economic matters which affect their real existence. It involves for instance, providing adequate housing for the single homeless, improving day-care facilities for the young single mother and restructuring education and training opportunities in a way which is responsive not only to the demands of the economy but also to the issues which affect young peoples' lives and choices. Not least, it involves providing an adequate income such that relieved of the problems of survival, such young people might be given the wherewithal to consider their duty towards society. Why, one might ask, should an unemployed black young person, who suffers from white racism in education, housing, the law and the economy, who endures the possibility of racial abuse or attack at home and on the street, feel obliged to fulfill an abstract duty to a society which manifestly represents interests which are not his or her own? A system of community service can be no answer to these problems, particularly if it is instituted without consideration of such questions and it is likely that a large proportion of the young population will refuse the 'opportunity' to serve a society which has

offered little in the past and promises even less for the future.

That there is "Work to be Done" in present-day Britain, again cannot be doubted. Anyone with eyes to see and ears to hear must know this. Every overworked nurse, every woman forced to care for an elderly or ailing relative, every organisation dealing with the handicapped and anyone walking alone a polluted beach in North East England can catalogue lists of tasks which are obviously crying out for fulfillment. That the State cannot afford to pay for such work should however not be presumed. The wealth of this nation is not a fixed entity. It is not a cake with only so many pieces to go round. Yet even if it were, the distribution of wealth is a matter of political choice. Spending in the fields of environment and welfare is presently sacrificed in favour of private profit, armaments and law enforcement. Whether or not this should be the case is a matter for debate. It should not be presumed as a universal truth. Even if it is the case that there are numerous young people eager to do essential work without remuneration or reward, the ethics of such deployment are open to question. When there is work to be done and a plentiful supply of unemployed people, young and old, seeking opportunities for paid employment, why should young people be mobilised to fill the breach and obscure the negative consequences of Government policy?

Thus these two taken-for-granted, common sense themes are fundamentally flawed. They fail to confront questions of power, of the basis of social division and inequality or of economic dogma. Youth Call is at pains to point out that its proposals are "not a substitute for restructuring the economy and the creation of employment"⁽¹⁰⁾ but the way in which the case is presented makes those issues appear separate when in fact they are inextricably related to the question of community service. Advocates of the idea accept the status quo, observe glaring social problems and point to young people as an almost natural source of solving the problems such that the introduction of some sort of community service scheme for youth seems self-evidently sensible:

"...the objective of the proposal...is to contribute to overcoming the mismatch between social needs and individual desires. In other words, it assumes that certain things need to be done, and that (young) people want to do them, but that we are lacking the mechanism for bringing the two together"⁽¹¹⁾

The rhetoric which accompanies the proposal that young people in particular are suitable candidates for 'voluntary' work does not stand up to scrutiny. Young people are imputed with such characteristics as energy, enthusiasm, idealism and with a desire to serve. This may indeed be the case for some young people, but it cannot be held to be true for all. 'Youth' is not an essential category. Neither is it a stage of life with universal and natural characteristics. Rather, it is a socially constructed age group, bearing a loose relationship with biological development, which differs in time and place. Young people develop particular characteristics in relation to a circumscribed set of possibilities and social expectations. Young people can only be idealistic if it is realistically possible for them to be so. Thus, any young person, having left school at sixteen, confronted with the limited possibilities of unemployment, YTS, voluntary service or pregnancy, will opt for the circumstances which

offers most in terms of their present situation, past experiences and future expectations. Most can only afford to be idealistic if their situation frees them from immediate responsibility and in the knowledge that the future will guarantee them an adequate income and a home. For the young person who is struggling with poverty, for the working class girl whose parents demand that she either gets a job and contributes to family income or stays at home to help with domestic tasks, voluntary service is not an option. For the boy who works part time and is involved with a local street culture which has created its own survival tactics, voluntary service is not an option. For the young person responsible for the care of a disabled parent or a young child, voluntary service is not an option.

If voluntary service is indeed not an option, but is introduced as a compulsory commitment for youth, then any talk of fulfilling the needs or responding to the supposed energy, enthusiasm and idealism of young people is meaningless. Under such circumstances, community service would be seen quite clearly by those least inclined or least able to offer their labour power free of charge as a method of control, coercion and domination within which their choices would be limited to sullen compliance or active resistance. If this were the case, then those who it is hoped would gain most from the experience, learning consideration and respect for others, learning to appreciate the environment and developing a social conscience, would be more inclined to foster a deep antagonism to the source and object of their forced labour. This is hardly a situation designed to evoke confidence in those already vulnerable organisations and individuals who would be in receipt of the conscripted 'service'.⁽¹²⁾

Advocates of a nationally coordinated scheme are divided in their opinions as to whether or not such service should become compulsory. Some are prepared to state quite openly that this is their aim, notably Alec Dickson, recognising perhaps that many of their arguments supporting community service for youth would be rendered sterile and the campaign become rather pointless if the scheme were to be truly voluntary. Youth Call in general, recognising that conscription would not be a popular move, attempts to evade the issue by stating the arguments for and against compulsion and leaving it open as a topic for debate. However most of their hopes, suggestions and arguments for such a scheme rest upon premises which involve some element of compulsion. The Tawney Society states clearly that in their framework "Social action will not be compulsory".⁽¹³⁾ However they do envisage a system of social rewards as encouragement to participation.

Dickson's attraction to compulsion is one which rests on the intent of creating a shared experience for all young people. He suggests that community service would force otherwise unequal sections of the population to mix, to become aware of each other's needs and qualities while at the same time providing a foundation for the realistic appraisal of the talents, skills and commitments of individuals.⁽¹⁴⁾ David Marsland picks up and develops this theme in relation to sexual inequality in his article, *Freedom and Equality in Alternatives to Employment*.⁽¹⁵⁾ The intent is laudable. However, the claim seriously underestimates the depth of structural and ideological inequality in modern British society. Are Dickson and Marsland really suggesting that inequalities which have their roots in economic organisa-

tion, in law, in social institutions and in a language, will be eliminated or even undermined in a community work scheme of the type they envisage? Where are the guarantees that class, race, gender sexuality and disablement will not feature in the ability to avoid 'conscripted', in the distribution of placements and in the work experience itself? There is, for instance, no mention of anti-racist or anti-sexist training as an inclusive part of the agenda. There is no suggestion that community service work will include political education which would enable participants to effectively challenge the economics and politics of a social system which is at the root of these inequalities. Indeed, the evidence suggests that existing community service schemes which operate in other countries and which are often cited as models for the British proposal actually contribute to or simply maintain existing social stratification:

"The National Working Party of Young Volunteer Organisers points out....that in no country with a similar scheme has national community service done anything to stop or counter the development of "two nations". Either the type of volunteering becomes stratified - the well off do stimulating important roles, the not-so-well-off do the "dirty work"; or, in response to influential parents, whose sons and daughters do not like community service, a growing number of exceptions are made. As the National Working Party points out, "two nations" are caused by far more complex factors than the lack of a brief common experience".⁽¹⁶⁾

In his article in the last issue of this journal, Marsland imagines that

"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."⁽¹⁷⁾

One might well ask where this nation-wide community service is to take place. For the picture which Marsland offers implies that the scheme will be completely decontextualised. Does he seriously think that those who have a future career in mind will apply for placements or apply themselves to the work without reference to their future career prospects? Does he intend to contradict Dickson's view that the experience should have direct bearing on future career?

"Why should not the Foreign Office when selecting future members of our diplomatic service.....give preference to a candidate who had spent a year or two serving in a Central American Republic and thereby learning, in the only way possible, about how an oppressed peasantry feels."⁽¹⁸⁾

Is Marsland suggesting that young people be completely separated from their families whilst engaged in community service? Where will they live? Is he saying that they will be denied access to the media and their friends in their leisure time? Is he suggesting that in the working situation the young people involved will not create community-service based 'irresponsible peer groups'?

It is simply idealistic to presume that because ALL young people will be conscripted and forced to 'mix' that thereby

inequalities will be undermined and challenged. Moreover, to claim that a common experience is necessarily in the best interests of all young people is to ignore the legitimate needs and preferences of different social groupings. It is at best paternalistic and at worst racist.

The compulsory model would of course make community service meaningful in the terms of the primary concerns of its promoters. It would take large numbers of the young unemployed off the unemployment register and off the street, thus helping to neutralise a major public concern. It would ensure that young people were externally controlled and disciplined beyond their school years and thus help defuse the implied threat of disruptive and anti-establishment behaviour. It would provide a vehicle for sustaining the work ethic maintaining a viable reserve army of labour for possible future needs. It would help break the working class association of wages with working conditions, hours and skills and thus work towards undermining some of the traditions and principles of trade-unionism. It would encourage the young to accept low wages as a feature of their age if they did find work and thus contribute to the maximisation of exploitation and profit. It would discourage the recognition of certain jobs as valuable and worthy of payment and thus support public spending cuts. It would undermine the understanding that unemployment is caused by economic and political forces and that benefit is payable as compensation for society's inability to provide real employment opportunities by shifting the terms of reference to young people themselves. It would remove young people who are working from the jobs they occupy and thus leave spaces to be filled by unemployed adults.

If the scheme remained entirely voluntary for both the employed and the unemployed it is unlikely that young people would offer their services in far greater numbers than they do at present. Those who are unemployed and presently turn down YTS, often on the grounds that it is not a 'proper job' or that the allowance does not reflect the hours they are expected to put in could hardly be expected to find community service a more attractive option. Those who have found work or gone on to FE in a period of diminishing opportunities could scarcely be expected to give this up in favour of the more esoteric benefits of community service. Obviously, the more positive incentives which might be provided to attract young people, the more young people might be inclined to volunteer. The Tawney Society suggests that participants be given an allowance equal to, but definitely not above the YTS allowance and that volunteers be given a certificate on successful completion of their involvement which employers might accept as commensurate with say three O Levels. While such incentives might incline some young people towards participation and might incline some to favour community service rather than YTS, it is still not likely to attract the most cynical, those who have carved a living out of the black economy, those who have family commitments and responsibilities, those who make a living from crime or those who are particularly advantaged in present society - in other words, those whom it is claimed would benefit most from the experience. Moreover, a voluntary option would mean that it would be impossible to estimate the number of potential recruits, their ages, skills and experience from year to year and would thus make the organisation particularly difficult to administer. This is important when considering the suggested objects of community service work. If the agencies and individuals came to

rely upon the services of particular numbers and types of volunteers for important work, what would be the effect if one year it became impossible to fill such placements?

Those in favour of the implementation of a voluntary scheme are asking for the best of both worlds. Recognising the political unpopularity of conscription, they opt for the voluntary ethic, but then proceed to draw up plans and suggestions for a scheme predicated upon effective universal participation. If existing voluntary agencies were given increased support and coordinated at a local level, it is possible that this would be just as effective in recruiting those inclined to volunteer (whatever their age and status) than would a full blown national scheme. Such a method of proceeding would of course imply less central political involvement and control, but then advocates would not claim to be seeking such control.

If voluntary community service is to be just that, then it is open to question as to why, once the opportunities are identified and the organisation established it should be particularly young people who are sought to fill the places. In **WORK TO BE DONE**, Marsland suggests that "genuine concern for the plight of young people is widespread"⁽¹⁹⁾ and, in quoting a senior nurse, says that "older 'volunteers' tend to be too 'bossy' and that young people can much more useful".⁽²⁰⁾

It is true that there is concern for the plight of young people. That concern arises from the effects of unemployment upon young people and despite claims to the contrary, youth unemployment is a major underlying theme in the debate about community service for youth. If advocates admitted the centrality of this concern they would be immediately called upon to answer the many criticisms of the proposals which are based upon that assumption i.e. that community service would be merely a 'mopping up operation', that it would be a substitute for the development of real employment and training opportunities, that it would be using the poor as cheap labour to service the poor and that ultimately it would have no long term impact on the realities and problems of mass youth unemployment.

Those who favour conscription avoid the issues of youth unemployment by stressing the universality of participation making effects in this area an incidental bonus. Those who wish benefit to be dependent upon participation might state that unemployment is not their central concern but they would be hard pushed to prove this. Those who take no position, or favour voluntarism tend to decentralise the theme of unemployment in their arguments, using it as a supporting rather than a motivating concern.

Thus we are presented with statements such as the following:

"Although in Youth Call's view the case for a major increase in the opportunities for community service stands on its own merits, justified public concern about the effects of the present levels of youth unemployment adds weight to the case for urgent action so that those affected may know themselves to be valued members of a communal effort, instead of rotting on the dole".⁽²¹⁾

Similarly, the Tawney Society carefully avoids premising any of its reasoning upon unemployment, preferring instead

to concentrate upon what it calls the 'crisis of exclusion' of young people:

"outside of the demands of wartime we do not offer most young people a direct part in solving the country's problems.... The absence of paid employment simply exacerbates the crisis of denied contribution."⁽²²⁾

Meanwhile, **The Times** leader of 4th October 1984 stated categorically that "The first major point about such a scheme is that it should not become confused with concern about youth unemployment."⁽²³⁾

Yet it is impossible for the critical reader of the literature not to discern youth unemployment as a key issue. It is as though by consistently suggesting alternative motivations, by stressing other less contentious factors and by using language which avoids immediate links with unemployment, proponents hope that counter arguments which point to the political implications of mobilising the young unemployed in this way or which focus upon possible alternative strategies for dealing with youth unemployment will founder. Yet in order to effectively promote their case all the texts favouring community service for the young inevitably focus upon issues connected with unemployment.

Thus in contradiction to its statement on 4th October, **The Times** leader of 6th December 1984 suggests in support of its position:

"The youth of today is....being educated into the virtues of taking state benefits as a matter of course. It is a culture which carries the seeds of much greater corruption for the future. Not surprisingly many individuals prefer to take benefits, at that early age, than to seek work which may impose disciplines on them for only a few pounds extra in their pocket."⁽²⁴⁾

Meanwhile, Marsland has said quite clearly that "Widespread opportunities for community service might make a substantial positive contribution to the problem of youth unemployment".⁽²⁵⁾

If the campaign was not mobilised in response to youth unemployment, why, one might ask, did Michael Hanson and John Ewen, leading figures among the early sponsors of a national scheme, change their minds when the Government committed itself to improving YOP as a precursor to the introduction of YTS?⁽²⁶⁾

It is precisely because the young are unemployed in droves that they are the focus of community service plans and it is because youth unemployment is now perceived as a structural rather than a cyclical phenomenon,⁽²⁷⁾ which in practice YTS is failing to successfully accommodate, that has fuelled and sustained the campaign.

Those who argue against the introduction of a national system of community service in terms of the significance of youth unemployment have a legitimate basis for their concern. Recognition of the validity of counter arguments is at this moment even more urgent in the light of the Government's current proposals to completely scrap benefits for those under the age of 18.⁽²⁸⁾ Under such impositions, it is very possible that community service with a low allowance and without a training commitment will be instituted to fill

the gaps left by YTS. Such a move would ensure that the community service force would be composed in the majority by the otherwise unemployed who are both unskilled and inexperienced.

Within this scenario, Marsland's point about the young being "less bossy" and therefore much more use than adults becomes more meaningful. Without the experience of paid employment, without the support of trades unions, without the possibility of finding gainful employment except through the possibility of obtaining a good reference from some scheme or other, without the authority granted to age and wage, without the knowledge, confidence and sense of worth which comes from good, relevant education and training and without recourse to benefit which would allow dissatisfied participants to leave schemes, it is hardly surprising that young people might be expected to be more useful and less bossy than (female?) adults. Young people entering community service as an alternative to unemployment without benefit would constitute a docile army of cheap labour, unable to resist the demands made upon them in any working situation - even if this included strike breaking. No doubt, an adult volunteer, freely giving her time, would be less inclined to accept arbitrary authority, less inclined to do work which did not fit with her perceptions of self and status and, freed from the restraints of dependence, more inclined to question the status quo. Young people involved in community service would have no grounds or support for refusing the most menial, dirty or boring tasks. Such situations occurred under YOP and still occur under YTS.⁽²⁹⁾ There is no guarantee that community service could consistently offer any better - hardly a situation designed to promote a sense of worth and confidence among young people, whatever their idealism or 'desire to serve'!

If benefit for young people under the age of 18 is abolished, then any argument advanced which denies the connection between youth unemployment and the possibility of introducing a community service scheme for the young is rendered pointless, no matter how well intentioned. Conscripting of all young people is a political hot potato and unlikely to be taken on board by any major political party. On the other hand, the apparent lack of public concern about the proposals to deny benefits and the findings of a recent MORI poll⁽³⁰⁾ that large numbers of people, including the young, favour the idea of some sort of community service scheme, imply the very real possibility that these two proposals could be instituted separately. They could then be linked in practice, perhaps with some rearrangement or extension of YTS, without the risk of inviting too much political unpopularity. Such a situation would pay little heed to the niceties of the debate around community service not being about youth unemployment. It would indeed involve a straightforward mopping up exercise.

For young people, particularly if they are working class, unemployed, male and/or black have a street presence which signifies a threat to those outside that experience. Their visibility evokes connotations of vandalism, delinquency, violence and, particularly since the summer of 1981, riotous disturbance. Whether or not the evidence supports such direct correlations, youth unemployment is popularly associated with the issue of law and order. The literature supporting community service proposals itself assumes the connection. In his preface to Colombatto, Ralf Dahrendorf suggests a link between unemployment and delinquency:

"Youth unemployment may be a more complicated phenomenon than is often assumed: in fact many young people tend to drift in and out of jobs rather than stay unemployed for years; but nevertheless it is serious. Juvenile delinquency has assumed unmanageable proportions; the majority of crimes of violence in advanced societies is committed by young people."⁽³¹⁾

More recently, the Tawney Society Community Research Group begins its pamphlet with a section entitled "Long Hot Summer" thus:

"To the British urban policeman, a long hot summer means one thing - echoes of 1981 when there were riots on the streets of London, Liverpool and Manchester. To Californian emergency services, on the other hand, the term can also imply a more elemental threat - that of square mile upon square mile of forest fire. And there is a difference: the inner city policeman is worrying about what young people will be throwing at him: the Californian fireman knows that he will have young volunteers to help him fight fires."⁽³²⁾

In both publications community service is presented as something of an answer to such expressions of youthful disaffection, suggesting that negativity will be turned on its head by the positive experience of service. Realising that they are needed by society, young people will transfer their energies towards an assertion of that society's dominant values. Yet there is no mention of how this transference will take place. If community service fails to offer remuneration commensurate with work done, if it is to be offered for only a temporary period and if it provides places of service only in situations which are of insufficient importance to warrant a waged worker, then it is unlikely to remove the alienation which springs from unemployment, poverty and insecurity. Inclusion in a community service project will not remove the "crisis of exclusion" which arises from the denial of waged work unless it can offer a guarantee of paid work afterwards. For working class young people work is associated with independence and responsibility in their personal and social life in the sense that it provides a wage. For young males in particular it is the key to adult status. The work itself is not expected to be inherently satisfying - particularly if it is unskilled. Any satisfactions gleaned from work lie in the wage and the status and many of the frustrations and discontents associated with unemployment have more to do with denial of these than with lack of work per se. Community service would not and could not provide a wage. By being made applicable to young people alone it would fail to command adult status. What it can do is remove the visibility of large numbers of young people thus reducing a source of popular concern. Youth unemployment would under such circumstances be relieved of many of its threatening connotations and the State would be seen to be fulfilling some of its obligations in the field of law and order.

If some young people are forced to undertake a period of community service as part of an extended YTS experience, as an addition to YTS or as an alternative to YTS, then the alienation which is at present apparent among some sections of the youth population would simply manifest itself within the scheme. Discontented young people would be unsuitable candidates for placements in the field of welfare. They would undertake their tasks with less than a willing heart. Many of the openings in welfare, particularly those dealing with the old, the handicapped and the sick, require sensitiv-

ity, skill in forming relationships and, not least, a real desire to be of assistance. If any of these characteristics are absent then the experience will be disastrous for both client and servant. If such young people are directed towards environmental projects, they might undertake the work with less damage but alienated labour is not the most likely to inculcate a sense of care and concern about environmental issues.

Work in welfare and the environment IS important - too important to be allocated to untrained, unwilling and unpaid hands. Much of this work is at present left undone as a result of public expenditure restrictions and cuts which not only do not allow for growth and development in these fields but have also caused closures and redundancies making it difficult if not impossible for remaining workers and institutions to successfully apply their skills to the full. For many hard-pressed workers in public employment, the influx of groups of young people, no matter how willing, would involve them in even more work directing, training, organising and controlling. It is too easy to think that a ready supply of hands will necessarily lighten the load. Such workers create their own problems. While community service advocates claim that young people could take over many of the less skilled tasks, such tasks do not exist within a vacuum. They are part of a larger network of duties and responsibilities, particularly in places like hospitals, children's homes and schools and it is necessary that all jobs be done properly within the overall framework and ethos of the institution.

In addition, it is suggested that community service will not involve job substitution, that it should be a condition of the introduction of such a scheme that no paid position is sacrificed in its favour. Yet it can be argued that many of the openings suggested ARE jobs which have already been lost through spending cuts. If community service is used to fill the gaps in state welfare, then these jobs will certainly be lost to the future. Moreover, the experience of all job creation schemes to date has shown that job substitution does occur on a wide scale despite assurances to the contrary. It is estimated that 1 in 4 YTS places has taken over a paid position.⁽³³⁾ Disclaimers are merely empty rhetoric designed to obscure the lack of political, economic and social will to fund the training and employment of staff which would ensure the satisfactory fulfillment of the work deemed necessary.

Thus it appears that the creation of a national system of community service is not the innocent panacea for the wrongs inflicted on young people which it appears to be from a superficial reading of the literature. Nor is it a simple answer to the social and environmental problems created by an unwillingness to apply public funding and resources to these areas. Community service is promoted without due consideration of either the realities of young peoples' lives and the many different situations which this embraces or of the underlying philosophical and political meanings which are at stake. Its liberalism is initially attractive and beguiling. There can be no doubting the good intentions of its advocates. However, it is a project which, if applied under present circumstances can only serve to further the interests of the political Right beneath a cloak of concern for the well-being of youth and society.

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local people and local management

TOM CALDWELL

In this article Tom Caldwell analyses the limits of representative democracy in relation to the experience of a locally managed youth project which was taken over by the local authority.

This article was written following a bid by an LEA to take over a locally managed youth project. This policy meant dissolving the local management committee and replacing it with a new body set up in line with an LEA constitution. The reason for this move which was strongly supported by the local labour councillor lay with the inability of local people to secure resources for their project and the refusal of the LEA to provide full running costs unless control of the project was handed over. Equally worrying was the sporadic interest shown in the project by adults and the perceived lack of ability of local people to take on a managing role. This incident is indicative of the problem facing working class groups in organising at a local level and of how the state manages people and imposes its directives on them. The existing format of local management groups as a means of bringing about change and securing resources begs investigation. While attempting to cover a lot of ground this article will hopefully raise debate about the nature of representative management of local projects and the constraints imposed by state and capital.

The idea of management committees is rooted in the development of bourgeois democracy and embodies the principles of elected representatives. At the heart of the management committee lies the constitution, its code of practice, and an emphasis on the legal rational accounting of finance. This model is inappropriate for participation in community projects and I wish to re-state the arguments for opening up opportunities for effective participation. Further, I wish to suggest that new forms are possible. What is crucial, however, is that people can respond more enthusiastically to new forms than they do at present to representative bodies. The barriers to participation are rising even higher with the onslaught of Thatcherism and the Government's terrible dose of capitalist rationality. The need to seek answers to this within the sphere of reproduction is becoming greater and community and youth workers are in a unique position to play an effective role in providing them.

Paul Willis pointed out in this journal that socialism is not currently on the immediate agenda and the apathy produced by unemployment lingers on "...the socialist imagination seems frozen by the winter of our discontent".⁽¹⁾ Like Willis,

I believe that there is room for improvement within the possibilities that exist. That does not mean that the struggle has halted, nor does it mean that capital has won in the war of position. What is evident though, is that there is a vacuum in terms of strategy and tactics among community and youth workers in 1985.

During the late 1960's and early 1970's, the heady days of community action, lessons were learned and strategies were developed. The experience of the Community Development Projects (CDP's) were invaluable in expounding the limits of community participation against the level at which the State would step in and, either take control or crush the initiative.⁽²⁾ My own experiences, at that time working with people in the West End of Newcastle bear this out. Two successive years were spent organising large community festivals. These acted as a catalyst and forum for a variety of groups, e.g. Adventure Playgrounds, Tenants Groups, The Newcastle Tenants Federation and neighbourhood advice centres developed from here. What happened subsequently is significant. The festivals were usurped by the LEA via MSC and Job Creation. The adventure playgrounds were taken over by the Recreation Department. The advice centres operate in fear of cuts, and political action by tenants in Newcastle is almost non-existent. The efforts of CDP to link up with the wider class struggle fell foul of the State and the inability of the working class to grasp the link between capitalist production and reproduction of labour. It also failed to convince community and youth workers of the need to involve themselves in the political debate concerned with the nature of state and capital.

The gains made at a local level were important at this time but have now by and large disappeared with rising unemployment and the capitalist crisis. If we are to re-assert the importance of community action in the 1980's we need to know what we are up against. We also need to develop new tactics and strategies for those who wish to act as focal points in encouraging it. To indicate what these might be I wish to devolve the debate from wider political and economic sphere to the sphere of reproduction and work with young people.

The first notion we have to contend with is that of the state as deliverer of goods and services to the community⁽³⁾ on the basis of centralised decision making. What is important is an analysis of corporatism as the predominant mode of operation. This effectively guarantees the relative autonomy of

the state in maintaining control over our lives.

"The relative autonomy of the State stems from the existence of Civil Society⁽⁴⁾ - and the fact that there are patterns of inter-relationships between the two - these inter-relationships are partially autonomous of the Capitalist economy. It is these inter-relationships between the State and Civil Society which guarantees the relative autonomy of the former and the partial interdependence of certain practises within the latter. Corporatism is not a theory of the economy or of the articulation of particular interest groups or of the State - but it is in a sense all of these things a theory of the direct representation of Corporate groups of Civil Society within the State rather than the indirect representation of individual citizens who cast their vote."⁽⁵⁾

The corporate mode of the local state became fully developed after the re-organisation of local government in 1974⁽⁶⁾ which "...had the objective of coping with the problem posed by reformist labourists control of the local government of working class areas."⁽⁷⁾ Corporate Management removes democracy even further from local people and gives them even less say in the decision making process.

Since 1975 radical community work, in terms of workers developing political objectives, has all but disappeared. The state has been able to incorporate those workers, who in earlier years fought alongside residents in political battles. Unemployment and the meteoric rise in the use of MSC have strengthened the corporate hold. Programme or Policy Planning Units rule supreme in City Hall in establishing policy and resource allocation. I recently attended a public meeting in Sunderland held to discuss the proposed North Area Plan. The meeting was poorly attended and it was clear that the proposals had been developed by professionals beforehand. Furthermore, the elected representatives supported the proposals by making constant reference to the 'cuts'. What was being said was - we only have so much money and we know what you will get for it. In effect the corporate state paternalizes the working class as well as managing it.

What of the political representatives - those stalwarts of liberal democracy? Where do they fit in and in whose interest do they operate? We need to be aware of their relationships with the state. The state is not a monolithic entity. It is a set of relationships, one of which is the relationship between state, capital and representatives. The corporate state includes and accomodates political representatives in such a way as to remove their ability to fight for the communities they represent. The centralization of decision making ensures that those who represent the working class are subsumed by the state's involvement in the re-structuring of capital and the peripheralization of a growing section of the working class - what can be termed the Stagnant Reserve Army (SRA).⁽⁸⁾ The SRA are increasingly isolated from any decision making process within society and when they do attempt to organise are caught up in the contradictory nature of working class practice - a flight back to Marx's notion that prevailing ideas are those of the ruling class.

Elaborate constitutions containing rules of practice, the predominance of financial regulations and a small quorum usually insisting that political representatives have a seat at the

table, centralizes decision making and ensures debate about finance before debate about policy. The inclusion of political representatives negates the development of autonomous political demands and ensures continuing control by the state. Most working class organisations at a local level are not about participation at all but about control. Caught up in capitalist ideology in this way, working class communities reflect the anti-democratic operation of the corporate state. There is a perceived need to legitimise working class organization by the co-option of political representatives and the adoption of the legal-rational form of capital accounting. Writing about the setting up of Community Councils in Scotland in 1976, Chris Clarke had this to say:

"Community Councils will attract working class people who are discontented with the existing political system (or with its output) into a position of status within that system. Economic centralization will prevent them from achieving any significant changes, but their position will divert attention away from an understanding of the exploitative class nature of the national political system by rewarding their patient efforts with minor rewards, like a new playground."⁽⁹⁾

The need to be seen to be legitimate in the eyes of the state and the community is understandable but to do so limits the ability of working class groups to involve themselves in making effective political demands. Like sexism, racism, and overt nationalism, legitimation of working class organisations poses a real problem for those operating in the sphere of reproduction. The debates of the 1970's lie largely forgotten because ultimately they did not develop a coherent strategy for workers. The best developed argument - that of CDP and its ilk was thwarted by the state.⁽¹⁰⁾ The idea of building links between the sphere of production and reproduction of labour never caught on in the eyes of the working class precisely because their organisations reflect bourgeois practice.

Youth work agencies suffer from the same limitations but in one sense are often even more undemocratic because rarely do young people have any control at all over the decision making process. The Thompson Report, despite making altruistic noises, did not mean that participation should be taken literally. What Thompson proposed was better management.

"The youth service is not alone in lacking an adequate conception of management and an adequate structure for carrying it out. Better management structures are needed at all levels, national and local, but when one thinks about key elements it becomes evident that a strong lead must be given at national level."⁽¹¹⁾

Experience and Participation does not mean Experience of Participation. Participation by young people is usually confined to token places on the management committee and the setting up of users groups with attendant constitutions and codes of practice - not really participation at all, more an introduction to the limitations of liberal democracy. Many workers have become what Dave Byrne terms 'Poverty Professionals'... "Those whose task it is to mediate between the peripheralised working class and those who formally manage cities and people - Poverty Professionals are part of management, a crucial part. They control."⁽¹²⁾

There is an urgent need to return and take up debates of the

1970's if any headway is to be made in the war of position with capital. The development of the state, the ensuing crisis and lack of strategies to enforce working class demands in the community, belies the positions on the battlefield. For the moment capital is making gains and community youth workers, by default, often play a part in ensuring these gains.

What can be done then? While this article serves to heighten debate about overall strategy there are, I suggest, tactics that workers can adopt to redress the balance. The basic premise of these however must be the recognition of the need to become involved in a wider political debate.

Workers can assist the political effectivity of working class demands by helping to remove some of the barriers to control. As we have seen, the existence of formal legitimising codes of practice limit community action. By ensuring that codes of practice are kept simple and, open to all, greater participation can ensue. The establishment of open forums as a means of management, or as a compliment to the existing representative bodies, is certainly possible at local level - **provided** ground-work is carried out by workers to ensure effective dissemination of information. This means workers must spend less time sitting on their backsides counting money and more time on the streets, in the workplace, in the pubs and in peoples homes. The legal-rational system must be challenged if people are to have some say in the control of their lives.

When working with groups of people, workers must make it clear that what people are doing is involving themselves in a political process. Too often community and youth workers insist that their work is not political. This is nonsense and shows a naivety and ignorance of the workings of state and capital. Any group seeking to secure goods, services and resources in terms of money, space and time need to be aware of constraints that will be imposed on them from without. By clarifying these constraints workers can help community groups make decisions about policies that have a chance of success.

Following on from this, workers need to educate themselves to understand the difficulties involved in helping groups achieve stated aims. This means a commitment to ongoing training and education for themselves and the people with whom they are involved.

Workers involved with young people should take the idea of participation seriously. The experience of some groups of young people, such as the Musicians' Collectives in the North East, has shown that young people can ably run their own projects and make political demands as well. We must prevent adults patronising young people by managing their projects for them. For ultimately these adults will incorporate the limitations of working class organisations.

Political representatives of the local state must be discouraged from insisting on a de facto seat at the table. While many will be sincere, their relationship with the state does not allow them to make an effective contribution to local demands. Their presence often negates opportunities to make effective challenges and, more importantly, to achieve the demands of local people.

If youth and community workers are to make any contribu-

tion to working class struggles, the inclusion of such tactics will bring the debate about community action to the fore again. We need to recognise the very real limitations to action and find better ways of dealing with them. Perhaps the most important limitation of all is that imposed by representative democracy. As Raymond Williams pointed out, "...The notion of representation now seems to me in its common ideological form, fundamentally hostile to democracy. I think the distinction between representation and popular power has to be now very sharply put."⁽¹³⁾

The gap between popular power and representation at a local level is wide indeed. The subsequent disarray that emerged from the process of the takeover attempt mentioned here shows the inadequacy of reliance on the state and its representatives. Briefly, the Local Authority backed off on the takeover bid in fear of 'the Cuts', i.e. they could not give a commitment to ongoing funding in the light of a large cut in part-time sessions. The project premises have been handed over to the Housing Department - a decision made at the local Labour Party ward meeting and backed by the management committee of the local welfare rights agency. This agency offered a shared use of a room that was previously used by the Tenants Association. At no time were the views of young people taken into consideration. Their demands were quite clear - open the project and get things going.

I met a group of them hanging about the railway station in the town centre shortly after the decision to hand over the building. The subsequent dialogue ended with the phrase "the bastards don't know what they are doing. It's our'youthie' not theirs." Not true of course!

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the supply of training

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A concern about whether there are sufficient numbers of qualified people to fill the present and anticipated future demand for staff in the youth and community service has re-emerged as a central focus among training agencies and employers. The first part of this article summarises the research undertaken on behalf of the Council for the Education and Training for Youth and Community Work (CETYSW) which has helped to trigger the current debates. The second explores some of the underlying issues in order to clarify the trends and enable them to be interpreted in context.

CETYSW has included in its tasks and responsibilities the monitoring of the staffing position in the Youth and Community Service and the supply of training available to service staffing needs. In a preliminary review of the position a council working party identified three specific areas of concern; teacher trained staff, the 'export of training' and the staffing in the voluntary organisations. In practice, prior to taking up these matters in detail, a broad based review of staff looking at the present position concerning the demand and the supply of training, was found to be required.

The full report on the staffing provision was presented to the Council, in July 1984. This summary is intended, not as a substitute for reading the original, but as an aid to its digestion.⁽¹⁾ I have here simplified data from the full report. Space does not permit a full discussion of the data sources utilised. However it may be noted that while various sources have been used and reservations must be expressed about the reliability of the absolute figures, nevertheless, the consistency found in the trends enables some relatively firm conclusions to be drawn from the material.

The current work force

The size of the current work force in July 1983 derived from DES register data, excluding officers, was 4094. This is an increase of 594, 17% on the Thompson figure of 3500 workers in post,⁽²⁾ and 794 on Holmes' figures.⁽³⁾ Taking the latter figure as a base, the increase may be averaged at 4% per annum.

The work force is predominantly male and white European. 50% of the workers are paid on JNC scales, with an increasing number on the higher scales and a possible dearth of jobs at the lower levels.

Demand

The importance of external factors impinging on demand is

recognised but the report makes no attempt to quantify these at present. Expressed demand is defined de facto in terms of the number of workers in post. Of the 4000 full time youth staff well over three quarters are classified as youth workers. There are declining numbers of youth tutor and community centre warden posts but there has been a steady growth in demand for youth and community workers over the years - an increase averaging at 8% per annum over the past 5 years. There is an appreciable quantity of unfilled demand. JNC were aware of 151 vacancies in April 1984. Despite the growth figures over the past decade, in the light of the current climate of cuts most of the staffing predictions have been calculated within a framework of zero growth but have allowed for an annual turnover of 10%, up to 400 new entrants per year.

The range and complexity of funding and occupational structures serving young people's needs places the youth and community workers' skills in demand from a variety of sources. Thus there are competing sources of demand for qualified youth and community workers. In 1982 40% of the output from the training agencies in known employment entered into initial posts other than youth and community work, albeit usually in related professions. It is estimated that there will continue to be a minimum demand for at least 400 new workers per annum in the education based service. Further exploration of the factors influencing demand in both the education based youth and community service and in complementary professions is therefore required.

Supply and training experience

There have been three recent developments regarding the question of supply and training:

- 1) JNC has resolved that after May 1985 unqualified workers may not be employed except under trainee status and with secondment
- 2) JNC has further resolved that after December 1988 teachers will not automatically be eligible for dual qualification
- 3) Concern with the 'export' of training to non-youth agencies.

These issues have encouraged a focus on the training of the work force.

Of the staff in post 27% have received specialised training, 43% are qualified teachers, 17% trained through alternative routes/individual recognition and 13% are unqualified. The percentage of the work force who are specialist trained has

fallen progressively over the past decade. The proportion of newly qualified workers entering the youth and community service has decreased and the 'export' of trained staff to other people-work professions has increased. About 60% of the output from the training agencies in known employment go into youth work, 14% take up community work and an increasing number, 17% in 1982, take up social work posts. The export need not be regarded as irreversible. Some workers who take up other posts on completion of training may join the youth and community service at a later date with a broad experience of other forms of work. The proportion of teacher trained staff in the work force has increased from 27% in 1972 to 43% in 1983. Nearly two and a half times as many teachers are now employed (727 in 1972, 1755 in 1983). Teacher trained staff now make up nearly half the new annual intake to the service and the ratio of teacher trained to specialised trained workers entering the service between 1978 and 1983 is nearly 3 to 1. Only 3% of the teachers in post have taken a recognised B.Ed course in youth and community studies, though a further 13% have included a youth option in their training. Thus of the 1755 workers currently in post, only 53 could be taken on if they were completing training after 1988. At present, up to 200 entrants to the service each year are teacher trained. After 1988 the maximum number of newly trained staff available will fall to 50. In reality this will be rather less since, at the most, only a proportion of the output from the recognised courses will eventually join the youth and community service.

However the shortfall will not be immediate, since the legislation is not retrospective and teaching staff qualified before 1988 will retain their dual qualification. Many of the teacher trained staff spend some years in teaching before joining the youth and community service and one may predict a pool of eligible, qualified but not specialist trained applicants to youth and community posts continuing into the 1990's. One may estimate that up to 100 teacher trained staff are recruited annually within three years of qualification. Less than half this number will be available for immediate appointment after 1988.

The supply of training places in 1983/84 was estimated to be 380. This comprises 260 on 2 year courses, 40 on Post-Graduate, 50 on B.Ed and 30 on Part-time In-Service Training. The B.Ed course's have been included in this total although strictly speaking they service only the relatively small number of youth tutor posts.

It is argued that 400 trained entrants are required annually to meet demand at a zero growth turnover figure of 10%. The aggregate output of training is unable to meet this demand. The real shortfall is of course far more serious since data would suggest that at most only half the output actually take up employment in the education based service.

Staffing in the Voluntary Organisations

The Report notes that while the partnership between the statutory and voluntary sector is identified as a special and unique feature of youth service provision, nevertheless detailed information on staffing in the voluntary sector is seriously lacking. There are thought to be at least 1700 full time, 16,500 full time equivalents in part time and 423,000 voluntary workers in this sector.

There is serious concern about the continued funding of ser-

vice to the voluntary organisations within present financial stringencies but three out of six organisations employing between them 735 staff in 1984 hope to be employing the same number in 5 years time. Of the training agency output in 1984 24% joined the voluntary sector.

In response to the possibility of a shortfall, CETYCW has issued a Press Notice summarising the position on supply of trained staff, the Initial Training and Education Panel of CETYCW has offered priority in its endorsement schedule to new courses of training, a working party on routes to training has endorsed its support for the development of alternative routes, and CETYCW has affirmed its support for the expansion of training opportunities.

Background

In thinking about the underlying relevant issues I have constructed a four quadrant model. My rationale for using such a model is that it is over-simplistic to search for one cause and so to arrive at one remedy for a situation which, I would suggest, derives from a complexity of features and to which a number of alternative responses may well be appropriate.

I have argued in the 'supply of training' paper that it is not possible at this stage to construct a 'strong' supply and demand model with the necessary quantification of the factors involved. I would continue to endorse this position. However, I would now go further than I felt able to do in that paper in attempting to, at least, isolate and identify these features - hence my four quadrants.

The essence of this model is that although each of these quadrants may be considered separately and will thus enjoy a separate substantive validity, relevance and importance, the areas are nevertheless interdependent. Movement in any one will involve a shift one way or the other in the demand/supply curve or equation, and will thus make and associated impact on its neighbour.

A model of the staff provision in the youth and community service

The Clients	The macro and micro institutional and organisational structures
Effective demand for youth and community workers	Features of the supply of youth and community workers

Firstly let us examine the central client group, young people. It is a truism to note that the optimism of the early 60s where young people were regarded as enjoying on the whole a privileged position with regard to education, employment and material prosperity has been replaced by an enduring pessimism, indeed despair about the realities of the future facing far too many young people today. The functionalist model of the 60s and 70s where the unemployed, the drop-outs and the misfits were explained in terms of individual pathology and deviance has been replaced, across the political spectrum I would suggest, by a structural model which sees unemployment as an inherent feature of post industrial institutional planning and technology and monetarist economic policy. Unemployment is the central issue facing young people today, but racism, gender inequalities, cut-backs in educational opportunity and homelessness are

further issues for which young people are rightly looking for account to be taken by the adults in their world. Thus the demands made on the Youth Service and the youth worker became more wide ranging, more intense and more fundamental. The client requires a greater diversity of service in terms of buildings, hours and quality of provision.

Nothing can be taken for granted in developmental terms and indeed the youth worker may well be providing a role model for the experience of a working person and the resolution of the adolescent identity crisis for the young person who may not only be unemployed but whose father, mother, brothers and sisters are also unemployed. Some theorists would go further and would suggest that not only social education but progression, for example, in terms of moral development and reasoning is contingent on the experience of working, of taking responsibility and of experiencing alternative points of view. Perhaps only the Youth Service at its best can provide this range of experience to young people whose traditional mode of transition into the adult world is not infrequently permanently closed to them.

This consideration of the current realities of young people's situation which is of course, worsening from year to year as more school leavers join the ranks of the long term unemployed, leads directly into the second quadrant of macro and micro structures. At macro level one must note that the plans for the re-organisation of local government, rate-capping and cuts in the educational budgets cannot yet be quantified in terms of their impact on Youth Service funding and provision. Cuts in resources in one area are sometimes boosted by expansion in another yet attempts both at local and national level to at least reduce the inherent uncertainties in the funding position by government action have so far been unsuccessful, as the recent government response to Thompson makes clear.

Having identified in the previous quadrant the complexity of needs young people currently present, a diversity of structures of work with young people has emerged to service them. MSC is an obvious example of a growth area. Its provision embraces 22,000 employees and a £2 billion budget. YTS alone enjoyed a £1 billion budget for 1983/84 with places for 400,000 young people. In contrast the Youth Service budget for local authority recurrent expenditure was £78 million for 1980/81. On the juvenile justice side, despite the introduction of new youth custody provision in 1983 and recent threats to tighten up the institutional regimes, many commentators including the Home Office itself have found in practice that the cost and the recidivism rate in such schemes suggest the increasing expansion of alternative treatment provision, for example IT, and a consequent increasing need for workers in such areas.

It seems to be a characteristic of post-industrial society to move towards an increasing emphasis on professionalism as an ethos. I would argue that in structural terms, and despite the cries of opposition from its opponents, the Youth and Community Service has been, and is continuing to take, inexorable steps towards professionalisation.

The setting up of CETYCW in 1983 with an emphasis on developing national standards of training is one example of this process. The JNC decision to require that from December 1984 unqualified workers would only be recruited under trainee status and that from 1988 newly

qualified teachers entering the service should have taken a specialised training, is another example of the process of professionalisation.

Finally, in sketching out structural features, one may see that the Victorian ethic of self help and independence is reflected in the emphasis on the role of the voluntary organisations in fostering youth work initiatives. Community organisation with its hints of political radicalism, is out of favour. Voluntary organisation provision with an emphasis on autonomy and independence is in.

If we now turn to the impact of these features on the third quadrant, demand, a number of issues follow logically from the analysis. While the appropriate funding of training may be debated and the primary focus of youth and community work training remains the education based Youth and Community Service, nevertheless the training offered is obviously appropriate and relevant to service the growing number of other professional and occupational groupings working for young people. IT and YTS are again obvious examples. One may argue that the increase in demand for youth and community workers in social work and MSC is actually a tribute to the relevance of training for its primary role of work with young people. Though the settings have expanded, the essential aims and objectives of the training remain the same.

On the other hand financial cuts have underlined an alternative set of demands on youth workers for which they are at present less well prepared. In some LEAs the worker is expected to finance the centre, the part-timers, and indeed their own salary through fund raising activities but comprehensive management and administrative training is still missing from many training courses at present.

The loss of assistant posts through cuts increases the pressures on the full-time worker and has contributed to a salary drift which results in a greater demand for staff at the higher JNC levels and fewer posts at scales 1 and 2. This in turn may contribute to the export into alternative but more appropriately scaled posts for the young and inexperienced worker. The reliance in many centres on part-time workers and volunteers requires a training input from the full-time worker for which they may be insufficiently prepared. The outcome in terms of frustration from the part-timer is well documented in the recent report **Starting from Strengths**.⁽⁴⁾

There would appear to be a divorce between the reality of the statutory service in some areas, where flexibility and innovation have enabled real attempts to be made to meet the needs of the client group identified in quadrant one, and its image in the eyes of the training agency output. In other LEAs perhaps, the statutory service has so far been unable to make these adaptations. In any event, the voluntary sector apparently appears preferable to some students and the issue of how demand is expressed and construed is, I would suggest one of the areas needing to be explored.

The consistent demand for teachers in the Youth Service is examined in some detail in the Report. If the real or imagined qualities of the teacher trained applicant are felt to be valid ground for this preference by employers, the training agencies and their participants clearly need to reflect on their 'disadvantaged' image and the nature of the employer's demand.

The Thompson Report puts turnover in the Youth Service at 10 to 15% and the demand for new entrants at 15 to 20%. I have chosen to base most of my calculations on the more conservative estimate of turnover and demand. In reality I would suggest that the demand from the complementary occupations will continue to increase for the foreseeable future and that demand within the Youth Service itself will, at the very least, be maintained. It may indeed increase in some areas to meet the pressing needs of young people, unless further cutbacks in resource provisions made even maintenance impossible.

Turning finally to supply, certain features, for example the ethnic and gender distribution, must give immediate cause for concern. The very real dearth of women and members of the ethnic minorities at the upper levels, both in the training agencies and in employment is self evident. Many of the training agencies are making very real efforts to redress the gender and ethnic imbalance but it will naturally take some time before these efforts will be seriously reflected in the population characteristics of the work force as a whole.

About 13% of the work force is at present technically unqualified. This number will dwindle in size not only because of the JNC decision, which is a manifestation of the underlying emphasis on professionalism, but also due to employers' emphasis on training. If any notion of qualification through experience were to be introduced then I would suggest that the number regarded as unqualified would fall away even more rapidly. I think that the number qualifying through individual recognition will de facto reduce as the applicants from diverse social science courses commenced prior to 1977 dry up and if a greater diversity and availability of recognised courses becomes available. In the meantime the Initial Training Panel has taken over the scrutiny of applicants for individual recognition and has produced an algorithm of the routes. It is further closely monitoring numbers.

The real question mark at present lies around the 43% of teacher trained staff. Only 3% of these have taken a youth option and existing provision allows for only a maximum of 50 students to qualify through this route per year from December 1988. The time lag before this revision takes effect is unpredictable in precise terms but is certainly not immediate. However the service has shown itself aware that the postponement of a reality does not stop it happening. It simply allows a breathing space for alternative sources of supply to be developed. Among these may be included ways of retaining the option for teachers who want to move into youth and community work and to work in a more informal education setting with young people by providing in-service training in youth and community work. Other suggestions include the provision of PGCEs and a range of both full and part time 'conversion' courses for graduates, including B.Eds.

It is encouraging to find that despite the pressures on the training agencies and their resources, the allocation of places for 84/85 would allow an output of 373 in 1986 and the training agencies report an actual intake of about 390 in 1984. A commentator who forecasts a staffing shortage in the youth service risks being heard to cry 'wolf'. It has been said before, and has been averted before, by 'emergency' measures of training, and by in the last decade the availability of teacher trained entrants to the service. However the

estimates of shortfall summarised in this paper are confirmed by word of mouth report from employers across the country and though recent figures would suggest a higher proportion of the output from the specialised courses entering youth and community work, the entrants from other sources i.e. individual recognition are, as expected, drying up. There is no evidence of any widespread provision of trainee places to sustain the input of unqualified workers.

A diversity of training opportunities is required and the Initial Training Panel's working party has looked at a range of sources of qualifying training which would not only increase the absolute numbers but would also tap the reserves of other groups and increase overall access to training. In this respect it may be noted that in 1984 the training agencies actually offered more than 480 places to achieve an intake of 390. In other words, a further 90 applicants were deemed suitable for training but were unable to take up their courses, many presumably because of the absence of mandatory grants.

While this may hardly be a propitious time to be calling for an expansion of training opportunities, the CETYCW will be arguing strongly for such an expansion and will be placing priority on alternative routes to qualification including both 'conversion' courses for graduates and part time 'on the job' modular structures and distance learning opportunities.

The potential for training is indisputably available. The interest and expertise is available in the Training Agencies and deep concern is being expressed with CETYCW by its constituent organisations. In contrast public interest in the Youth Service would seem as usual to be at a minimum and the press release on the shortfall of training earned only one mention from the national press. Although the opportunity for preparational planning is available, there are no clear signs that effective steps will be taken in time to avert this forecast staffing crisis.

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football hooliganism: anticipation and presence

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Hooliganism appears through anticipation based upon the re-activation of supporter's reputation for violence. Anticipated soccer violence displays a hierarchical structure and is informed by the interests of the potential victims. These are themselves part of an on-going cultural process through which a sense of fear is engendered and 'hooliganism' constructed. The media reporting of violence is an active constituting factor in the phenomenon it merely claims to 'report'.

Our experiences of youth in general and football hooligans in particular are permeated not only by the tradition of sedimented meanings from which they spring, but also by anticipations⁽¹⁾. These are generated from the present on the basis of an established tradition of 'what everyone knows about them'. Through anticipation our experience looks beyond the present moment towards possible futures so that we are always ahead of ourselves⁽²⁾. In order for this tradition to remain alive it must continuously be reactivated in a constant cultural process whose outcome is never fully guaranteed.

This article is an intervention within the cultural process it addresses - the generation of a sense of anticipated hooliganism from football supporters. It specifically aims to show the presence of violence and theft for potential victims through their anticipation of it. Our most immediate 'subjects' are local residents, workers and shopkeepers in the area immediately surrounding Chelsea Football Club. Their anticipated attackers on the occasion of the interviews are male supporters of both the home team and those from their South London rivals Millwall F.C. A second wider aim is to probe into and unfold the essential structure of anticipated violence from young people in general taking soccer hooliganism as an exemplification. This in turn is a contribution to a larger project of foundational research into the so called 'youth question' addressing:

- 1) the **meanings** continually constructed in and from the experience of, for example youth, delinquency, criminalisation, victimisation, racist attacks and policing;
- 2) the **modes** through which these diverse meanings appear ie. as perceived, recollected, signified by the language of media reporting, imagined and anticipated;
- 3) the essential **structures** of these meanings and their ways of appearing to our social and historical consciousness;
- 4) the appearance and assembly of actual and potential 'subjects' **to whom** these meanings present themselves and **for whom** they exist concretely and with definite associations ie young people, football supporters, victims of hooliganism,

hooligans and others directly and indirectly affected by this cultural process;

- 5) the historical tradition housing the **origins** and the originating **establishment** of these meanings, their modes of appearing etc. Also the **developmental logic** of the social and economic interests, concerns, styles of directedness and practical comportment of those who experience soccer violence.

Our thirty five interviews deliberately focused on the meaning of one particular form of criminal violence presented only through anticipation for the concerns of a small number of people directly affected. It tries not to confuse the depth of research with the number of boxes ticked in questionnaires. As foundational research, it aims for the distinctions and relations of meaning upon which all quantitative studies and research are founded. As a result no use is made of existing criteria of 'controls', statistical analysis and correlations with standard 'objective variables' such as social class and age. Any use would presuppose that these criteria are already part of the essential meaning, not only of anticipated soccer violence but also social science, scientific truth and sound research method. It would also assume, again without evidence and therefore unscientifically, that such methods are necessarily adequate to the nature of anticipated soccer violence.

Yet these criteria, which take themselves to be so 'objective', gloss over and make 'unverifiable' their founding level of socially constructed meaning. Further, consciousness of this self-contradiction is forever placed out of stock by assuming that objectivity is some kind of residue arrived at through the eradication of subjectivity. Therefore the collective subjectivity of the research tradition for which the **guiding idea** of 'objective methods' is significant becomes 'unscientific' for it. This continues the arbitrary meta-physical game of dichotomising subjectivity from objective research into youth and hooliganism.

Instead foundational research reveals the mutual implication of our 'subjective' experience of youth with the 'objective' meaning that is experienced. Foundational research examines the social and historical structures of consciousness **for which** there is the 'youth question', research, social science, delinquency, racial attacks, crime, anticipation, hooliganism and the threat of victimisation as meaningful and objective themes. For us, scientific criteria means fidelity towards the meanings of actual **and possible** experience,

and the clarity, distinctness and comprehensive character of their explication across the five levels mentioned above⁽⁵⁾. Foundational research is then as much quantitative as qualitative, as much objective as subjective. It reveals and seeks to understand a level of pre-theoretical experience of youth from which **any** would-be 'social science' must draw the sense through which its themes and its own theorising exist. This level is prior to the unseen and unthought dictotomising which divorces the hooliganism which is anticipated from the anticipating of it. Accordingly the scientific questioning of this text concerns:

- 1) the **character** of anticipated hooliganism;
- 2) the relationship with recalled violence and the flowing cultural **tradition** of embedded meaning;
- 3) the practical **concerns, interests** and **capacities** of the anticipating subjects examined partly through the precautions taken to avoid future violence.

As such it aims to contribute to the policy debate surrounding youth and delinquency by disclosing aspects of the cultural processes through which one group of young people are constructed as a 'social problem' and another as 'threatened victims'. In addition it wants to show the **outcome** of these processes concretely operating in the experience of potential victims of hooliganism - especially the racist connection. On a wider front it wants to render questionable the manufactured 'common sense' surrounding the youth question and both outline and **concretely exemplify** a style of research adequate to this critical task. Only through establishing a degree of coherence at a foundational level can the real force of the opposition to progressive policies be gauged and counter strategies formulated. Any such formulation must take seriously the sense in which the threat of soccer violence is a real problem. Although no review of literature is displayed here, empirically my research shows that a simplistic resort to cries of 'Media Myths' are quite inadequate. So are those accounts that merely **REVERSE** the "social problem" orientation of criminology portraying soccer hooliganisms as some kind of 'resistance movement'. At the same time evidence is presented suggesting that the 'reporting' of the tabloid press is one constituting element in the cultural process upon which it claims to report.

The Character of Anticipated Hooliganism

This section addresses the difference between anticipated violence from football supporters and other modes, its particular nature, possibilities, motivating factors, structures, effects and limitations. We need to distinguish anticipated hooliganism from its presence through the modes of imagination, retention and recollection. It is its **indeterminacy of form** that distinguishes anticipated hooliganism from an imaginative expectation in which an explicit representation of an event occurs. We can vividly **imagine** anything happening but anticipated soccer violence is neither vivid nor so boundless. Imagined violence need not follow an orderly temporal succession of events. For example, the consequences of an assault upon a shopkeeper can be imagined before the beginning of the assault so that the whole sequence can appear in 'reverse order'. Anticipation, in contrast has no such licence to reverse the temporal sequence of anticipated events. The essential distinction between the anticipation and **retention** of violence concerns the **source** of retentions in the **originating** impressions of the present⁽⁶⁾. Unlike anticipation the retention of violence concerns the continuing presence of what has just-now been present to

the person's consciousness⁽⁵⁾. The retention itself continually sinks away into the ever more distant past to become modified as a retention of a retention. Anticipation is the counterpart to retention in that it is a continual projecting forward of future possibilities.

This contrast clearly appeared in an interview with an Arab off-licensee. He expressed with real venom his contuning feelings of hostility towards football supporters. Recently, as a precaution against further trouble, he has begun to bolt his door allowing only 'regulars' inside his shop when there was a home game. This was after experiencing an unscheduled 'stock clearance',

"They come in groups. You can't control them. All other shops face the same problem. They are out to lay their hands on anything. I serve one and the others take everything, run off and you can't do nothing".

He had retained an awareness of violence after fighting and looting in his shop. Although no longer 'present', its **presence** still persisted without recollection having to **re-present** it to his consciousness. The retained sense of possible violence appeared in his suspicious manner of scrutinising all those who came into his shop. This retained sense of the earlier event modifies its original perceived meaning which is further entrenched through being retained. The original perception 'fills' the retention with concrete elements, i.e. one youth coming into the shop occupying him while others enter and loot his shop.⁽⁶⁾ Anticipated violence, on the other hand, is necessarily 'unfilled'. It is directed towards this possibility voidly so that only an outline appears.⁽⁷⁾ The future of their threatened businesses could appear in the embodied way that the present and the retained past displays. The off-licensee told me that before the fighting and the looting occurred, an outline image of the wrecking of his shop was 'present' to his consciousness. Only when this trouble was actually perceived was it **then** 'filled' in a sensuous and embodied way. This 'filling' involves a greater '**fleshing out**' of the shadowy outline presented by anticipation. Until this occurs the presence of violence lacks the self-evidential quality of impinging upon our senses through perception. It is this quality which gives the perceived situation of criminal violence its greater impact than its presence through anticipation. It also gives the perceiver greater authority when it come to conversations about it. This point was not lost upon the off-licensee who adopted a distinctly magisterial tone when describing the disturbance and its continuing influence. By contrast, the other interviewees had less confidence in their grasp of the phenomenon. Their sense of soccer violence was either obtained second hand or derived from its signification in the newspapers.

It is this distinct character of the evidence offered by anticipation that distinguishes it from **recalled** hooliganism. When people I interviewed recalled earlier perceptions of violence in and around the ground, this recollection still displayed evidential value that they probably **did indeed** see what was now being recollected. By contrast, anticipation of violence lacks evidence that it **will** turn out to be filled as anticipated. Such recollection co-presents an implicit awareness that the scene can be recalled again and again in the future. Paradoxically, future possibilities of the subject appear co-presented in recollections of the past. This awareness helps solidify their reality into an enduring and abiding form. Through the shopkeepers' recollections to one another of 'near misses' a sense of threatened violence as a 'shared problem' establishes itself. Again this is the pre-condition for future collec-

tive action on the basis of a 'common interest'.⁽⁸⁾ Nevertheless these comparisons with other modes through which a sense of violence appears should not be seen as denigrating anticipation. It still remains a vital element in the determination of the presence of violence. Explicit awareness of the identity of violence is not **fully** given by actually perceiving it happen. Further, the enduring threat necessarily appears within a horizon. Future possible determinations of its meaning 'stand open' in this. Without this mediating horizon of anticipated meaning, hooliganism could not be meaningful or conceived in any way whatsoever. Nor is the threat of violence complete by retention, but occurs **fully** only through the contribution of anticipation.⁽⁹⁾ In all the interviews anticipated violence appeared as the immediate consciousness of its future phase or phases. It continually presents violence as an **identical theme** in the form of a **possibility for a continuation**. The identity of the hooliganism that is anticipated is not the fixed 'fact' constructed as a dubious basis to conceal the value-orientation of much official research. Instead it is an **outcome** of a continuing cultural unification of diverse elements.⁽¹⁰⁾ These include aggressive chanting, mutual threats, rival fans squaring up to one another, smashing objects for use as weapons and drawing knives. Here opens up an avenue for potential exploration and clarification of its total sense for those under threat. In addition the **character** of such clarification and evidence is made available in its own right for possible investigation by foundational research.⁽¹¹⁾ Through anticipation, soccer violence appears as a not-yet-present presence that is still to be seen fully within a horizon whose character has not been determined. This horizon is a constantly gradated coming-towards.⁽¹²⁾ It takes the form of a continual reaching out and 'meaning beyond' the present, towards an episode yet to arrive. I was told that this can appear to potential victims on its own without any motivation, ie. when the threat of a wrecked shop suddenly "hits one". Equally it can present itself as something whose future appearance requires conscious effort, ie. to plan ahead for what could happen to prevent a shop being wrecked and looted. One example of this was the forward thinking of an Asian newsagent who asked for particular protection weeks before the visit of West Ham. In either case, anticipation forever points beyond the present towards the possibility of future **fulfillment** and **verification** of these implicit meanings in further experiences. This is analogous to the way that a cheque already promises that it will be honoured.⁽¹³⁾ Outlines of future phases of the phenomena may be only implied in the present through anticipation but they still contribute towards determining, shaping and constituting it as it appears in the present. Perceived hooliganism appears necessarily in the present, yet its horizon contains unfulfilled, although potential, evidences. Fulfilling these horizons through determining the sense of 'threatened business interests' is not the end of the matter. It must always involve further expectant possibilities and accompanying unfulfilled meanings. The greater the **degree** of determinacy of these implicit elements of violence, the greater the determinacy of the anticipations themselves. What is pointed towards is the full determination of crowd violence - the precise, clear, distinct and completed sense in and through which it exists for their consciousness. Therefore, part of the very meaning of anticipated hooliganism is its possibility for later fulfillment through forms of clear evidence.

The meaning of anticipated violence may be indeterminate, yet its course of future determination is **far from arbitrary**.

Instead it has to follow structures already implicitly established. We can see this if we look at the situation of the second hand dealer who, following a police message, was merely "expecting trouble of some kind" from Millwall supporters. Even here, there was still a typical structure projected ahead of the present. Future perceptions were anticipated by **all** the interviewees to convey determinations of soccer violence within the framework of some delimitations. Here, the determinate structure for the second hand dealer included: damage to himself, shop, display, business viability and the character of his immediate working environment. Acting on these structures he went on to bring in his pavement display complaining bitterly that he could have remained open for another three hours.

This most generalised and indeterminate projection nevertheless contained elements which shaped the meaning of his present situation as a "bloody nuisance" calling for "official action to close down that ground". Therefore, although indeterminate as to details, his anticipations were not of anything whatsoever but of violence that already conformed to certain conditions of style, type and organisation. These possibilities were pre-delineated with respect to both **content and form**. They appeared embraced to the consciousness of our interviewees within a horizon of reference to already established possibilities.

We can always question and unfold further what lies within these horizons. This unfolding cannot be exhausted as new horizons and connections between horizons constantly emerge. One of these conditions is the relationship between the degree of anticipated trouble and its surrounding circumstances. This characteristic appeared a constant element throughout all the interviews. For the newsagent, circumstances that influenced his sense of possible assault depended upon the league position of Chelsea, the level of policing, the build up to the game by the press, the current Division of the club and the opposition, "*Its been quieter recently but now their in Division One who knows?*". Yet being close to the ground meant that he was less scared than others situated further away where there was less policing. Although he emphatically blamed sensationalised media reporting for "inflaming things", he still gave the papers as one source of his anticipations of future violence.

Anticipated violence from football supporters although real enough in its consequences need not however materialise.⁽¹⁴⁾ The Asian newsagent situated opposite the football ground stressed that although the National Front had a large following at Chelsea the anticipation of racial attacks that this generates was not regularly fulfilled. Instead...

"Drink has more effect than anything and it depends on who they are playing. Millwall are bad, so are West Ham. You hear this from people working here and living nearby... "People round here hate the football and get worried everytime there is a home game. Its the threat of physical harm that is worse. It means you get worried every time you have to open the shop".

Yet neither he nor the people he referred to had actually suffered any violence to themselves or their property. However, if anticipated trouble does not materialise then this nonconfirmation can weaken or even annul those anticipations.⁽¹⁵⁾ For our Asian newsagent the anticipated racial violence had not materialised and his initial concern for this particular form of assault had lessened as a result. This negation did not prevent the presence of **more generalised trou-**

ble through anticipation, but it did de-limit its form.

The perceptual confirmation of anticipated hooliganism takes the form of a 'saturation' of the shadowy outline with sensuous perceptions which allow for more precise determination of its aspects. These however are necessarily incomplete and limited by the perspective of the person who confirms them. The threat of violence appears from a number of varying perspectives including that of the police, neighbouring businesses, opposing supporters whose own exploits may not be reported as a result and of the supporters actually causing the trouble. Implied by this 'limitation' is the future possibility of seeing hooliganism from another person's situation. Because no perspective can embrace all perspectives these possibilities are necessarily inexhaustible. One can imagine how the threat of violence gradually changes its meaning for a member of the police force who soon is to retire to run a pub near a football ground. From these different perspectives informed by various and contradictory interests, the sense of the threatened violence varies from being a lapse in security, a relief that it happened to someone else, a challenge to be played down and "part of letting them know who's who in London". These in turn lay down, with various degrees of formality, further anticipations of trouble when the two sides meet again. What these present need not be a simple repeat, but can include different aspects of hooliganism perhaps seen from different orientations. For example, although the neighbour of an assaulted shopkeeper perceived this assault "as a relief that it did not happen to me" the anticipations it generates concern this neighbour's own shop. Through these future perceptions violence is anticipated to display features only implied as possibilities in the immediate present.

Anticipation and Traditions of Hooliganism

The first aim of this section is to show the processes through which particular traditions of crowd violence are constantly re-activated and then projected ahead of certain teams. Following this more general illustration the second aim is to actually show this process at work in the 1984 Chelsea v Millwall match. Conversations I have had with football supporters, club officials, police and publicans confirm that with others, Millwall and Chelsea supporters have, over the years, acquired a reputation for violence. This is in spite of serious attempts made by both clubs to counter this image. Millwall have offered free cups of tea to away supporters and publicised in their programme any charitable work by their Supporter's Club. Despite such persistent and sincere efforts their reputation is still projected ahead of them. Consequently a sense of possible confrontation is regularly set up in advance, often by the very precautions taken to avoid it happening.⁽¹⁶⁾ Stable aspects of this general process include stringent plans for the segregation of supporters by the police, club appeals before the game, newspaper headlines announcing dramatic warnings, the provision of organised travel arrangements, warnings issued by the police to local publicans and nightclub owners, the strategic issue of tickets, the banning of alcohol on supporters' club trains and the prior organisation of the violence itself by a minority of supporters.

More dramatic precautions are reserved for 'special occasions' with a history of trouble such as Portsmouth v Millwall, Chelsea v West Ham, Barnsley v Leeds and Leeds v Chelsea or the away leg of European matches. For such games special constabulary officers have been drafted in,

leaflets urging "the need for good behaviour" distributed, special sittings of Magistrates Courts arranged well in advance, special pleas for "good order" by respective managers, strategic public statements by the police that "no special precautions" are being taken, other police placed on special alert at the point of departure of away fans, their destination and even in areas miles away to avoid 'back door' avoidance of security arrangements, a refusal by clubs to assist their own travelling supporters, the construction of extra fencing and the provision of live coverage of European games at the visitors home ground.⁽¹⁷⁾

Some of these more extreme precautions have appeared when England play abroad. A fragile alliance - itself prone to violence - between Chelsea and West Ham supporters constitute a major element of England's fighting gangs. With the start of the 1983 season, anticipation of exported violence and pleas for their nonfulfillment appeared in the popular press. Even while announcing this in terms of a 'campaign' in which 'we' were represented by these supporters, Derek Wallis of the Daily Mirror wrote that his concern was more for the number of shops that were going to be looted, bars wrecked and arrests made.⁽¹⁸⁾ Such considerations for him outweighed any recognition derived from football successes. Faced with this threat the Greeks have even taken to reviving "Law 4,000" from the Military Junta period. This allows an instant three month jail sentence to be imposed for "Civil Disobedience", with another three months for any "bodily harm". They also switched the ground to the more inaccessible Salonika and sent a five minute video preview to the BBC. This dramatically showed the kind of counter violence their own riot police could administer. These police were on hand to meet travelling fans at the airport, railway station, city centre and stadium.⁽¹⁹⁾ The Spaniards went even further in their security arrangements for the 1982 World Cup. A special force of some 31,500 men were employed including 6,000 paramilitary civil guards equipped with guns, helicopters and radios. All were dressed largely in civilian attire to try to defuse the wave of concern that the prospect of English supporters had generated.⁽²⁰⁾

Although anticipations of violence gear themselves towards the future, their rationality is grounded upon re-activation of what has already been experienced. The rationality of measures taken to combat hooliganism derives from both the past record of the supporters in general, earlier meetings and the sensitivities of those who are likely to be affected. Sometimes the authorities attempt to play down possible violence in an effort to defuse tension and possible problems before they start. Yet the fact that such announcements that the police are "playing it cool" for the visit of Millwall as distinct from say Wimbledon, also recognises the possibility of trouble and therefore can add to the build up of expectation. What is more, the way these are reported serves to contradict any possible 'cooling affect'. For example, the Doncaster Weekend Post reported that their police were "taking no special precautions to prevent violence" when Millwall were the visitors in 1982. The statement by the club chairman that, "we certainly do not anticipate any problems" was also carried. Yet the paper ruined any possible effect by inserting between the two statements, "this is despite trouble which occurred in the corresponding fixture last year resulting in the arrests of 18 people."⁽²¹⁾

This projected expectation encourages some of the more

violent local elements to attend games who would not otherwise. After this earlier game I had interviewed some of the convicted Doncaster fans. One told me that he and some others had come to the game only to see "if Millwall are all their cracked up to be by the papers". Despite his own involvement he said that "well they weren't that bad". He had expected a far more dramatic form of organised violence after having watched a naive BBC Panorama programme that had highlighted Millwall's most violent elements and their organisation into different 'squads'. On the basis of this programme these Doncaster supporters were looking out for the commando 'F' squad of supporters and the supporting masked 'Surgery' gang. Barnsley's secretary has, when preparing for a home game with Leeds, recognised the self-fulfilling character of predicted violence.

In sharp contrast is the official admittance that violence is expected but that any hooligans will face severe policing. Before Sheffield United's 1982 visit to Grimsby the visiting supporters were 'given a stern warning' about possible trouble by a spokesman from Humberside police. "We are well aware of what has happened and we will not let it happen again". This warning followed street fighting three years previously in 1979. Reactivation of tradition had definite future consequence as a 'tight rein' of strict segregation was planned in anticipation of possible repetitions. Before the 1983 Reading v Millwall game the local paper reported that

"Reading police chiefs are planning a major operation for the Millwall match. With the demonstration planned by Reading fans and more than 1,000 Millwall supporters expected to make the trip from London, they were taking no chances. The town's top policemen met club officials at Elm Park yesterday to prepare for Saturdays match. About 100 police including members of Thames Valley Police Support Group and some with police dogs, will be on duty ready for the notorious Millwall fans".

Here the imminent match was linked with the anticipated disorder from both a protest march against a club merger and a trade union rally under the headline "CRUNCH WEEKEND AHEAD". This projection followed a **typical style**. Its focus projected a dramatised 'threat', then reported authority's plans to protect 'us' - presumably the non-unionised, well adjusted citizen. Chief Supt. John Webb was quoted as saying that a lot of plans had been made to deal with the expected eventualities. To support this projection and establish the apparent rationality of these plans, the police's past experience was drawn upon. The paper then quoted another senior policeman "We have upped the number of police for Millwall because of the trouble we have had with them in the past".

The **style** of this reporting tends to use one-sentence paragraphs, written in a breathless all-action form, with the minimum sense of any ambiguity that could engender critical reflection. The eye is dragged from one 'racy' paragraph to the next - much like tourists bussed between instant packets of 'leisure experience'.⁽²²⁾ Another example of this style appeared in the Daily Star under the headline

"SOCCER THUGS WAR WARNING", "Police reinforcements will be keeping a close watch today on Soccer's most notorious fans - Leeds and Chelsea.

The tearaway supporters come face-to-face when the teams meet at the Yorkshire club's Ellan Road ground.

But despite anonymous letters sent to several national newspapers yesterday warning of 'organised battles' police believe they can deal with the trouble makers..."

Once more, not only is there the same rushed presentation but also a repeat of a standard structure and order. First, an unspecified 'threat' to 'any normal reader' is announced. Then, once attention is caught, the details are dramatised into 'a good story', in terms which confirm the distance between the presumed normality of the reader and the hooligan. Next the measures which the authorities are taking to project 'us', to 'hold the line' and re-establish 'our' sense of 'good order' are set out. In fact this general style and format seems to predominate across the board in the tabloid press. Headlines such as "ENGLAND FANS BEWARE" battles for the 'eye' of the reader with "POLICE ANTI-THUG PLAN READY".⁽²³⁾

Occasional additions to this order include a concluding paragraph reiterating in the same style the visitors' most recent act of violence.⁽²⁴⁾ Perhaps the clearest example of this was an article in the Leeds Evening Telegraph. Having followed the usual format - including a plea that Yorkshire Clubs will "look after each other", it added, "Hopes that Yorkshire clubs would stick together were shattered yesterday when an estimated 600 fans went on the rampage in Cleethorpes on Friday night".⁽²⁵⁾ The effect of this conclusion upon the earlier optimistic statements including one by the Rotherham Chairman that Leeds' visit "would be treated as just an ordinary game" can well be imagined. Immediately prior to Leeds' 1982 match at Sheffield Wednesday the £8,000 fines imposed upon some of their supporters was saved until the fourth paragraph. It is as if the readers cannot be trusted to retain the first one-sentence paragraph, or to see the 'obvious' connection between the 'evil' of hooliganism, the 'normality' of themselves and the 'rationality' of authority.

An **absence** of any domestic tradition of soccer violence can increase the sense of threat of violence from those facing an impending visit from English fans. Officials in Luxembourg referred to "a possible outburst of the British Disease and commented that no such precautions have to be taken for any other visiting supporters. Such heightened sensitivities appeared before England's visit to that country in November 1983. These were based partly upon their experiences of fighting, vandalism, looting and drunken rioting before, during and after the last match in 1977.⁽²⁶⁾ The continual process of connecting the meaning of soccer with anticipated violence is strangely reciprocal. The very absence of soccer violence in other countries such as Kuwait is judged to be 'newsworthy' by the British Press.⁽²⁷⁾ Alternatively, the **lack** of actual or anticipated trouble in other domestic sports such as international speedway or rugby again becomes 'news' through taking violence as part of the meaning of soccer.⁽²⁸⁾

Even though it is ritually condemned by the press, this condemnation resembles the way that sex, murder and scandal are 'exposed' to the routine 'shock' and 'outrage' of the Sunday newspapers. The more responsible elements of the local press - including Millwall's local paper - actually have a policy of not reporting soccer violence unless its occurrence was already widely known. It is also edited out of much television coverage. Once Match of the Day's Jimmy Hill even apologised for referring to crowd trouble in one game and felt obliged to show that this information was, through the headlines in the Sunday papers, already public knowledge. The cameras then gave a close up of a montage of press cuttings - as if to say that at least the BBC could not be accused

Nevertheless, even where press condemnation is not tongue in cheek or sensationalised to help fill up the space between the adverts in Monday morning papers, the 'normality' of hooliganism is both recognised and further entrenched. We can see this if we refocus on the way that non fulfillment of anticipated violence is reported as something odd to be accounted for. After Leeds United's largely uneventful visit to Cambridge United the Daily Mail devoted **half** of its 'football report' to why there was **not** any violence. 'Explanations' of this phenomena included a large police presence, the "dour play" and - best of all - the bad weather.⁽²⁹⁾ Ironically another media 'explanation' of the GOOD behaviour of Newcastle United's 'army' of supporters was the **exciting** character of their team's four nil away win at Rotherham.⁽³⁰⁾ A similar absence of anticipated violence at the 1983 Millwall v Portsmouth game concerned the Portsmouth News. The page one headline ran "POMPEY MATCH PEACEFUL". Once more there had been an effort to show the rationality of both the paper's and the authority's anticipations by claiming that, "past experience has shown that the Pompey-Millwall meetings are usually flashpoints of violence - but yesterday's match passed without a single arrest".⁽³¹⁾ Through such continual entrenchment the 'weight' of future projections of violence are kept alive and perhaps even increased.

Although we have seen that anticipations of soccer violence gear themselves towards the future, their rationality is grounded upon re-activation of what has already been experienced. The question now is to unfold through a concrete illustration this relationship between the presence of the future and the past. On the day of the 1984 Chelsea v Millwall game the consequences of the more regular projection presented themselves to my immediate experience from early afternoon onwards. Getting off the tube at Fulham Broadway, the eyes of six police officers burnt into my appearance, looking out to radio through any connection between travellers that signals the awaited arrival of a disguised 'mob'. Seeing this, passengers getting off the tube look around at each other with more than usual disdain, as if to resist this association. Even as one officer reported "*nothing here Sarge, shall we patrol and then come back later?*", a sense of something being 'off' presented itself. By seeing us as 'nothing', the police's prime concern for potential trouble appeared. They seem well aware that their scrutiny was one of the many hurdles which any fighting gang must cross to penetrate unnoticed behind 'enemy lines'. Passengers could have read in that day's newspapers that this was being treated by the authorities as "just a normal game" - a statement aimed to avoid any further building up of tension. However this told them more about their hopes than their actual crowd control strategies and plans. Before 'normal games' no such statements are issued. Such a pattern of trying to play down and defuse possible trouble reveals a degree of understanding of how what is **said about** violence can contribute to its reality. Already its 'abnormality' has been implicitly recognised. Statements by the press concerned possible "confrontation between rival sets of South London supporters which eventually failed to materialise inside the ground".⁽³²⁾ The suspicion of greater than normal security was confirmed by both the larger than usual police presence in the surrounding streets and by patrolling groups of young males looking intently at everyone around.

The projected confrontation was not confined to those immediately concerned in its creation or prevention. It emerged against a background of 'normality' which it modified. This normality took the form of an already acquired and constantly re-created sense of what the area means for those who work, live and travel through here. On the streets surrounding the ground the developing scene mixed uneasily with its area. This contains the well rehearsed sophistication of the wine bar set, whose arty-crafty shops sell 'lifestyle' to their converted flats. A number of such characters walked along the street, looked around at the police build up and the gangs of youths looking through and beyond them. In this disregard for their presence by both rival gangs and the police their temporary displacement in their own surrounding world was confirmed. These residents appeared distinctly uncomfortable as if suddenly 'their' area had suffered a personality change. Similar unease radiated from the world weary expressions of returning office workers whose looks seem to say that they'd already had enough stress for one day. All this contrasted markedly with the eagerness and more basic concerns of some groups of Chelsea fans arriving from their sprawling council estates of South West London to defend territory which they still regard as 'their own'. In this scene, declining traditional 'working class' values of muscular, assertive and combative masculinity re-asserted themselves. Again this was played out against a more 'unisex' background in which some local women were wearing jumpsuits and males appeared softer, less hardened and aggressive. Although this conflict of meanings about the significance and purpose of the area emerged into the present, it flowed out past perceptions or significations of actual violence. The same is true of the organisation of violence which requires a successful recognition of old friends, allies, strangers and enemies.

As I myself began to recognise faces from past Millwall games, more and more police arrived. These fans wandered around the streets waiting and looking out for others to turn up at pre-arranged locations. Not any site, company or time would do to announce the arrival of these particular 'visitors'. Yet the very style of this looking and hanging around made them stand out as outsiders and as possible targets for the attention of police and home supporters. It is very difficult to identify precisely what it is that made these visiting supporters stand out. No difference in dress, age or accent was immediately obvious. It seemed to have more to do with their **lack of familiarity** with the surrounding streets, a looking around to see what **can** be expected while the familiarity of the Chelsea supporters appeared through an already acquired sense of belonging here on 'home territory'. Consciousness of standing out as a visitor heightened anticipations of becoming a target. As tension mounted in the surrounding streets I myself began to feel rather conspicuous and not at all convinced at my ability to pass unnoticed between rival groups as a non-participating observer. This sense of growing insecurity derived from my awareness of the increasing use of knives, razors and bottles in soccer violence. This re-presented itself to me in thoroughly unwelcome speculations. These concerned the degree of protection that my German leather jacket would give me from a well directed swipe from a stanley knife. Yet then again the 'tougher' look it gave me might have very well attracted such an unwanted incision. Again the indeterminate character of this re-activated knowledge is confirmed.

The **effects on others** of Millwall's reputation also appeared.

in a cafe situated between the tube and the football ground. My reception there was hardly warmer than in the off-license. Having passed the scrutiny of the youth on the door, the owner looked me once over, gave a disatisfied glance at the youth on the door and demanded, "what do YOU want". I ordered a coke. "Is that ALL?" - he retaliated. Tonight, visitors of any kind appeared to him as objects of suspicion as he barked "Get back on that door!" to the reluctant minder. His wife pointedly laid a table around me so I then took the hint, gave up the idea of interviewing them and left. Yet this intense sense of hostility towards even isolated people who were not 'regulars' appeared significant in its own right.

Next I turned towards a group of taxi drivers who have some choice over the area they work. I chose an older driver to interview because of my concern for how far back this re-activated reputation stretched. Concerning tonight's game one driver in his sixties commented,

"I will give it a wide berth... we all will. Millwall supporters are a rough old lot, everyone knew they were when I was a boy. They'd smash you over the head with a bottle, although I think once they got that reputation it just sticks to them. London clubs now seem the worse overall especially West Ham and Millwall. Last game West Ham bust up in the stadium, the police sealed off the roads. I won't let my grandson go because of it all".

Based upon past experiences anticipation had already presented a meagre attendance at the return match. This appeared during conversations at the Doncaster versus Millwall game a week earlier. Here tradition had not re-activated itself in any unwelcome way but was consciously drawn upon in the anticipation of the return game.

"They won't come down the Den. They don't like it down there - not after what happened to them last time. Millwall mingled in amongst them. Suddenly their end split down the middle and they were fighting to climb over fences to get out the ground. They had already got battered in the side streets earlier".

The contrast between this and the 'thousand' of 'born again' Millwall fans who supposedly were going to go to Chelsea was asserted with some pride. Here anticipations could be contrasted in order to reveal the possibilities for trouble. Again there appeared a definite association between this conscious re-activation of tradition and the interests of the fans in appearing 'harder' and in 'living up' to the reputation that their tradition projects ahead of them. Part of this living up lies in the constant 'putting down' of the reality of challengers to their reputation.

Anticipation and the Interests of the Subject

The interests, concerns, purposes and desires of the anticipating subjects do not appear with the same directness as the images of soccer violence that are anticipated. Instead a more reflective **turning in upon itself** of intersubjective experience is needed to disclose this level. Certainly my fellow passengers getting off the tube at Fulham Broadway looked concerned to avoid both any trouble and attention from the police. As we left the station and entered the street a number of the passengers nervously hesitated, considered the police presence and made their way hastily through them and the gathering groups of youths. The overall scene appeared as an irritation, a disruption of established routine, something to keep out of. Perhaps here we find an interest in regularity, a concern to remain on familiar ground, to avoid being singled out in any way and certainly

not by police and groups of threatening hooligans.

From the police there appeared a desire to avoid anticipated trouble for themselves with superiors in the force. Any requests for information over arrests or policing strategy were greeted with profound suspicion. A deference to the authority of higher ranking officers appeared when the manner of their dealings with supporters became harsher as soon as higher ranking officers appeared to be watching them. On the other hand, any impression of unrestrained counter violence against hooliganism could count against them in the open promotion system of the Metropolitan Police.

To those supporters looking out for violence, other supporters, the police, police dogs and horses took on an ambiguous sense. Back on the main street worried glances were thrown out of pub windows at the slightest noise that could 'spell trouble'. The window itself seemed 'double edged' in that it forewarned the regulars of any possible attack, yet it also appeared as the potential source of lacerated faces and possible blindness. A similar ambiguous meaning related to the presence of the police patrolling the street with dog handlers and mounted officers in reserve. Under most circumstances it is anticipated that the police would intervene to some effect if any violence occurred. Yet the very effectiveness of their counter violence appeared as a formidable threat if they happened to see you as a 'hooligan to be sorted out'. The highly tuned but temporarily restrained aggression of their police dogs meant potentially torn clothes, shredded skin and even a ripped throat. This is widely known. My own anticipations followed seeing their ferocious deployment upon some fighting Millwall fans during an earlier visit to Mansfield. Fortunately their cooling effect upon those who clearly share these anticipations and interests assured some degree of security.

Similar meanings attached themselves to the presence of mounted police, three or four of which proved quite capable of holding back some thousand or so Millwall fans who were eager to get through to the train and perhaps beyond. Here it was their sheer size together with the threat of a hospitalising kick in the crutch from their back legs that was effective. Also the elevated position of the rider made missile throwing supporters visible who often cannot otherwise be identified by police officers on foot. As the consequences of arrest can be both physically and financially painful, these officers had a particular effectiveness because of their ability to engender these anticipations. When this visibility carried with it the possibility for a truncheon blow to the back of the head and the impossibility of effective retaliation, then the reason for their effectiveness became clear. By contrast out-numbered police on foot or on motorbikes can be and were charged at, punched to the ground and given a severe kicking. Perhaps these anticipations explain the greater confidence of the mounted police both here and during the miners' strike. This association and the frustration of their will to recognition was not lost upon the Millwall fans that mounted police restrained after the game, "There's only one Arthur Scargill" was chanted repeatedly. However earlier the **limits** of their response presented itself as they galloped around the pitch to try to rescue some of their colleagues who were getting battered at the front of the Millwall end of the ground. Here the comical character of a modern 'cavalry charge' resulted in Red Indian whoops from jeering supporters. They knew that the enclosures designed to keep them in also served to keep the mounted police out. Awareness of

this worked to annul the threat to the hooligan's interests and their anticipations of counter violence and arrest.

The violent set of both groups of supporters displayed an interest in obtaining and even forcing recognition from the watching media, fellow and rival supporters and the sub-culture of soccer violence in South London and beyond. This involved denigrating the immediate rivals by chanting about how they 'ran from West Ham/Portsmouth', how they will not turn up for the return game at Millwall etc. The patrolling groups of young males outside the ground were looking out to impose and then broadcast fresh humiliations upon the other side. During the match itself stories were exchanged about how Chelsea fans 'failed' to show up at key locations such as the Elephant and Castle tube and the Kings Road. After the game their absence from the Thames Embankment was anticipated by one group who were out to ambush some Chelsea supporters. These stories are presented in terms of 'what we already knew about them' and 'what we would like everyone to know about ourselves'. Such self-advertising took the form of claiming that Millwall fans **fulfill** their reputation, while the anticipations of violence from Portsmouth, West Ham, Leeds etc. 'are all talk'. Similar conflicting claims inform chanting, "*if your all going to Millwall clap your hands*" was asserted defiantly by Chelsea supporters.

What was achieved by the police cavalry charge was a reinforcement of Millwall's flagging reputation for having a minority of violent supporters. This confirmation occurs in the eyes of reporting journalists, their readers and those Chelsea fans considering the possibility of travelling to the return game at Millwall's ground. This was later confirmed by Chelsea's decision to ban the Sunday Express and the News of the World from its press box for their more than usually inventive coverage of the trouble.

Certainly as a researcher I shared with others a concern for my personal safety and the preservation of my unscarred face, a desire to be recognised by those supporters I already knew to speak to and an avoidance of any potentially dangerous mis-recognition. In my presentation of self, a degree of anonymity was sought along with recognition from those in whose company I felt relatively secure. As tension mounted in the surrounding streets I began to feel rather conspicuous and not at all convinced at my ability to pass unnoticed between rival groups as a non-participating observer. The unwelcome speculations about the protection offered by my leather jacket from a stanley knife forced home to me the sheer physical threat that this phenomenon poses. It also cast increasing doubt about accounts of soccer violence that stress its purely 'symbolic' character. From the intent 'looking around' of others, especially around the end where Millwall were supposed to enter at, it appeared that others shared this interest.

The **capacities** of the subject for whom the experience of violence is meaningful were presented as the progressive fulfillment of implicit meanings. It proceeded through increasing awareness of what has already been understood about the subject's situation concerning say, the willingness of police to provide effective protection. The **pace of this understanding** is also made available. On the basis of such rare reflective awareness new anticipations can then gear themselves to these understandings. These set down possibilities for realistic projects which take into account the current physi-

cal and financial limits of the subject within its situation. Reflection upon the evidence provided by anticipation is then one of the pre-conditions for successful practical action in crime prevention and deterrence, the organisation of future violence and coherent policy initiatives.

Along with these interests the anticipating subjects projected ahead of themselves their **capacities** to deal with the problems they anticipate. This 'dealing' took the form of taking precautions about who one lets into the shop, when the shop would open, personal skill in handling potentially violent situations or requesting police assistance. The middle aged Asian newsagent told me that before every home game the chances of physical violence against himself or his newsagent's shop depended upon how he handled the flood of supporters. He told me that his requests for specific police protection for the West Ham game had not been answered.

The off-licensee expressed a greater interest in the threat to his and other businesses than had the newsagent, "*Bloody headache! Shops close down because of bloody football... I don't want to know about football grounds*". Despite competition with pubs for custom, he identified with their practise of bolting their doors and allowing only 'regulars' inside. His anticipations of theft and violence seemed sufficient to outweigh commercial concerns as he directed his anger at me personally. "*Look at this I'm going to lose another hours business tonight by closing at nine o'clock before THEY come out*".

Another Asian newsagent manager then claimed he was not really bothered by the threat of trouble since he closed the shop before the fans are let out. However sheepishly he said "*Then again it's not my business, if it was I WOULD be worried!*". This contrasted with the other shopkeepers I interviewed whose interest in soccer violence meant that they experienced it in terms of its eradication. The taxi-driver however did not anticipate the presence of violence as something crying out for government action - this was despite the fact that he thought the problem had become worse over the past few years.

"Nothing can be done about it. They've tried everything. People are frustrated. There are smaller crowds these days, less control over youngsters in general. It's a sign of the times. We're becoming more abrupt in our manners and our dealings with each other. You're not safe to walk the streets these days, it's not surprising there are places where cabs won't go to."

A common sense language using the words *once*, just now, right now, soon and later remained available to them. Their expressions did not however directly address the interests themselves since they were directed to the problem of avoiding or causing trouble in the future. Yet they nevertheless displayed their own situated selves in the expression of an anticipated 'solution'. For example, the first newsagent I interviewed placed concern for his wife and family as his major worry. In this concern he was directed away from himself and towards others. However this was still the display of his situated interest as a father and husband. So in the same way that retention of earlier meanings appeared as a **practical comportment** towards the present world, so it is with anticipated soccer violence. In general we can say that by way of this comportment the anticipating subject holds itself open and prepares for further experience and maintains this openness. In it the subject can understand itself by virtue of its own capacity to be situated ahead of itself through self-

protection in different possible future scenarios. Already we have seen how the threat of violence was experienced in terms of commercial and policy interests with the second hand dealer demanding the closing down of the ground. Here he was projecting his situation ahead of the present and using this comparison to condemn the present situation. With all but one of the others this projection involved the future scenarios of remaining in business in the present location, restricting opening times, setting up elsewhere and campaigning for a closing down of the ground.

These different scenarios involved if-then relations, ie. if the subject sets up elsewhere **then** it may not be any improvement, or **if** the shopkeepers remain in their current situation **then** it may become improved or become worse. Anticipating a possibility we come towards ourselves as projected into the future and can picture how we would be in these various scenarios. The **unity** of this projected situation derived not from the objects comported towards but from the modes of comportment of the subjects towards the situation, ie. anxiety, fear, tension, aggression, concern for profit and the character of one's surrounding world. Interests at work here are not purely cognitive or intellectual but include hopes, passionate desires, career aspirations and material needs. This applies as much to criminologists as to those more mundanely affected.

Nevertheless the situation which the anticipating subject projects is still something to be reckoned with due to the force of the historical circumstances operative upon it. The taxi driver's attitude was almost 'sociological' in his resignation to the hooliganism. Certainly the situation can frustrate desires, realise fears, shatter hopes, freeze passions and entrench further the threat of violence and resignation.

In this projected situation the key concern could be for a specific collective group such as the future of off-licensees and other small businesses, a generalised concern for humanity in an epoch characterised by a devaluation of values and a crisis in authority legitimacy or purely for our personal place within it. Whether its focus is purely personal or collective, the anticipating subject nevertheless appears as always bound to definite spirals of evolving social relations. Nevertheless essentially it appears with others as potential agents pursuing ends upon the basis of practical concerns and evaluations. Policy considerations are not therefore **read into** the phenomena but an **intrinsic structure that presents itself to any serious reflection upon the experience of soccer hooliganism.**

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reconciling preferences & prospects for the mildly mentally handicapped

DAVID HUGHES & DAVID MAY

Drawing on tape-recorded data collected in six schools, this paper examines interviews between Careers Officers and administratively-defined mildly mentally handicapped adolescents. Features of the decision-making processes that are involved as pupils near leaving age create distinctive problems of interactional management within the Careers Interview. The Careers Officer faces the task of eliciting the preferences of adolescents whose competence to make certain kinds of judgements is problematic, and of reconciling expectations with the restricted range of options actually available. Such 'guidance' that is offered is provided within the context of uncertainty about the precise range of 'opportunities' that will be available at the leaving date, and general doubts about the continuing relevance of traditional Careers Service objectives for dealings with this group.

Even today opportunities for mentally handicapped persons to make choices or express preferences affecting their future are sufficiently rare that social situations where such opportunities do appear to be present invite special examination. A particularly interesting feature of interviews between Careers Officers (COs) and mildly mentally handicapped pupils⁽¹⁾ due to leave special schools, is the importance that professionals appear to give to the leaver's own ideas regarding future employment.

As part of a study of the experiences of 107 mentally handicapped adolescents reaching minimum school leaving age in the Tayside region of Scotland in 1980/81,⁽²⁾ we collected a substantial body of tape-recorded and observational data on the work of the Careers Service with the 65 cohort members placed in schools for the mildly mentally handicapped.

While the five schools in which data were collected differ in the details of final year curricula and the pattern of school relations with outside agencies, all have routine arrangements for various interested professionals to take some part in discussions about the future placement of leavers. Reports are prepared by the class teacher and the educational psychologist, the CO establishes contact with the new leavers group and senior school staff liaise with the CO to organise leavers' case conferences at which personnel from a number of agencies are present.

Final-year pupils' main points of contact with the deliberations that are likely to affect their future come in a succession of interview and testing situations. Professionals such as the educational psychologist, the educational social worker

and the community physician may meet with the adolescent primarily to update records or prepare information that may be required at the case conference. Pupils are additionally likely to have various formal or informal discussion about their ambitions and prospects with their class teacher and school staff responsible for 'guidance'. However, (with the exception of a few cases where Adult Training Centre placement is arranged) it is the CO who carries the primary responsibility for liaising with outside organisations or employers who may provide positions for leavers and it is in the careers interview that pupils themselves have their main opportunity to discuss future prospects in a way which may be consequential for eventual placement.

Individual COs have some discretion in planning the form of their dealings with particular groups of leavers but the three professionals in the study used rather similar approaches, with the one-to-one interview being employed as the main source of information. While COs' contact with these pupils in ordinary secondary education for whom they are responsible typically involves one lengthy meeting where all the relevant ground is covered (and indeed in certain schools only involves selective interviewing of a percentage of leavers), their contact with special education leavers involves several meetings. During the final year each pupil is likely to have three or four individual interviews and there is almost always the opportunity for parents to accompany the leaver at a further meeting. In some schools this is also the occasion for assembling a panel of involved professionals for a case conference discussion. In other schools, professionals, school staff and the CO have a separate meeting which parents do not attend. COs themselves, in offering a rationale for the spreading of business over a series of meetings, mention the special difficulties that arise in interviewing mentally handicapped adolescents - the problems of generating rapport and overcoming limited attention span. We want to suggest that the extended nature of the interviewing process is less a straightforward solution to communication problems than the necessary corollary of a particular form of client management and of certain self-protective professional practices.

In this paper we will be concerned with a characteristic change of emphasis that occurs in meetings as the leaving date draws nearer. In broad terms, one can observe a movement from a form of discussion in which the adolescent is encouraged to expand on his or her ideas for future employment in a way that is largely unrelated to the realities of the

job market, to a form of discussion which places central emphasis on the constraints affecting the leaver's prospects and the relative merits of the few options that are available. While in early meetings the relationship between expressed preference and the securing of some position remains vaguely defined and open to over-optimistic interpretation by pupils, it becomes apparent in later meetings that placements proposed by the Careers Officer are, for the most part, only tenuously or partially linked to possibilities raised by the adolescent in an earlier interview. In the following sections we examine how COs accomplish such a shift in focus and touch upon certain problems of interactional management which would seem to be resolved by the practice of spreading deliberations over a number of meetings.

Eliciting Preferences in Early Interviews

The COs in our study frequently look back on their early meetings with a complaint either that pupils have given no thought to what they will do after leaving or that ideas that are put forward are not realistic ones for them to aim for. Actually our data on the careers interview gives little support to the notion that the COs themselves are consistently concerned at that stage either to direct the leaver towards clearly defined goals or to confine discussion to options that are real possibilities. On the face of things the business of early interviews consists largely in emphasising to the leaver that an important choice must shortly be made, collecting information that may indicate the range of options that are possible for a given individual and advising the pupil about the relative merits of his or her own preferences and of possible alternatives. It is noteworthy that while there may be some comment on the unsuitability of an adolescent's expressed preference, discussion of alternatives is carried on in terms that have little connection with the CO's actual perception of the realities of the job market. The following taped extract, for example, gives an indication of the kind of exchange involved:

Extract 1

- CO *Now what sort of work had you been thinking about? Have you thought about jobs at all yet?*
- Mary *Well, I'd like to work in an hotel.*
- CO *Uh hu. Ah whereabouts?*
- Mary *Don't know yet. Don't know.*
- CO *No. What sort of job in an hotel, because of course an hotel employs lots and lots of people and ah lots of different jobs as well?*
- Mary *Mm Hm.*
- CO *Had you thought what kind of job you'd like to do in an hotel?*
- Mary *Wash the dishes and do the bedrooms.*
- CO *Uh hu. That would be tidying bedrooms and making beds, hoovering*
- Mary *Yes.*
- CO *Polishing, dusting*
- Mary *Mm Hm.*
- CO *Yes? Do you think you would like that?*
- Mary *Yes.*
- CO *There's an awful lot of beds and rooms and things in an hotel!*
- Mary *I know.*
- CO *Yes, but you wouldn't get bored with that, would you?*
- Mary *No, not really.*
- CO *You'd like that?*
- Mary *Mm Hm.*
- CO *That's fine! What sort of things do you think it would*

be important ah for somebody doing that kind of work in an hotel to have?

- Mary *Um ...*
- CO *Is there anything you would need to be good at?*
- Mary *Well, good at tidying the bedrooms up.*
- CO *Mm Hm.*
- Mary *Do the dishes.*
- CO *Yeah.*
- Mary *And that's all.*
- CO *Mm Hm. You don't think they'd need to be good at Maths or English or anything like that?*
- Mary *Well, they're good at English and Maths.*
- CO *Uh hu. Why?*
- Mary *Don't know really.*
- CO *No. I don't think you have to be SPECIALLY good. The most important thing would be that you were ah a good worker.*
- Mary *Mm Hm.*
- CO *That you know worked hard and were able to work without people telling you what to do all the time um because it's not like working say in a factory or a shop where you have a supervisor who says, "Right, Mary, now you do this and now you do that and now you do the next thing", um and keeps an eye on you. Very often in hotel work they tell you what to do, they show you what to do and then once you've been trained you just go and do it yourself.*
- Mary *Mm Hm.*
- CO *There isn't somebody who comes round all the time you know, telling you now go on to the next room. You know, you have to do it all yourself. Do you think you would like that alright?*
- Mary *Yes.*
- CO *Eh and any other kinds of jobs that you've thought about?*
- Mary *No.*
- CO *No? What would you do if you left the school and you couldn't get a job in an hotel doing that kind of work?*
- Mary *Don't know. Don't know.*
- CO *Would it matter if it was an hotel or would you be interested in doing that kind of work some place else, maybe in an Old Folk's Home or something like that?*
- Mary *Mm Hm.*
- CO *It wouldn't really matter? It doesn't have to be an hotel, does it?*
- Mary *No, not really.*
- CO *No. Okay, now have you any questions you'd like to ask me, Mary?*

Mary's interview is best considered in the light of the fact that the Careers Service had not, through its own efforts, succeeded in placing any of the preceding group of leavers from special education directly into open employment and that she was not considered to be one of the 'brighter' girls in her class. Given this knowledge, the way that the CO chooses to explore the question of what Mary should do after school in terms of job preferences, itself invites reflection and his comments about hotel work seem on this basis alone to be less than straightforward. As in many other taped interviews, there is a superficial almost nominal character to the attempts to probe the girl's reasons for wanting to go into such a job. The CO's elaboration of what a job in an hotel might involve does not take things much further than Mary's own characterisation of the work as washing dishes and 'doing' bedrooms and in the light of the

extent of her present knowledge, we might wonder what status to give to answers to questions about whether Mary would like such work or would find it boring. In relation to Mary's actual prospects of finding open employment in a period of recession, considerations such as her liking for, or interest in a particular job anyway seem less central than considerations such as the existence of vacancies or access to contacts who might facilitate employment. Similarly, the CO's statement of the 'sort of things' that Mary would need to 'have' to enter such employment does not begin to consider the concrete steps and problems involved in job-seeking and amounts in effect to little more than an abstract exhortation on the importance of hard work and application.

In fact, it is clear that apart from facilitating the collection of information on personal circumstances and preferences communicated by the leaver, the careers interview provides a first-hand opportunity for the CO to assess interactional competence and to form an idea of the kind of adolescent he or she is dealing with. The tendency for discussions of possible job alternatives appears to be remote from problems that would have to be confronted if the filling of a vacancy were actually the immediate issue at hand, seem to reflect the CO's attention to the form as well as the content of the leaver's responses. The requirement that expressed preferences to be linked to some description of jobs and to reasons for favouring certain options does not simply reveal something about the status of stated preferences but in providing an indication of the adolescent's ability to make the kinds of conceptual connections that any preference would imply, may suggest whether the leaver has the capacity for choice in this area at all. The extent to which the adolescent's responses hang together amount to some reasonable perspective on his or her future prospects may be taken to give some direct indication of the kind of opening he or she might fill, but also suggests how he or she is likely to perform in the selection processes associated with certain placements.

One might expect early interviews to involve some immediate attempt to wean leavers away from the idea that a job as such is the goal to aim for. Where the adolescent has no special ambitions there might seem to be advantages in making it clear from the outset that the chance of getting a job as such is virtually non-existent and even where a stable preference exists it would be unsurprising if the CO dampened down hopes at an early stage and immediately introduced the prospect of other kinds of opportunities. In fact, the tendency to invite expression of preferences in terms of jobs that might be considered, often serves in the first instance, to widen rather than limit the leaver's horizons. There is always the possibility that the adolescent will mistakenly assume that answers to questions about employment preferences amount to a straightforward basis for locating him or her in a job. We know from our wider observational study that when asked about the course of early careers interviews, pupils will often formulate the upshot of the meeting in such terms as: "I'm going to be a bus driver", or "Mr Harvey said he's trying to get me a job gardening or in the parks". Typically, an initial interview leaves things at a stage where the CO can record the adolescent's interest in two or three options rather than a single choice. In the extract examined above, for example, Mary was encouraged to think in terms of other kinds of domestic work as well as hotel work. Even where the COs offer little encouragement

in relation to some particular 'ambition', they are likely to list alternatives that are by implication, possible and to do so in a way which may not convey to adolescents of this ability range that they are not talking of permanent jobs.

While the relative openness of invitations to expand on ideas for employment is one of the most striking aspects of careers interviews, other features of the meetings indicate that the scope of the leaver's judgemental abilities is already seen to be circumscribed. The very idea of choices and preferences relies on some conception of a rational subject but it is clear in exchanges involving COs and pupils both that the status of leavers as theoretic actors is problematic and that their possession of the cognitive faculties and background knowledge to legitimately exercise judgement may be recognised in some areas of deliberation but not others.

The frequent use in interviews of constructions such as "what subjects do you like the best?", and indeed, the persistent attention to the dimension of 'liking' or 'not liking', is significant in that other seemingly relevant questions about the school subjects the leaver is 'good' or 'bad' in, or at least 'best' at, are not raised. The thing apparent about the constructions that are found is their relative neutrality with respect to competence. The CO rarely uses questions that assume that the leaver would be capable of evaluating his or her own performance or even require a comment on this dimension. If the leaver does choose to talk about his or her abilities, the professional typically refrains from offering any negative evaluation or setting the level of attainment in any comparative context. The discussion of particular job possibilities proceeds in a similar vein, implicitly recognising the facts of limited competence while carefully regulating any open reference to ability level, so that issues of handicapped identity are never directly confronted. Again the emphasis is on whether the leaver thinks he or she would 'like' a particular kind of job, with little serious attention being given to his or her estimation of his or her ability to perform the tasks it would involve and a virtual absence of discussion about whether it offers the kind of prospects or level of earnings that the leaver might expect. Even given the palpable non-relevance of some of these considerations to this group of adolescents, the significant point here is that this non-relevance is not something the CO is routinely required to communicate and raises no problems of disclosure.

Such interviews raise the question of how general problems in communicating with children in special education and in particular the difficulties of achieving their sustained involvement in conversations, affect the way that choices are presented and preferences elicited. For much of the time, conversational order depends on the use of a closely ordered question-answer format in which almost all initiatives come from the CO. As a prerequisite to obtaining professionally useful information, COs find themselves having to provide an agenda, control the movement from topic to topic and generally create the sensible structure of the meeting. By their questions COs ostensibly aim to clarify and organise the information provided in the leaver's responses but there is a continual risk that the specific form of questions or question sequences that are employed will pre-structure the information they elicit and ultimately create the preferences that they aim to explore. It may be that the preferences that the COs record in their case notes reflect no more than an agreement to a suggestion made in some con-

text-bound question-answer sequence and indeed, there are many instances in our taped data where the leaver's responses contain nothing that was not suggested in previous questions.

The CO's attempts to introduce some of the discouraging facts of restricted opportunity into the early interviews tend to be oblique and limited. The approach adopted differs considerably according to such factors as the CO's estimation of the competence and stability of the adolescent, the anticipated emotional impact of discouraging news, the strength of commitment to some existing ambition and the visibility of alternatives that are not seen simply to raise hopes falsely. It is paradoxical that the CO may feel more reluctant in certain circumstances to offer a challenge to some obviously fantastic ambition, than to point out difficulties in realising some quite modest job preferences. To explain in a serious way to a girl that she cannot become a radio disc jockey, to take an example arising in one interview, involves the possibility of a protracted and far from straightforward discussion of the leaver's position vis-a-vis the structure of opportunity in society, that the professional may prefer to sidestep.

The CO will have some notion of a range of jobs that can be seen as reasonable long-term aims for pupils leaving special education but will see the best chance of entry to such options coming through the forms of experiences provided by the Youth Training Scheme. A consequence of the understandable tendency to focus on areas where the securing of a placement is likely is that in effect, guidance may amount to little more than encouragement of expression of those job preferences that have some parallels in the activities carried on in available courses and placements and discouragement of choices which are difficult to relate to the kinds of experience gained in Government schemes. To the extent that discouraged preferences involve some real expectation that cannot be met and may involve ambitions like the wish to go into hotel work, shop work, or hairdressing, which are quite modest by conventional standards, the CO may face quite a delicate task of disclosure. Given the sheltered nature of the special school environment it is often difficult for the CO to gauge the extent of leavers' awareness of their officially-defined status and a blunt statement of the infeasibility of particular options in terms of personal defectiveness might invite a variety of untoward reactions. It is much more commonplace for the CO to attempt to ease leavers away from particular options by focusing on obstacles of a less discrediting nature or by simply relegating the status of an option to that of one choice among a number. The economic recession, the situation of particular local firms, the need for training or qualifications and the operation of minimum age requirements which preclude immediate entry from school are given as reasons why such comparatively mundane occupations as auxiliary nursing, the army, the navy or work in factories, kennels, stables and on the railways and buses will be difficult or impossible to enter. Of course, none of these reasons confront the central fact that large numbers of leavers from special education in the region had been considered to be unemployable in much 'better' times and that level of competence and stigmatised identity continue to be primary obstacles to employment.

The Shifting Emphasis of Interviews

If the early interviews often involve some attempt to dissuade the leaver from following certain options, they usually

leave matters at a stage where the difficulties in securing employment remain vaguely defined and may seem only to make it necessary to consider alternatives. The general implication appears to be that the leaver and the CO will go forward from the meeting, keeping a number of possibilities in mind and leaving further decisions to be made in the light of what becomes available nearer the leaving date. The reorientation that leavers may be invited to accept in early interviews is the relatively minor one of realising that they may have to accept another job and not the one they wanted. The more significant change of emphasis comes later when it may become clear to them that what is being offered is not a job at all. It is usually only a matter of weeks from the leaving date when the focus moves from abstract questions of preference and aptitude to more explicit consideration of immediate possibilities and options that leavers may have been keeping in mind as things that might yet materialise are finally ruled out as real alternatives.

Later interviews are likely to take place several months after preferences were initially explored and apart from difficulties that both parties are likely to have in recalling the gist of previous meetings because of the passage of time, the intellectual limitations of many special school pupils mean that they have little real understanding of the stage discussions have reached. The extent to which the form of later interviews is constrained by the form of earlier ones only becomes apparent when the perspectives of the participants are revealed as talk unfolds. It is quite commonplace for repetition, contradiction of earlier statements or failure to develop matters in promised ways to be passed by without comment. It is also quite possible that the leaver may retain hopes held over from previous meetings and that the CO will have to begin to deal more seriously with the problem of reconciling expectations with immediate possibilities. Rather than following an invariant strategy here, the professionals in the study often appeared to vary the 'line' they advanced in the light of responses that emerged and rarely offered definite pronouncements before 'feeling out' the attitudes of clients. Quite often interviews with parents present provided the occasion for the first definite suggestions that a leaver be put forward for particular courses but in a majority of cases matters remained relatively undecided right up until the date of leaving. If COs did not deliberately set out to cloud or obscure 'sensitive' issues, the fact that typically professionals were not pressed on this question meant that definite statements of intent could be avoided even at this stage.

One way of dealing with the possibility that leavers or their parents still retain some hope of securing open employment will be to approach the discussion in a way which shifts the onus of decision-making and finding desired openings more explicitly onto the clients. The kind of change of emphasis involved can be seen by examining part of an interview carried out with Mary some six months after the meeting from which Extract 1 was taken:

Extract 2

CO *And (last time I saw you) we talked about various jobs. Do you remember what we talked about - what you were interested in at that time?*

Mary *Work in an hotel.*

CO *Yes. Uh hu. And eh that was sort of domestic cleaning type of work, yeah?*

Mary *Yeah.*

CO *Are you still keen on that?*
 Mary *Yes.*
 CO *Yes. Have you tried any place for a job yourself?*
 Mary *No, not yet.*
 CO *Not yet. And em you haven't, you haven't actually approached any place, so how do you think you'll get a job?*
 Mary *Just trying.*
 CO *Uh hu. How about your mum and dad? Have they spoken to you about a job so far?*
 Mary *No, not yet.*
 CO *No. What do they think you're going to do when you leave school?*
 Mary *I don't know.*
 CO *Mm. They've never said.*
 Mary *They've never said.*
 CO *No. But you yourself would like to get a job, a domestic sort of job.*
 Mary *Uh hu.*
 CO *Where you're helping out in an hotel if possible. Yeah?*
 Mary *Yeah.*
 CO *Em now, if you can't get a job - well I've got you down for hotel and domestic work and if there was anything suitable we could maybe put your name forward for it, but eh in most instances um you know you'd be better probably to have a bit of extra training before you apply for a job.*
 Mary *Uh hu.*
 CO *If such a job came about, and eh what I had in mind was something called the Work Introduction Course and I discussed this with you before, have I?*
 Mary *No, I don't.*

Whereas in the earlier meeting, the CO talked generally about hotel and domestic work without detailing the mechanisms by which jobs might be found or suggesting that any particular moves should be made, he now indicates that the main chance of employment will come through the personal efforts of the leaver or her parents. Like most clients in the study Mary and her parents have made few moves (or at least have had no success) in this direction and in the light of her own admitted inactivity, it is difficult for the girl to challenge the CO's assessment of the situation. Later in the interview the CO goes on to emphasise the advantages of the training that a course would provide, stressing that it will provide an avenue towards the kinds of hotel work the girl seeks and recounting how one of the previous group of leavers has just obtained work in an hotel through that very path. What he does not make clear to the girl is that any hotel work component on the Work Introduction Course would depend upon the range of one-week work experience placements negotiated for a particular group of trainees and could not be guaranteed. Nor does he mention that the previous leaver's job is only a temporary seasonal one.

The general strategy used in Mary's interview is likely to be equally effective in getting parents to move from the idea of a job to that of a course. Parents are likely to be asked if they have taken steps to make any arrangements, if they know of any vacancies or if they have any contacts who may be influential. It will be difficult in the face of their own problems in this area to expect too much of the professional. In a high proportion of cases the decision about whether or not the pupil is to leave school at the end of the present term will be presented as the immediate one for the parents or the adolescent to make and the CO may set that decision against the

background of the difficulties he or she faces in placing all current leavers. So if parents do decide to allow the adolescent to leave, it is clear that a Government scheme of some kind is likely to be all that is available.

Entry of Parents and Other Adult Participants into the Scene

The practice in the largest school studied is for leavers themselves to be present during case conference discussions and the presence of parents and various involved professionals means that such meetings can amount to a rather awesome experience for some adolescents. There is a possibility, as in the following example, that in debating the suitability of various options adult participants can channel the leaver towards something for which he or she has shown no previous affinity:

Extract 3

Head *You want to leave?*
 Craig *Yes.*
 Head *Right. Now that's it then. That's that one cleared up. Eh ah (pause) and Mr. Harvey then has to consider what kind of eh thing he can arrange for you. What kind of training programme. I don't think that Mr. Harvey is clear yet as to what he would be doing for you, and I think that before Christmas he will have to give some more thought to this. Ah?*
 Deputy-Head *What would you like to be doing? I mean jobs are very hard to get but there are these Government training programmes. D'you watch ... you watch television, don't you?*
 Craig *Yes.*
 Deputy-Head *Watch the news. You must have heard talk about these Government training programmes and the fact that the Government say that all young people are to get a chance to do it. What would you fancy? What kinds of things would you fancy doing Craig? (pause) Did you go down to the City Tech when we had the gardening thing on?*
 Craig *Yes.*
 Deputy-Head *How did you like that?*
 Craig *It was okay.*
 Deputy-Head *Did you get on fine with that?*
 Craig *Yes, they told me that I was the best one there.*
 Deputy-Head *They told you that?*
 Craig *Yes.*
 Deputy-Head *How would you feel about going on a gardening training course?*
 Father *Would you like that son?*
 Craig *Yes.*
 Deputy-Head *I would have thought that that's your best bet, Mr. Harvey.*
 CO *Yes.*
 Deputy-Head *Are you happy?*
 CO *It certainly didn't come out in our earlier talks.*

To the extent that the leaver may seem to change his or her position with ostensibly having been forced to abandon some preference of their own, such an initiative by adults can amount to an effective way of resolving previous difficulties faced by the CO in getting the leaver to look toward 'realistic' options. Parents can sometimes be particularly inf-

lue ntial in this respect and there are obvious advantages from the CO's viewpoint if he or she can convince a father or mother of the suitability of some proposed placement. Often the professional will set out to 'sell' an option to parents in much the same terms as he or she does to the leaver but it sometimes becomes clear that parents approach such meetings with very different kinds of considerations in mind.

A sizeable minority of parents attending meetings that we observed were as preoccupied with such matters as the availability of transport to a placement and its consequences for their own daily routine or with the relative financial implications of different options,⁽⁹⁾ as with the securement for their child of a job as such. The line taken by the COs, with its implicit emphasis on the value of employment as the long term goal to aim for, often betrays the considerable social and cultural distance that separates them from certain clients. The professional typically introduces the idea of a course as something to be considered as a second choice to a job and often does so in a way that suggests that the possibility of a job has still not disappeared completely, certainly not as a long-term goal. However if courses are seen as less than ideal alternatives to employment, the CO will often emphasise certain advantages that they offer to special education leavers. Courses are variously presented as a 'gentle break' between school and work, a chance to try out different jobs, an opportunity to assess skills and a training exercise. However, the actual prospects of progression from course to job are rarely explored in any detail and it is commonplace for the CO to channel pupils with widely differing expressed ambitions towards the same course.

The CO is rarely in a position to be definite about the prospects of entry to particular courses before the leaving date and it is not always clear even that courses mentioned as possible options actually exist as realistic alternatives for a particular group of leavers. The range of courses available varies according to location and time but usually involves, at face value at least, college-based Work Introduction Courses, a Work Preparation Course based at an Employment Rehabilitation Centre and a number of training workshop and community service schemes. Since it may not be possible to anticipate the decisions of particular interview panels and because any nominal selection criteria regulating entry to courses are likely to be contingently interpreted in a way that is difficult to predict, the CO is unlikely to know very far in advance how many places on a particular course will be available for former special school pupils.⁽¹⁰⁾ The prospect of placing a particular leaver on a particular course depends not only on the availability of a conveniently timed starting date and anticipated course requirements but on the number of other leavers who may also be candidates. As this cannot be known until some idea of the preferences and possibilities of the whole group is formed, the weight given to expressed choices can be rather limited.⁽¹¹⁾ There are obvious advantages in continuing at this stage to talk about course alternatives rather than a particular course and discussions may sometimes seem to leave matters open for further consideration by the clients, when the actual obstacle to reaching a decision lies in the more general uncertainties of the situation.

AN OVERVIEW

The shifts in emphasis that this paper has sought to describe occur as the CO moves from the relatively abstract task of

information-collection to begin to spell out more concretely the actual alternatives that may be available. Preferences need to be elicited to set the background for subsequent discussions and as part of the process of constructing a 'picture' of the youngster involved but from the CO's viewpoint the adolescent is being invited to say little more than what he or she **would** do if choice **were** possible. As the 'real' options are brought more explicitly into the deliberations, the constraints on choice become more clearly defined and the main question offered to adolescents for a decision becomes whether they would be prepared to accept something that the Careers Officer suggests. The status of pupils as persons having genuine authority over their proposed futures becomes more ambiguous and earlier expressed preferences now may be seen only as 'data' which adult participants in careers interviews and case conferences may want to consider before themselves deciding what is best for leavers.

Certain parallels with the counselling process that we have examined can be found in the wider sociological literature in accounts of organizational contexts where routinized arrangements for the breaking of bad news have developed⁽¹²⁾ and more particularly in the 'cooling out' processes described by Erving Goffman.⁽¹³⁾ To the extent that there is little possibility of 'delivery' of a leaver's preferred option in the immediate future and that the CO's ability to 'do his/her job' by arranging a placement may be threatened by an early withdrawal of client co-operation, the professional has a clear stake in cushioning clients from a sense of failure. Strategies similar to those described by Goffman are readily discernable. There is the spreading of discussion over a number of meetings so as to ease the leaver gradually into a realisation of the restricted nature of his or her job prospects. There is the provision, in the form of the Youth Opportunities Programme and more latterly in the Youth Training Scheme,⁽¹⁴⁾ of alternative avenues which as far as possible resemble the jobs that cannot be obtained but lack their status and rewards. There is the characteristic delay in acquainting the non-achiever with the fact of his or her failure, analysed by Goffman in terms of 'stalling'. There is the tendency to hold open the hope that the desired goal may nevertheless be attained some time in the future.

However while these parallels exist, there must be some doubt as to whether the protracted nature of deliberations is linked solely to the facilitation of client adaptation. Discussions seem to extend well beyond the point that would suffice to accomplish such a goal. Not only is it apparent that certain topics come up again and again for lengthy comment in successive interviews even where they have limited relevance to subsequent developments but discussion and explanation in a particular meeting often has an attenuated and repetitive character that seems to have more to do with the professional insecurities of the CO than with any demands for elaboration coming from clients. Indeed, a striking feature of many sequences where time is invested in detailing difficulties in arranging employment and the compensations offered by placements that are available, is a complete absence of visible opposition, negative comment or demands for further information from clients. Here, the extended nature of the interviewing process seems to work to safeguard the self-conception of the professional as well as that of the adolescent. Thus, one may suspect that, quite apart from considerations outlined in the previous paragraph, certain aspects of interviews between COs and this group of leavers derive from a professional disinclination to

relinquish the ideas of 'guidance' and job placement as the principal foci of careers work and an unwillingness to acknowledge how far the scope for decision-making in this area has diminished.

The organisation of careers interviews operates, in considerable degree, to save the face of both client and professional but the factor that prevents the picture from hardening unambiguously into either one of client manipulation or professional self-deception is the perceived uncertainty of the wider economic and political situation. There is first of all, some doubt about whether the interviewing process that has been examined operates in the context of a general deterioration in the prospects of this group of adolescents taken as a whole. Undoubtedly, the chance of open employment has diminished for that portion of leavers who could have expected a job in the mid-seventies but such data that is available suggests that many of these jobs were exploitative, insecure and marginal⁽⁹⁾ and there was little alternative provision for the sizeable number of special education leavers who even then were unable to compete in the labour market. It is possible that the prospects of this latter group have improved as a result of recent developments. The paradox of high levels of unemployment in the general population, as far as the mentally handicapped are concerned, may be that inability to enter open employment no longer distinguishes them so markedly from the 'normal' leaver and that measures taken to alleviate the general unemployment problem unintentionally open up options not previously available for less able leavers from the mildly mentally handicapped group.

Although any suggestion of a growth of choice in this part of the lives of these school leavers may be undercut by the limited nature of the alternatives and the difficulties in securing entry, the expansion of Government schemes undoubtedly creates a new area of decision-making for Careers Service staff. At the present time it seems unlikely that from the CO's perspective, this expansion counterbalances the virtual disappearance of opportunities to arrange placement into open employment but increased government spending on an expanded Youth Training Scheme is likely to change the picture further. Certainly, the likelihood that an increased range of options for special education leavers will appear in the near future makes it possible for Careers Service professionals to look forward to some amelioration of their present difficulties and to cast from their mind the possibility that a diminution of their professional role has reduced them to the status of mere agents of consolation.

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An expanded version of this paper with more extensive data extracts is available from the authors as Project Working Paper No. 2.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. We use the nomenclature that applied at the time of our fieldwork, when the Scottish term 'mild mental handicap' was broadly equivalent to the English category of mild educational subnormality (ESN (M)). Following the 1982 Education (Scotland) Act - pupils formerly designated as mildly mentally handicapped are considered to be pupils with special educational needs.
2. A report detailing the findings of the wider study is available from the authors.
3. In our interviews with parents, a number of those who had been in receipt of benefits while the child was at school expressed fears about a decline in their personal finances, and the suspicion arose that some felt they could exercise continuing control over unemployment benefits more easily than over a wage packet. A small number of parents justified their preference for unemployment rather than a Government scheme by pointing out that the additional amount received would be more than taken up by incidental expenses incurred for meals and bus fares.

4. In one instance where 12 leavers were put forward for one Work Introduction Course all but 2 were rejected on the basis of the inability to meet the required standards of reading ability and numeracy.
5. Readers may be interested to learn that Mary completed two Work Introduction Courses and afterwards entered a community opportunities placement in a school canteen, and Craig between spells of unemployment, had six months on a local authority Parks Department Scheme and a year in a Training Workshop.
6. McIntosh's (1977) study of communication in a cancer ward provides one example of how doctors routinely use the pretext of uncertainty of diagnosis or prognosis to postpone disclosure of the seriousness of their condition to patients.
7. Goffman E. 'On Cooling the Mark Out: some aspects of adaptation to failure'. *Psychiatry*, Vol. 15 (4) 1952 p.451-63.
8. The Youth Training Scheme replaced the earlier Youth Opportunities Programme after our fieldwork was completed.
9. Richardson S.A. 'Careers of Mentally Retarded Young Persons: services, jobs and interpersonal relations', *American Journal of Mental Deficiency*, 82, (1978) p.349-56.



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talking about separation & divorce

ANN MITCHELL

"You like to know what's going on, but no one ever told me why my Dad left home," said Aileen sadly. Another girl said, *"I asked once or twice but mum just got annoyed with me so I gave up asking. I still don't know why they split up."* Both comments were made five years after divorce and longer since the parental separation.

My study of adolescents' long-term memories of their parents' separation and divorce⁽¹⁾ showed that the majority had had no explanation from their parents. Parents and children agreed on this point. Few parents had explained adequately the reasons for a family to split up, two thirds of them telling me that they had given their children no explanation at all. Some parents said that there had been no need to tell the children anything, since the reason (often heavy drinking) had been obvious but their children had not understood. Others had attempted to explain but their words had seemed meaningless. Children had perhaps refused to believe what they had not wanted to believe. *"For a long time, I thought they'd be back together. I couldn't believe they'd continue to live apart,"* said Daisy. And Sara said, *"It didn't occur to me they'd split up for good because they still saw each other all the time."*

Some parents justified their lack of discussion with their children, *"They never asked why their father had left. He'd never taken a lot of interest in them, so they didn't notice much difference."* But children had felt frustrated by the lack of information. *"I kept asking questions because I found it difficult to believe that my parents had split. I always got the same answer, that my father had hit my mother. If he hadn't hit her that night, he'd probably still be here."*

A few parents who had not talked about the separation with their children had later regretted their silence, *"I always wondered what was going on in the girls' minds, but none of them talked about it."* A mother who said, *"I would love to know what Lillian remembers and what she thinks, but I can't bring myself to ask - I don't think I'd like to hear,"* added *"I didn't think about her at all. Neither of us took her into consideration."*

Many children had been bewildered, not knowing whether the separation was to be short or permanent and not believing parental arguments to be sufficient reason for breaking up the family. Nor was "not getting on" necessarily seen by children as a reason for ending a marriage. Daphne could not understand why her parents, who had always argued a

great deal, had suddenly decided to split up "when they'd been OK for so many years".

Separation is not a single event but a continuing one, and children and young people need continuing information. A bald statement by a parent about the separation could be very disturbing to a child. One father had told his children that his wife "was away with another man, and it broke their hearts". In another family, Joan had been told by both parents that her father wanted to live with another woman, *"At first I dinna have a clue. I couldn't understand how he could do such a thing to me and my Mum"*. It had been left to her brother's girl friend to explain the sexual implications.

Kenneth, aged eleven when he had moved with his mother and siblings to a married sister's home, told me, *"To this day, I don't understand why my mother left my father. I did ask but I got no answer"*. Now aged eighteen, Kenneth doesn't like to talk about it and doesn't like to pry into other people's business. He still wants to know why they had to leave his father, *"but if my Mum won't tell me of her own accord, nothing will make me ask"*. However talking it over with me he came to the conclusion that his father's heavy drinking must have been the reason for the marriage breakdown and he appeared to feel slightly eased to have found a possible cause so many years later. He like others, had assumed that the separation was temporary, as perhaps, other separations had been in the past. It could take many months for the finality of the separation to sink in.

The subsequent divorce had been seen as inevitable by many children. *"It didn't really bother me, they were split up anyway."* But for some the news of the divorce had been met with disbelief, *"Divorce happened to everyone else, but not to us."* And one child in five had not understood the word 'divorce', some thinking that there had automatically been a divorce at the time of separation. Michael, who had been ten at separation, remembered being told a year later that his parents were now divorced. He had not understood the meaning of the word and had not liked to ask. *"It didn't click they were not staying together, even when they were getting divorced."* He could not remember when it had *"dawned on me that my parents were not going to get together again."* Janet claimed, at interview, not to know that her parents had been divorced, although she knew that her mother with whom she lived, had remarried.

TALKING WITH OTHER PEOPLE

Half of the children had felt unable to discuss the separation

with either parent, "I felt I couldn't really talk. I dunno if I was scared." Even the children who had talked with their parents had seldom derived much comfort from them. The boot was sometimes on the other foot and children had felt real concern for parents who were seen to be unhappy or lonely. Nancy told me, ten years after her parents' separation, "My Dad cried. I've seen him crying many times. He's still not happy. I know he wants my Mum back."

Grandparents, older siblings and school friends had been found more supportive than parents. Boys seemed to have been less likely than girls to have talked to anyone, for the reason that family affairs were no one else's business. 'You don't really talk about things like that'.

School friends and teachers

One child in four said they had not told any friends about their parents' separation and one in five was convinced that their teachers had not known. One boy said, "I didn't like telling anybody. I didn't like talking about it. I tried to keep it secret." Another boy said, "At school I just sat there and couldn't think about anything except my parents and family. After a while the teachers stopped getting on at me. I suppose someone must have told them." Mary thought that no one had noticed she was sitting thinking about her mother (who had left home and family) instead of paying attention in class.

Some children had believed themselves to be alone in their new single-parent status, "I didn't know anyone else at school with only one parent and thought I was a one-off." A striking number of children contrasted secondary with primary school. Several who had been certain that no other children had had separated parents at primary school, had then been surprised to find quite a number of others when they had gone on to secondary school. But five years after the divorce, one child in five (mostly boys) still tried to conceal from their friends that their parents were divorced.

Children who had confided in friends had experienced a sense of relief when they had found others with separated parents. They had appreciated opportunities to "exchange views and experiences". Parents had been conscious of this, too. One mother told me, "The children were excited when we moved here to find another family up the street in the same situation, which made it seem less strange."

There was an evident undercurrent of feeling that teachers who might have been helpful had just not noticed that anything was wrong. Parents had seldom passed on to schools any information about their separation. "It was nothing to be ashamed of," said one mother, while a father told me, "The fewer people who knew, the better, in case I lost custody." Others thought that family affairs should be of no concern to teachers, who might expect problems where parents thought none existed. But if teachers are not told about a child's one-parent status unless there is known to be a problem, then only the children and young people with problems may be known to teachers as living with one parent. Teachers may then have lower expectations of all such children and young people, without knowing the family situation of those with no obvious problems. Some of these may also live with only one parent. On balance, it would seem wise for parents to trust teachers with confidential information and to alert them to the possibility of any changes in behaviour. Life might be easier for the teacher as well as the child, if the fam-

ily circumstances are known at school.

OTHER POTENTIAL SOURCES OF SUPPORT: Social workers and divorce court welfare officers

Although many social work clients come from broken families, most broken families are unknown to social workers. The experiences of children and young people in the latter group can serve to show social workers that a child's basic needs are often for clarification of the family's changing circumstances and for help in keeping in touch with the absent parent.

Parents and children in this study were all asked their views about the possibility of compulsory reports to the court about custody arrangements in all divorce actions involving children. Half of the parents thought that the court had not had sufficient information about their own children but several parents had had a niggling fear that they would not have been awarded custody if more had been known. These were almost certainly groundless fears, since the other parents had not asked for custody.

Half of the parents approved of the idea of compulsory reports but they tended to assume that a visit from a welfare officer would be supportive, not investigative. A few who would have welcomed someone to talk to, would not have liked to answer questions about their children, "Parents have enough problems to sort out about broken marriages without bringing the children into it."; "(The children) shouldn't be brought into it, it would be bad for them and divorce is to do with the parents."

Divorced parents interviewed by Murch⁽²⁾ had been glad of an opportunity to talk about their problems to a welfare officer and had valued the practical and emotional help offered to them. Indeed, a large majority of the divorce court welfare officers questioned by Eekelaar⁽³⁾ saw part of their function to be counselling and a quarter of them saw this as the most important part of their role.

Nearly one third of the parents I interviewed would not have liked any investigation into their own families but some thought it would be useful for other, irresponsible, families. One fifth of the parents strongly disapproved of the idea of any kind of welfare visit. This would have been seen either as an invasion of privacy or as causing further problems, "The atmosphere is tense enough already and the family would become even more upset"; "I didn't like the girls seeing their Dad, and if anyone had investigated, they might have insisted on more access than I was willing to give."

Three-quarters of the young people interviewed had views about visits from a welfare officer. Twice as many approved as disapproved. "In some families the children are unhappy with the arrangements made by their parents," said one girl, while another would have appreciated having someone to talk to, "to tell them how much I missed my father." Although boys and girls were equally likely to reject the idea of a welfare visit, the girls were more emphatic, "It would be prying. It's bad enough as it is, without someone coming and asking questions."

It seemed that some parents and children would happily accept a service which came, uninvited, to their homes, but they would not actively seek it.

Doctors

General practitioners are often consulted by separating parents who suffer from nerves, difficulties in sleeping or other physical symptoms.⁽⁴⁾ But these same parents are less likely to consult the doctor about the effects of separation on their children. A consultant child psychiatrist considered marital tension to be probably the most common cause of child psychiatric disorder.⁽⁵⁾ She advised general practitioners to be more alert to signs of tension in the family, and to offer opportunities of support for children through family therapy or conciliation services. The Royal College of General Practitioners had in evidence to the Working Party on Marriage Guidance,⁽⁶⁾ emphasised the importance of training family doctors to understand how personal relationships can cause health problems.

Solicitors

A solicitor acts for only one parent in a divorce and rarely sees the children. Even when there appears to be no dispute over arrangements for custody and access, solicitors should help parents to understand the need for their co-operation over arrangements for the child's future. Solicitors are in a unique position to advise parents that children will be happier if they are kept informed about what is happening and are enabled to keep in touch with both parents. They are nowadays encouraged to refer clients to conciliation services if there is any suggestion of disagreement about the children.

Conciliation services

The past five years have seen a mushrooming growth of conciliation services for separating and divorcing families.⁽⁷⁾ Some are attached to divorce courts and some are independent. Conciliation can remove confusion, clear up misunderstandings and help parents to understand the feelings of each other and of their children. The success of conciliation in resolving disputes over custody or access has been described by Davis.⁽⁸⁾

Court-based conciliation is widely available in the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. But an independent service can be consulted before a divorce reaches the court. The Booth Committee⁽⁹⁾ recommended that parents should be referred to out-of-court conciliation services at the start of divorce proceedings. For maximum benefit to the whole family conciliation services should be consulted without delay after, or even before, separation.⁽¹⁰⁾

None of the families in this study, divorced in 1976, had had access to a conciliation service. Possibly the parents would not have consulted such a service in any case but if they had been able to do so they might have been helped to a better understanding of their children's feelings. The children might then have felt less bewildered and isolated.

LOOKING BACK

One young person in six still longed for a parental reconciliation five years after divorce. Ian, aged nine at separation and seventeen at interview, said, "I've always had a dream that they'll come together again," although both of his parents had long-standing cohabiters. But, somewhat ambivalently, only three boys and three girls thought that their parents had been wrong to divorce. "In my point of view, they were wrong to split up, but you canna keep on living together if you're not getting on." Others sadly said their parents had probably been right to separate, "Life would

have been awful if my parents had stayed together, but I would not want to put any child of mine through what I went through."

There was an interesting difference between boys' and girls' advice to other separating families. The boys tended to advise other children to grin and bear it and accept that parents had to lead their own lives. Girls were more likely to offer advice to parents, whom they thought should talk more to their own children while hiding their own bitterness, "Parents should sit down and explain slowly. They should definitely not take the children away first and then tell them, and then ask who they want to stay with."

CONCLUSIONS

Separation and divorce, like mental illness, adoption, death or imprisonment are subjects which need sensitive handling where children are involved. However well-intentioned they are, parents may well be in too much emotional turmoil themselves to be able to explain much to their own children. At a time where a child needs extra support from parents, those parents are at the centre of the conflict and unavailable to help, "My Mum didn't understand how I felt. She was too busy being angry," said Angela.

All adults who are in touch with children of separated parents, whether as parents or as professionals, should understand children's need for someone to interpret events and to provide comfort. But the ultimate responsibility for the welfare of the children before and after divorce lies with their parents.

Readers should note that all names used are fictitious.

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feature reviews

In the feature reviews, Frank Coffield and Ken Roberts analyse publications concerned with unemployment and initiatives designed to deal with it.

“WORK: IS THERE A FUTURE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE?”

Feature Review No. 1 by Frank Coffield

Inge Bates, John Clarke, Philip Cohen, Dan Finn,
Robert Moore and Paul Willis
SCHOOLING FOR THE DOLE?: The New Vocationalism
MacMillan 1984
ISBN 0 333 36728 6
£20
ISBN 0 333 36729 4
Pbk £6.95
pp. 236

Charles Handy
THE FUTURE OF WORK: A Guide to a Changing Society
Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1984
ISBN 0 85520 688 8
£16.50
ISBN 0 85520 689 6
Pbk £4.95
pp. 201

Karen Trew and Rosemary Kilpatrick
THE DAILY LIFE OF THE UNEMPLOYED: Social and Psychological Dimensions
Department of Psychology: Queen's University of Belfast
ISBN 0 85389 237 7
pp. 201
Distributed by the University Bookshop, University Road,
Belfast, Northern Ireland

Patrick Thorne
HOW MANY JOBS DID YOU GO FOR THIS WEEK?
An A to Z of the real world of unemployment
New English Library 1984
ISBN 0 450 05725 9
£1.50
pp. 157

Let us begin by paraphrasing the opening words of *The Communist Manifesto*: a new spectre is haunting Europe - the spectre of jobless growth. The four books listed above are all concerned with some aspect of the crisis of unemployment. As I write this review in April, 1985 the news on the radio talks of a national strike in Denmark with 200,000 marchers in Copenhagen demanding a reduction of the working week to 35 hours without loss of pay. The problem, however, is not a particularly British or European one and was foreseen by Karl Marx, although his timing was out by a hundred years. Charles Handy quotes Marx's fear that 'in-

creased productivity would create not a more leisured society but a more unequal one'.

There are two key points I want to make about that statement. First, 'increased productivity' is today a euphemism for jobless growth. When the stakes are so high, unmasking euphemisms becomes a positive duty and the public debate about unemployment is currently thick with euphemisms. Philip Cohen in his long, thoughtful essay in *Schooling for the Dole?* mentions two more, 'leisure counselling' and 'lifestyle enhancement' i.e. teaching people survival tactics for life on the dole. The implication for practice that stems from this, is that youth and community workers, teachers and all of us involved in the educational process, need to improve the quality of our thinking if we are going to produce a response adequate to the crisis.

In the last few years I have attended conferences with titles such as 'Youth Unemployment', 'Adult Education for the Unemployed', and, of course, 'Adolescence: Coping with Stress'. In retrospect, what these meetings had in common were reasonably accurate analyses of the current scene followed by depressingly limited discussions of the options available. The thinking of most professionals present (who usually included local authority and MSC officials) appeared to be, 'because of new technology there is inevitably going to be fewer jobs and more leisure so we must educate present and future generations for increased leisure'. Technology, please note, in this version of the future, is an uncontrollable juggernaut under the wheels of which generations of young people must be sacrificed. Technology, it is also claimed, will map out new paths for education which is seen in purely responsive terms. The idea that professionals in education or in social work may have some demands to make of technology and the quality of jobs it creates is nowhere discussed. Similarly, the only scenario for the future which is seriously entertained at such conferences is that of increased leisure. Since 1983 Tony Watts in his excellent book *Education, Unemployment and the Future of Work* has presented four possible scenarios and the leisure scenario appears to me to be the **least** likely. How, after all, could we run either schools or society with two diametrically opposed philosophies. A small elite imbued with the protestant work ethic who would do the necessary work and simultaneously watch vast numbers of helots playing squash, relaxing in jacuzzis and watching porno videos. Who would want to be a member of either group in this nightmare of the Greek city state?

The second point is to extend Marx's claim, that increased productivity would create a more unequal society. Current evidence including the **Police and Criminal Evidence Act, 1984** suggests that we are also heading for a more **authoritarian** society where more powers will be increasingly taken by the centre, to control the growing inequalities. Charles Handy is probably right in arguing that 'we stand on a hinge of time' and that 'the full-employment equation of full-time, life-time jobs for all at good rates of pay is not viable. Something has to give. That is the first and the most crucial of the choices facing society'. We have already entered a long transitional period which may last for as much as twenty years during which time there will be more significant changes than new definitions and new types of work. Of central importance will be the quality of life and the civil liberties enjoyed by all citizens. There is a real danger that successive Governments, of whatever political colour, will take increasing powers to ease Britain's transition into the new post-industrial age. I can already hear the future rationalizations, 'In the interests of increased productivity and of an even higher standard of living for some of our people, the Government has, with considerable regret and after much heart searching, felt it necessary to impose a temporary, ban on unemployed Scottish cyclists seeking jobs in the more prosperous areas of the south...'

So far the public debate on the future shape of society has been dominated by employers, lambasting the educational system and insisting on school-leavers who can meet the 'needs of industry' and by the senior politicians of all the major parties who can think of nothing more imaginative than extensions to YTS and the Community Programme. Neither of the two main parties is brave enough to discuss publicly this country's prospects of returning to full employment. In Charles Handy's words: '...the average man or woman thinks of children and grandchildren, while politicians think of the next election. Society can stand more truth than it is offered'. It is also time that the contributors and readers of journals like **Youth and Policy** began to specify what kind of society they want to live in and what role there will be in such a society for young people. New structures like YTS which are transforming the transition from childhood to adulthood and new power bases like the MSC need to be challenged and alternatives proposed before they become established practice.

Of the four texts listed above, one stands out as a well written and constant provocation to deepen thought on all these issues, Charles Handy's **The Future of Work**. Here are a number of short quotations to whet the appetite, 'It would, however, be dangerously naive to think that the Government, any Government, could buy enough jobs to solve unemployment', 'Over the next twenty years there will be an extra 1.5 million people of working age, most of them wanting jobs', 'Overtime is an invitation to hoard work', 'To employ anyone these days is akin to adopting a child for life for better or worse, he or she is yours', 'The days of the large employment organization are over...to say that a university is the model of the organization of tomorrow would be to exaggerate as well as to alarm as unnecessarily, but...', '...Britain's co-operatives have tended to be ideologically rooted in socialism to such a degree that they have turned their backs on the realities of capitalism and the market society in which they are forced to operate', '...ten years in the back streets of our cities with the occasional interlude on a

Manpower Services Commission course is hardly a satisfactory alternative to a job', 'In the last analysis it is better to be educated and unemployed than uneducated and unemployed'.

Handy's astringent thoughts will be uncomfortable reading for many. He is at his stimulating best in the chapters on 'Re-thinking Work', 'Reorganizing Work' and 'The New Agenda', where he discusses among other things who will get the jobs of the future, how they will be paid, and what are the different kinds of wealth in society. These chapters are the heart of the book and they succeed splendidly. He is on less secure ground when he tackles 'Educating for Tomorrow', although he begins the chapter on an optimistic note: '...education will be the one guaranteed growth sector of our society in the next twenty years'. Having lulled me into a sense of future well-being, I then read 'The British educational system today probably harms more people than it helps...49 per cent of all boys and 44 per cent of all girls left school as failures, without a single worthwhile certificate to their names. The great bulk of them become the 40 per cent of our youth who receive no further training at all in life after the age of 16 ...40 per cent of the nation written off educationally'. Of course, these are shameful truths which I do not seek to disguise or deny but there is a lack of both balance and historical perspective in the harsh critique of the educational system which follows. There is no mention, for example, of the substantial achievements of the education world since 1945, the establishment of a **system of secondary education** for all, the raising of the school leaving age on two separate occasions, the huge expansion in the numbers of those leaving with 'A' levels and 'O' levels, considerable successes for a socially undervalued and underpaid profession. At the very least, it stands comparison with the record of employers in this country in providing training for their own young workers. The uncritical acceptance of the MSC'S programme of TVEI is also worrying. This qualification and one or two more minor reservations apart, Handy's book ends with a plea for a paradigm change in our thinking. Copernicus, argues Handy, changed nothing in the physical world but his ideas 'ultimately changed the way we saw ourselves and the whole basis of science'.

I would like to say that the four long articles which together constitute **Schooling for the Dole?** had brought about a paradigm shift in my own thinking. Only Philip Cohen's article, entitled 'Against the New Vocationalism', lived up to my hopes for the book as a whole. The three other chapters, Dan Finn's '**Leaving School and Growing Up: Work Experience in the Juvenile Labour Market**'; Robert Moore's '**Schooling and the World of Work**'; and Inge Bates '**From Vocational Guidance to Life Skills: Historical Perspectives on Careers Education**', although each contains arguments of substance, could have been improved, in my opinion, by being half the length. That could not be said of Philip Cohen's sixty five pages which are composed of 'elements for a theoretical critique' and 'notes towards an alternative practice'. Cohen begins by asking the important question: '...why opposition to MSC programmes, whether from trade unionists or teachers, has been so divided and weak'. His own answer points to a failure to 'contest the **ideological** ground staked out by...the new vocationalists'. He then proceeds to a devastating dissection of some MSC pamphlets produced for Life and Social Skills courses. He gives the example of a girl using a pair of scissors to cut her nails who

is described by the MSC as learning how to 'put together two metal blades unpowered'. There is no more abused word in the English language at present than 'skill' and the MSC are doing their best to rob the word of any meaning.

Cohen also has the courage to move on from his theoretical critique to a detailed explanation of his attempts to construct an alternative approach to life and social skills courses. His idea of turning students into social investigators deserves to be widely discussed by all those involved in MSC programmes. He ends, however, with a note of caution for radical teachers by describing 'that well known mental disorder "Teacher Hubris", the delusion that what we do in the classroom should make the whole world of difference to our pupils'.

Why is it that such biting criticisms of the new vocationalism as contained in **Schooling for the Dole?** tend to have such little effect? Let me give two partial reasons. First, the whole book, with the honourable exception of Cohen's piece, is long on analysis and short on policy. This is particularly true of Paul Willis's 'Conclusion' which is subtitled 'Theory and Practice' but which predictably concentrates on the former. Certainly, as he and John Clarke write in the introduction, the key problem can be stated very simply - 'there ain't no jobs', to which could be added: 'there ain't many good ideas about what we should do about it'. A second reason which partly explains the lack of impact, is in my view, the language used. Let me give some examples. Most of us have become used to the ugly neologism 'deskilling', but is that any reason why we should accept 'up-skilling' or 'unskill'? The text of **Schooling For the Dole?** is disfigured by words like 'valorised', 'problematical', and 'contextualising discourses'. 'Decimated' is used when 'destroyed' is meant and 'congenital' is considered to be a synonym for 'innate'. The problem is not confined to single words but whole sentences and paragraphs read like 'differential material access to transport and leisure facilities'. I think this means no more than 'Some had more money than others to take buses into pubs or clubs'. When researchers such as the group assembled in this book have such important messages to convey, it is beholden on them to write in clear, simple English and not rush into print with what appears to be the first version of their article. Do Macmillans no longer employ editors?

That brings me to Karen Trew and Rosemary Kilpatrick's **The Daily Life of the Unemployed**. The style is immediately recognisable. It is a good example of the traditional research report in psychology, complete with a review of the literature, a detailed description of research methods and statistical techniques and sixty pages of detailed appendices. This study of how 150 unemployed men in Belfast in the 25-45 range spent their time contains some engaging features, especially the five distinct life styles which were identified and the comparisons with a similar group of men in Brighton. Interestingly, 'the men surveyed in Belfast, an area of historically high unemployment, were found to suffer less psychological distress than their counterparts in Brighton, an area of relatively low unemployment'. Considerable amounts of time, money and work have been invested in this research and yet I ended it with growing feelings of disappointment. It is well enough written, given the style and intended audience, it is more that the returns are so meagre. The authors defend themselves on the final page by writing: '...as with most social research the present study

was not designed to give straight answers to questions about practical problems'. They don't however provide any answers, straight or crooked. The deep problem is one I know well from my own education as a psychologist, the continuing failure of most psychology departments to address themselves seriously to questions of social policy.

Finally, there is Patrick Thorne's sad little book **How many jobs did you go for this week?** Sad, because here is a young man who has been unemployed and who has set out to produce a useful **A to Z** for others in the same position. Yet he writes on the first page that this book 'is deliberately not intended to be political'. But it is political, deeply so. He argues, for example, that, although his book is on a serious subject, 'laughing at problems - however black the humour - makes life a lot easier'. I am full of admiration for Patrick Thorne's imagination and drive in writing a book to help him cope with his unemployment, but would good honest anger allied to political action not be a more appropriate response than page after page of sarcasm?

Feature Review No. 2 by Ken Roberts

Terry Edwards

THE YOUTH TRAINING SCHEME: A NEW CURRICULUM? EPISODE ONE

The Falmer Press 1984

ISBN 0 905273 96 6 and 905273 95 8 (pbk) £6.95
pp. 180

Rob Fiddy ed.

IN PLACE OF WORK

The Falmer Press 1983

ISBN 0 905273 47 X and 0 0 905273 45 1 (pbk) £6.95
pp. 193

Carol Varlaam ed.

RETHINKING TRANSITION: EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION AND THE TRANSITION TO ADULT LIFE

The Falmer Press 1984

ISBN 0 905273 68 0 and 0 905273 67 2 (pbk) £6.25
pp. 147

Youthaid and the National Youth Bureau

POST-YTS INITIATIVES

Youthaid 1985

ISBN 0 86155 090 0 £6.50
pp. 40

Britain's prime minister has decided that youth unemployment must cease to be an option. The phrasing is extraordinary. Do ministers really believe that their current unemployment is of young people's own making? Ten years after the introduction of Job Creation Projects, the beginning of the current generation of special measures, we are still in the problem-defining business. Until the end of the 1970s, rising youth unemployment was generally attributed to demography and recession. A solution was anticipated alongside economic recovery and the turning demographic tide. These books are all responses to the now obvious need for new analyses. Any optimism that surrounded YOP in 1978 has disappeared. Youth unemployment is persisting alongside economic growth and smaller cohorts. It is now apparent that recent recessions have accelerated rather than

instigated a longer-term decline of entry jobs, especially for the less-qualified. This decline is a product of the mechanisation of factory and office jobs, the shift of labour from manufacturing to services and from lower-level to technician, professional and management occupations. All these trends operate to the less-qualified school-leavers' disadvantage. So does the internationalisation of production and distribution which allows multi-nationals to export unskilled jobs to less-developed lands where labour is even cheaper, more abundant and non-unionised.

Employment in higher level occupations is still expanding, absolutely and as a proportion of all jobs, but there are no shortages of qualified aspirants. The educational routes towards these careers are more congested than ever. There are inevitable shortages of skills that are under ten years old. Britain's norm-referenced school examinations place limits on the proportions who can leave well qualified in employer's eyes, however hard young people and their teachers strive. There is a problem of the 'brightest and best' learning to despise the application of knowledge and of too many dropping maths and science completely. We need to reform education and training, but if these structures were sound there is no reason to believe that young people's attitudes and aspirations would be a problem. Some new jobs and many in older industries that are restructuring their workforces, require extended education and training. The rate at which demand for less-qualified school-leavers has collapsed exceeds the pace at which vocational preparation must be prolonged and enlarged. This is why young people are being prepared for employment more thoroughly than ever, on courses and schemes that breed disillusionment when labour markets cannot offer deferred rewards. Future economic growth in manufacturing and in the financial and business services, is not likely to help the jobless. There are current political obstacles to more public sector employment. The leisure industries - sport and recreation, hotels and catering, plus special measures, are the sole business sectors where a sustained growth in employment can be anticipated.

Young and older applicants for less-skilled office and factory jobs are now abundant and market forces are depressing the quality of the jobs that remain. Many of the jobs on offer are now temporary, casual and low-paid. Market forces make it appear that young people must accept a further deterioration in quality as the price for any hope of employment. We know that, in practice, 'eliminating the option' of youth unemployment will mean withdrawing supplementary benefit thereby forcing young people into rubbish jobs and on to courses and schemes that lead nowhere. One wheeze now being canvassed is to persuade young people to work for nothing or pocket money on programmes of civic service. There need be no youth unemployment if only young workers abandon their old-fashioned insistence on wages!

Three of these books deal with the various measures that have been introduced in place of work, to rebuild school-leavers' transitions and to provide better vocational preparation. Carol Varlaam's arises from the 1979/82 EEC/DES funded, transition to work programmes. Nearly all these initiatives were aimed at the less-able, the CSE failures. When the EEC programme was designed, youth unemployment was concentrated within this tail-end. Prime minister

Callaghan and Shirley Williams in Britain, and their counterparts in other European governments, believed that doses of work experience and more relevant curricula might solve the problem by strengthening the less able's competitive edge on entering the labour market. All the projects were evaluated, and Varlaam's book is the British product. The contributors are not offering straight-forward evaluations. We no longer need such evidence to tell us that this generation of initiatives failed to prevent youth unemployment continuing to rise. We now know that the definition of the problem from which the exercises arose was mistaken. Hence the wisdom of Varlaam and her colleagues using their experience to rethink the transition.

All the contributors recognise that the initiatives they studied were not grappling with the real problem and therefore, could not provide solutions. However, most of the researchers feel able to recommend some practices that their initiatives pioneered such as the use of community resources in education and methods of increasing young people's social awareness and self-confidence. Varlaam's book asks not only, 'What might be salvaged?' but also, 'What can be learnt about young people and their needs, their new transition processes and problems?' The contributors' answers will interest academic audiences, plus the growing numbers of professionals in the youth unemployment industries. Some of the material is now dated but not the arguments. My main reservation is, that while studies of young people and the various things that can be done for and to them, may aid rethinking, these pre-occupations can deflect attention from why the transition into employment is changing for virtually all and breaking-down for many young people.

Rob Fiddy's volume reports research of the same generation, when YOP was the main alternative to school-leaver unemployment. His collection differs from Varlaam's in that the projects reported were not planned as a common programme but this is not a weakness. If anything, the book benefits from the wider range of approaches. The chapters which are most directly comparable with **Rethinking Transition** deal with YOP's various components - WEEP, training workshops, project-based work experience and work introduction courses. YOP is now history but the material remains relevant, for all the programme's main provisions have been absorbed into the YTS. Other chapters in **In Place of Work** offer broad appraisals of how and why youth employment is changing. David Raffe discusses alternative explanations of and strategies for, tackling youth unemployment. Martin Loney's contribution is a sharp critique of government measures. There are chapters dealing with the wider effects and implications of the reshaping of school-leavers' opportunities - for careers guidance, social behaviour, race and gender divisions. There is also a contribution from the USA: Robert Nelson and James Leach describe and make a case for entrepreneurship education. The majority of the enquiries reported in Fiddy's volume were less generously funded than the EEC/DES projects. Some contributions are from postgraduates whose research is still in process. They confirm that excellent research can still be done on shoestrings, and that thinking can be a penetrating research strategy.

Terry Edward's book cannot be recommended as light bedtime reading; it deserves more serious attention. Edwards

invites us to regard successive special measures and now the TVEI and YTS as an emerging new curriculum for the less-able, the bottom-half who used to be called Newsom children. Their education has always been a problem. Post-1944 tripartism, which was to have offered a practical curriculum for non-academic pupils, failed to fulfil its supporters' hopes. Comprehensives have exposed virtually all children to the grammar school tradition, in suitably watered-down versions for the less able, who must fail. Since the mid-1970s, a formerly educational problem has been inflamed by other pressures. Governments have felt it necessary to be seen to be doing something about youth unemployment. Edwards does not regard the new curriculum as an accidental outcome of numerous ad hoc initiatives. He suspects that the policy has been coherently planned at cabinet level. Unemployment has to be mopped up in ways that will secure the compliance of young people and meet employers' requirements. The problem is that, in the final analysis, employers' demands and young people's interests are often contradictory, which is why the new curriculum is unlikely to work.

Edwards does not believe that the present government is prepared to inject the resources to give the new curriculum a fair chance. Even if the resources were forthcoming, motivating young people would probably be the crunch issue on which the exercise floundered. What will the students be working for? Will their qualifications have any practical value? The YTS certificate is already becoming a booby-prize which proves that trainees failed to find employment within 12 months of commencing. One could add teacher motivation to the list of problems. As Edwards explains, beneath the labels, the new curriculum is far from novel. It is counter-revolutionary, an attempt to turn-back the clock, not progressive. Instead of the 11-plus there will be a 14-plus. Thereafter some will travel along familiar academic routes through O and A-levels towards higher education. Others will be catered for by the TVEI then the YTS. Why should segregation prove more acceptable at 14 than at 11?

The underlying reality is that the economy, as currently organised, cannot generate enough jobs. The only amelioration it can offer is by forcing young people's wages even lower, which means that governments must invigorate the old principle of less-eligibility and grind the unemployed deeper into poverty to force them to seek and settle in trash jobs. The real level of unemployment can be concealed by taking some groups off the registers and temporarily, off the labour market, into schools and onto training schemes, but their withdrawal cannot be total. Labour power has to remain available, on call as and when required. The reserve army must be kept in a place to maintain downward pressure on wages and conditions. Many beneficiaries of the new curriculum face adulthood in which at best, they will be marginal workers, intermittently employed on low pay. The real function of the new curriculum is to reconcile young people to this kind of future but the reconciliation can only succeed if the future is concealed. Hence the labels which promise training and skills that will lead up-market into secure, well-paid employment. Young people soon penetrate the facades. Hence the repeated need for new images and acronyms - JCPs, WEP, YOP and now the YTS. Each successive measure has to be larger, longer and stronger than its predecessor. The cycle is likely to continue. The MSC boasts

that up to 70 per cent of young people leaving the YTS proceed to jobs, further education or training. An unemployment rate following 'quality training' of twice the national average is paraded as success. For how long will this appearance hold? We are now being told that the YTS needs extending from one to two years and that young people's confidence in the scheme may have to be re-charged by abolishing the 'option' of unemployment.

The Youthism/National Youth Bureau booklet differs from the above publications in focusing on what ought to happen in the future rather than re-analysing the past. It is concerned with life after the YTS, but not on the assumption that the scheme is due for replacement for a beefed-up YTS is obviously here to stay for the foreseeable future. The booklet's problem is not the one or two years on the scheme but what follows for trainees. At the moment provisions are clearly inadequate in quantity and quality. The proposals are from a working party and extensive consultations with providers of post-YTS opportunities. The recommendations amount to a call for better co-ordination and the development of comprehensive plans, albeit at local, not national levels. The plans are to include jobs, education and training leading to jobs, community projects, voluntary work and leisure provisions. The aim is to marshal all resources, to ensure that all trainees are offered opportunities to progress and that the economy's labour requirements are satisfied.

The main surprise is that Youthism and the National Youth Bureau are promoting this package. Their reputations have been based on giving young people a voice. These proposals seem to be based on the assumption that the new curriculum can be made to work to everyone's satisfaction if only all men and women of vision and goodwill pool their ideas and resources. In practice, employers' self-interests will provide follow-up training which meshes with firms' future skill requirements. Firms will retain other young people who have demonstrated their employability, when suitable jobs are available. We know what the remaining YTS graduates will say to yet more training and projects. However, where Youthism and the NYB are surely right is in sensing that the youth employment problem is now shifting to the 17-plus age-group. High unemployment, low-paid and insecure jobs are now interacting and interfering with young adults' desire for independent housing, plans for marriage and parenthood.

Collectively, these books clarify how this situation has arisen. They expose the limitations of existing policies, and youth research as well. There are limits to what can be learnt by studying how young people respond, and benefit or fail to benefit from different provisions. The questions that must now be advanced to the head of policy and research agendas are how firms can be made to generate types and levels of employment and to distribute the prosperity from economic growth so that all young people can benefit.

reviews

D.J. Alexander, T.J.I. Leach, T.G. Steward
A STUDY OF POLICY, ORGANISATION AND PROVISION IN COMMUNITY EDUCATION AND LEISURE AND RECREATION IN THREE SCOTTISH REGIONS

Department of Adult Education, Nottingham University, 1984.

(avail - from: Mrs L Thomas, Publications Unit, Cherry Tree Buildings, University of Nottingham, University Park, Nottingham NG7 2RD)

£11.50 plus £2.00 post and package

pp. 538

There are few reports about community work in Scotland yet this report has been published at the same time as *Training for Change* written and published by the Scottish Community Education Council. Both address themselves to the question of what community workers in Scotland need in training. The S.C.E.C. document looks at forms of training but this study attempts to look at what workers are doing, why, and how this fits in with their and other people's ideas of what they should be doing. Workers interviewed in the Alexander, Leach and Steward study generally expressed satisfaction with their pre-service training but requested more inservice provision. Yet the overwhelming impression is of confusion about roles and aims. There are, of course, a Heinz variety of 'Community Work' jobs, making it difficult to define training needs. I'm sure I'm not the only person who has been tempted to invent an occupation so as to avoid trying to explain, yet again, what constitutes a community worker. This may partly explain why community work is both a popular concept to promote and a practice to denigrate!

This study looks at community work as an educational and recreational provision by local authorities in Scotland. It investigates the links, overlaps and differences between different departmental interpretations of leisure recreation, education and community at District and Regional level. The report stresses that different departments do not need to have the same aims before they can co-operate in the areas where provision overlaps, yet at the moment discussion is only between individual workers, not departments. The limitations of this practice are demonstrated, for example, training in sport has a community work content and the Youth and Community Work course at Jordonhill College of Education includes sport in its training.

The report apologises for the limits of its study, yet it still manages to fill a hefty 484 large pages plus appendices of closely typed words in excess of 200,000. This must reflect a lack of analysis being done elsewhere. The evidence and analysis given is used to back up argument for change. The evidence is very useful in itself, as it is only too easy to work in isolation with little knowledge of what is being done in the rest of the Region, yet alone in Scotland as a whole. It is a reference book rather than bed-time reading, but sadly it has a lay-out that makes finding specific information rather difficult.

Three regions are studied as examples of practice and policy in action, some other regions declined to participate. There is different political party control of the administrations in the regions studied but the report does not examine the implications of this because it reflects the idea that answers rest solely in better policy making at the top. It is staff who have to make important decisions in the field from day to day and who therefore need new approaches, clearer purposes,

innovative methods of working and better analysis. This differs to many of the ideas in the Thompson Report, which is dismissed in this document as inadequate in both theory and practice. It is very apparent from this study that community workers of various kinds, have problems clarifying and linking theory to practice. They would welcome clearer guidelines from management, as well as from inservice training. Management personnel fear that greater guidance would stultify action. There are clear connections with the prevalent 'non-directive' philosophy within community education in Scotland. Yet in this report non-directive work is shown to fail in a number of ways to grapple with inequality of access in society. It does not for example serve to challenge underlying values. This report also questions pluralism as the basis for community work.

The Alexander Report is the only report, those workers interviewed, claimed had any influence on their work and it was firmly founded on pluralist beliefs. It concentrated on how to promote personal development, on discussion of operative social issues and the promotion of an active democratic society. Little in fact has changed despite the Alexander Report, local government reorganisation, the creation of regional community education services and more composite leisure and recreation services.

This report concludes by asking for development structures and programmes which fit in with its underlying philosophy of community development as an educational process. Community development is a misused, feared, over-rated phrase, often used with a radical rhetoric but modest aim. Staff in this report are shown to want to practice community development but to have no idea how to do so. In the process they concentrate on neighbourhood work or mainstream centre provision as the only thing they know how to do. They are shown to be poorly trained in participative theory, theories of society and of community work. Staff are also shown to be so overburdened with management and maintenance duties that they lose energy, enthusiasm, commitment and time for innovative work. When asked to rank their work by importance staff put forward

- 1) education
- 2) recreation
- 3) entertainment
- 4) community development
- 5) health and mental health
- 6) sport (with competitive sport lower still)

There is however little evidence of this ordering of priorities being reflected in practice. Ways of assessing success of programmes often boils down to the numbers game, how many people attend, the higher the better. This clearly has little to do with the aims as outlined above, and many staff asked for help both with assessment of projects and of user need and demands. It is clear that most provision is demand-led. The question is demand from who? The study finds that both community education and leisure and recreation in Scotland have the same user population but that these groups do not reflect the overall population structure. Those with higher education qualifications make a greater use of services, while the retired and unemployed are low consumers of provision despite their theoretical glut of leisure time. There are differences in uptake depending on the programme offered, suggesting that what is/offer does affect attendance. Yet provision still goes no way to meet the needs of the people who need it the most. Merely to declare that facilities are open to all is to ignore traditional patterns of participation. Some workers believe that different classes do not need different resources and services. Those who favour a different approach believe

that working class people, poorly educated, older people, women and the handicapped all traditionally resist making demands and need positive encouragement to make their voice heard. Definitions of need are also tied up with philosophy, ranging from needs deriving from personal pathology, to psychological needs, normative and expressed need. Yet responding to local need is usually accepted as a general community work concept. The question of who defines need, with what values and the links with social policy ought to be crucial considerations.

Leisure and recreation provision tends to be clearer than community education about the basis of its approach to participation; clearly based on assumptions that each individual exercises freedom of choice unfettered by social, economic, historical and cultural patterns. However, as well as their mainstream programme, several examples of special provision were found, for women, the unemployed, handicapped and rural dwellers. These were found to be very successful and proved a latent demand. Workers were, however, expected to make such provision on top of normal duties, rather than being encouraged to prioritise and concentrate on developing this work. Much of the specialist provision arose from a desire to make a success of "Sport for All" but learnt in the process that many people did not wish to participate in sport as it is usually practiced. Many didn't want competitive sport and needed different time allocations and facilities such as a creche. Without these facilities they couldn't participate.

Leisure and recreation service makes no pretence to be educational in its practice yet this study gives two interesting examples of where education is a strong component of leisure programmes - the Countryside Ranger and a demonstration garden. This would appear to be a logical area for cooperation between departments, with leisure and recreation concentrating on a programme for consumption while community education develop action from it. Community arts was seen by the Alexander Report as important for community education but it has been largely left to leisure and recreation departments. Arts and crafts still form a large part of the adult education programmes of Regional Community Education Departments, but this tends to be leisure rather than education orientated. Little issue based or cognitive programmes are offered, and as they are demand led this means a largely middle class participation. Adult basic education which is a small, poorly resourced part of community education, is shown to meet learning needs through its informal programme. It has also been useful in stimulating among traditional non-participants in community education.

Generally though, the picture shown in this report is one I'm not sure most of us suspected - of dedicated staff working with little idea of what they should be doing, how or why. This study attempts to make specifications as to what community work actually is and should be. Its research is limited to the local authority sector and is only able to look at three of the Scottish regions but it is packed full of information that is almost impossible to find elsewhere. The report will be used by different people for different reasons, but should become a widely used reference book.

While it concentrates on the shortcomings of current practice and theory it also provides a base for positive action in the future.

Val Woodward

Youth Information Advice Unit
SOLVENT ABUSE: Information for those who work with young people
Distributed by: Southern Area Youth & Community Office, 15 Mill Road, Worthing, West Sussex
pp. 18

Although the phenomenon of solvent abuse has been with us for at least ten years, there is still a great need for information on the subject for youth workers and social workers, preferably information that is presented in a straightforward and non-sensationalist manner. The booklet **SOLVENT ABUSE**, which sets out to provide "information for those who work with young people", unfortunately cannot be recommended to such workers with any confidence. The initial impression is of a publication that has been put together in a rush, without much planning or editing of the information available. The names of the five contributors presented as 'The Team' are listed on the title page, but with one exception Dr. Marta Buyers, whom we later learn is "a medical doctor", there is no indication of their profession, background or experience in dealing with solvent abusers. Who are these people? There is no contents list and the pages are unnumbered, with the result that anyone attempting to use the booklet has to search through the text in the hope of locating something relevant. Subject headings are used in a somewhat haphazard way throughout and in no logical sequence.

The booklet begins in a reasonably factual way by listing various products used by sniffers, together with methods of use and then goes on to mention the three main categories of user. However, there is no attempt to elaborate on this information, or to make the reader aware that the proportion of chronic users within the general user population is a relatively small one. There then follows some six pages of case histories which appear to have been compiled by Dr. Buyers from a host of British and American medical journals, some of which are acknowledged in the bibliography and others not. The relevance of this type of medical history to youth workers must be questionable, particularly as they are all quoted second-hand, rather than from Dr. Buyers' own experience. Included within this section are three "eyewitness reports" of solvent inhaling incidents which have resulted in death. No mention is made of the identity or reliability of the eyewitnesses concerned, nor is there any background given to the incidents, such as the previous history of the victims. The overall effect is to emphasise the physical risks of solvent abuse without placing it within a social context. No attempt is made to identify those youngsters who are liable to be most at risk, or to cover such areas as the likely social background of users, parental attitudes, or the views of young solvent abusers themselves, all of which are highly relevant to anyone working in a youth club or social work setting. Towards the end of the booklet there is a token half-page mention of "prevention strategies". Whilst the advice given here is as good as far as it goes, it is unfortunately a case of too little, too late. Bearing in mind the intended audience for the booklet, one wonders why this section could not have been expanded at the expense of some of the more graphic medical histories.

Buried amongst this confused mish mash is some useful information - the small section on first aid, for example but trying to locate it quickly amongst the general dross, is another matter. The overall impression given by this booklet is of a welter of unsifted, undigested material which has been loaded into a verbal aerosol and then sprayed indiscriminately in the direction of its readership. If a copy comes anywhere near you, duck.

Rod Wooden

Stefan Zaklukiewicz and Alan Dearling
RUTS FILE 2
Rural and Urban Training Scheme Off-Road Motorcycling and Groupwork with young people 1982-84 Development of the Project Intermediate Treatment Resource Centre Laing Shrewsbury, Quarriers Road, Bridge of Weir, Renfrewshire, Scotland
£1.00 (incl. p&p)
I.S.B.N. 0 9506951 7 3
pp. 35

One is becoming increasingly aware of the number of motor, garage, off-the road motor cycle, workshop and similar projects being established especially in the broad 'preventative' end of working with young people. I am however only aware of one such project having been written up and that in the specific arena of Northern Ireland, though I seem to recall the first that I had any dealings with was in Hammersmith in West London in the early 1970s. This case study, described by the authors as 'an adventure story' is a most welcome addition to the all too sparse library of contemporary youth work practice which others may use to compare, contrast and from which to learn valuable lessons. Such important statements as 'these are our working principles' and then an examination of their implications, to examples of their recording techniques and training packages are important features too often glossed over in worker reports.

Although not a motor-cyclist myself, nor a mechanic of any sort, I do warm to enthusiasts and this report is clearly written by two men committed to enjoying their experiences and enthusiastic about conveying their excitements and discoveries to others. The fun and the humour are unusual qualities to find in reports of this nature. As a fellow reviewer Brian Williams in the February 1985 edition of *Youth in Society* also acknowledged, the liberal quantity of photographs will also make this publication appealing to more than the usual audience.

At a glance the cover and title might not suggest it has much to offer a wide field of youth work and I was certainly misled by the word "Rural" in the title, for my particular interest is in current initiatives in rural youth work. I had hoped this report would add another dimension to the national symposium being held later this year on that topic under the theme "Lessons from Experience and Models for Future Practice". The 'rural' in this report however only refers to the arena of the actual motorcycling. Nonetheless this report is an ambitious attempt to share the lessons learned in the development of the project, warts and all. It has some honest appraisal and some very useful appendices and provides hints at how to make the best use of volunteers, insurance, off-the road sites, safety etc. Considering they had no model of a previous project report on which to base their analysis it should prove useful to those engaged in, or contemplating work of this nature. In particular the examples of constitution, consent forms, contracts, statement of objectives and how broad social and political issues are raised within the group-work curriculum, certainly has some important pointers for all those involved in work with young people.

As a reviewer it is perhaps important to point out that there are no typographical errors and lots of basic 'Nuts and Bolts' issues are covered. I would have been interested from a policy angle, to have read just how the project was conceived in the first instance and how they have modified and phrased their various applications for funding. Most people in youth work know how difficult it is to evaluate their work, this topic is at least faced

head on, in simple everyday language allowing for the fact that they describe the project overall as "flexible and non-standard"....

I was surprised however that they did not face some other of the contentious issues, such as the professional and ethical dilemmas of 'using' (or should I really say exploiting?) volunteers in these days of "If you cannot Privatise it - Voluntarise it". This issue was not given the attention it demanded and was almost dismissed in three very inconclusive lines. Similarly the conflict of 'using' the State in terms of Manpower Services Commission monies and workers, to maintain the project's momentum. Yet here we seem to have the classic case of a company being formed (with Directors no less!) and working with 'clients' but which is not yet recognised as a charity. There are a whole host of issues here which contemporary youth work has to grapple with and which could lead to a thesis and not a short book review. It also serves to highlight the little examined factor, in youth work literature, of working with volunteer and enthusiastic management groups whose hobby is someone else's livelihood!

Finally I suppose I did really expect some discussion on the fraught issue of working in such a project with such a wide accountability. Bearing in mind that this is to the law, to charitable trusts, the courts, to commerce and to young people and the community at large to whom they are defined as 'at risk' or 'in trouble with the law' - particularly for driving and riding offences. A concluding section on this whole topic would, I am sure, have put all the practical issues described, within a wider context and raised a wider debate. The authors seem to assume that all their readers will unquestioningly accept their standpoint and in this respect I feel they have somehow let us down by not even acknowledging the 'short, sharp, shock' or even the 'Youth-Call' lobbies.

Overall however, for what it sets out to be, this Ruts File 2 is an invaluable record of the processes of developing a project which in the workers own words has not yet settled down. Would that more practitioners attempt to write about their work in such an honest fashion. There may well be the odd eye raised about the author's comments about the difficulties encountered in working with single sex groups. It may be that the odd query will be raised about whether bodies outside Scotland with a different Children and Young Persons policy would look so favourably on such a venture. Nonetheless Ruts File 2 is an important publication, perhaps it can now be matched with a similar practitioner's report of a project in England or Wales.

Ray Fabes

Youth Education Service, Bristol
JOBSTART
Longman Resources Unit
£34.00
4 A4 Pamphlets
pp. 84
15 minute video, jigsaw and card game

Patricia James, Rae Livingstone and Christine Walker
SENSE OF DIRECTION: exploring new prospects with unemployed young people
Community Projects Foundation
60 Highbury Grove, London N5 2AG
ISBN 0 903406 30 2
£1.75
pp. 69

Hard on the heels of the New Right's resurrection of Samuel Smiles as worthy bed-time reading, a

sunrise industry slowly begins to shed its rays over youth centres, drop-in projects and indeed anywhere where two or three young unwaged are gathered together, and a youthworker is there in the midst of them. The name of this new industry is - Support and Resources for self employment in the community. The crisis of youth unemployment has offered to the youth worker a whole range of opportunities for social manipulation and engineering previously only dreamed of. With YOP, WEP, STEP, CEP, YTS and CP, IT and CI and a whole gamut of acronyms contemporaries, we have had delivered into our hands the chance to engage in Shavian debate with youngsters on an almost compulsory basis. Time was when contact with your local youth leader was a voluntary contact - once the fags, petty cash or petrol had gone, off you went to find other things to do, other bears to bait. Now with the involvement of the youth service in all of these "training" and short-term "employment" schemes, youngsters can often only escape by risking their contracts of employment.

"Jobstart", a package of training materials for young people "whose prospects of finding traditional employment are low" (everyone between 16-25?), attempts to provide the basis for work with young people who may be interested in self-employment. Produced by the Bristol based Youth Education Service, this pricey package contains four A4 pamphlets, a supporting video tape, a sample contract and two games. From the point of view of content, the most worthwhile item seems to me to be the video. Fifteen minutes in length, it is about as long as it needs to be and really could prove useful in exploring the theme of setting up in business. In my view however, valuable only from a stimulus basis and with youngsters already moving in that direction. It demonstrates what help is available from the various services and follows the nativity of three actual businesses, a one-man window cleaning service, a soft toy manufacturing business and a co-operatively organised odd-job service, along the lines of the now (in)famous "Instant Muscle".

The video is a business-like item which offers stimulation to explore all sorts of avenues and some practical advice on who to contact and involve. It stresses the importance of good advice, good planning and good organisation and sketches briefly the neighbourhood survey as a market research tool. One irritating feature of the video is that it is based upon still photographs and in consequence has a rather pedestrian pace. The narrator is desperately trying to inject some life and succeeds only in presenting a Famous Five world, in which everyone is jolly nice and jolly helpful and the bank manager lends lashings and lashings of money to the poor, unemployed children. These are however only marginal quibbles.

Far more irritating is the fact that for £34.00, apart from the video, all that the package offers is a rather thin back-up to the video. About 50% of the expensive glossy paper is covered in silly logos, badly drawn cartoons and uninteresting black and white photographs. The texts do little but reiterate the thrust of the video. No analysis is offered of the problems or set backs which businesses might face. The producers claim that the package is flexible but they have also produced something which is so flexible as to be woolly in the extreme. In the final analysis, what the pack provides apart from the video, is a list of things to do loosely joined by a paragraph of advice here and a list of contact addresses there. Anyone capable of listening and watching effectively could do just as well on their own with the pause button of the video and a pencil and paper. "Jobstart" then, is an example of a good initial

idea rather poorly treated. The whole thing could have been more neatly packaged, at a more reasonable cost, in the form of the Community Projects Foundation booklet "A Sense of Direction". Based upon the work of the Priory Lane Project in Dunfermline, the report covers three years commencing in 1980 and treats some very recognisable field work.

The overall impression is that this is a record of a real project trying to find ways to help young people find alternative ways to develop in the face of unemployment. The project itself seems to have been concerned with helping youngsters to find a sense of purpose and discipline in their seemingly purposeless lives and in covering this process, the project is securely located in a wider social context. A variety of educational courses were offered to the client group, relating to technological development, computers and basic education, as well as specific activities within groups, arts and crafts and a womens' group.

The practical process of negotiating both the basis of the contact and the content of the sessions is also disclosed and underpinned by reference to real case histories. Much of the booklet is taken up with analysis of the plight of young people in relation to factors beyond their control, such as unemployment and its real effects on their life chances and personal development, so helping to ground the report in the real world. Practical advice too is available, both in terms of publicity and contact for the project and its various courses and on how to set up an initiative aimed at serving this particular group. From a personal viewpoint, too much provision seems to be based upon the assumed needs of young people. Thus the Priory Lane integrated service approach speaks in favour of careful research, planning and organisation and again, information on how this was carried out is made available in the text. From the viewpoint of someone such as myself working in a drop in centre, it is possible to feel envy for workers who have the opportunity to develop such clear objectives and who have the time and space to implement and constantly reassess their work. I have found however, that it has possible to consider some of the more immediately practical suggestions and findings and to take these on board with a view to future planning.

While there is a definite contrast between the two publications in terms of purpose, the **Community Projects Foundation** booklet seems to me to be the more valuable. The assumptions upon which it is based are made explicit with the whole process of development disclosed. All in all it contains much more useful information than the "Jobstart" package. The assumptions on which the latter is based seem questionable and include the long term nature of planning and implementing employment initiatives where high degrees of commitment from individuals are required. To quote James, Livingstone and Walker, "For most young unemployed people, such schemes are too slow to offer rewards, too uncertain of success, and too high in frustration in relation to satisfaction", although they do admit that enterprises aimed at the 'odd job' market might have more chance of success.

One further question which I can not rationally resolve but which instinctively requires answer in the negative is, should we, as youthworkers, be involved in developing a new breed of entrepreneur? Simply at the level of expertise, should we not concentrate instead on creating a situation where awareness of the underlying reasons for unemployment is nurtured, to the extent that real political choice is in the hands of young people? This is not to question the value of direct collective

action, but to suggest that there be a firm and clear conception of the social and political context of such action and that the quality of the action should reflect this context. This seems to be lacking in the "Jobstart" package, as does an awareness of the record-breaking number of failures of small business, particularly among new starts by inexperienced traders.

It is also necessary to question whether the local economy can support such "community" enterprises. Could for example, areas like Consett, with virtually no primary economic activity, support secondary initiatives of the nature outlined in "Jobstart"? Within the context of Sunderland, a far larger and more diverse local economy than that of Consett, community enterprises frequently fail simply because the local micro economy, based upon benefit, does not carry the disposable income necessary to support such enterprises. It would be irresponsible to encourage youngsters to set up shop only for their attempts to fail, thus further compounding the psychological burden of "failure" which the young unemployed feel most acutely. This leads back to my opening remarks on manipulation and engineering. In conclusion then, read "A Sense of Direction" - as the blurb suggests, "unusually down to earth", and watch the "Job Start" video (if you can afford it) but be aware of the consequences of dabbling in job-creation.

John Carr

Warren Feek
STEPS IN TIME - a guide to agency planning.
Warren Feek and Douglas I. Smith
VALUE JUDGEMENTS - evaluating community based agencies
Booklets 6 and 7 in the Talk About Management Series.
Available at £1.20 each including p.p. from The National Yqth Bureau,
17-23 Albion Street,
Leicester LE1 6GD.

I found previous issues in the **Talk About Management** series most helpful, especially as an aid to in-service work with part-time and full-time youth workers being directly focussed and inexpensive contributions to the management issues of our work. It is pleasing, therefore, to see two more important topics covered by "Steps in Time" and "Value Judgements". Both are predominantly about the central question of deciding aims, purposes and objectives in youth and community work. The message being that you can plan and evaluate with some effectiveness if you know what you are trying to achieve. The title "Steps in Time" suggests an idea of detailed planning to particular ends, whereas in fact, the greater part of the booklet deals with the difficulties of "establishing a direction and pursuing it" (p3), particularly in agencies which meet the needs of individuals, groups and communities. A complex problem, Feek suggests, when compared with the commercial and industrial base from which theories management by objectives emanate.

His aims are to - 1. convince us of the value of planning, to explain the difficulties and pressures in the planning process 2. to explain the difficulties and pressures in the planning process. 3. to explore ways of disentangling the difficulties and pressures in ways which make them identifiable and manageable. He has a straightforward view of the first point; that is we inevitably plan - "so the real decision is not whether to plan, but whether to plan systematically and well" (p2). Five general difficulties of planning in youth and community work are identified; **Intangibility,**

Unpredictability, Diversity, Risks and Over-optimism. However, in many cases the definition of these categories is too loose to be of help. For example, the explanation of unpredictability is, "Workers in youth and community work have chosen an area of work which is, by its very nature, unpredictable" (p3). It was also difficult to pick out the differences in the categories Intangibility and Diversity, where both, essence, attended to matters of describing and assessing our work. There are difficulties in this area, sometimes I think over emphasised, but a more careful analysis would have helped.

The second section, which I interpreted as the pressures or the interplay of forces, is a most useful section. Here Feek discusses nine factors in agency planning - agency philosophy, agency history, participants, staff, management committee (executive), local community (including local govt.) national situation (including central govt.), existing commitments, money, accommodation, equipment. The discussion in all these areas raises useful and important considerations, especially about the participants and the values of the staff in the agency. In line with the previous booklets in this series, there is an attempt to focus on the practicalities of the ideas presents. The method used here, the setting up of a planning weekend for a hypothetical agency. This succeeds in offering comprehensive ideas for 'planning' such a weekend, but a wider look at the practicalities of the ongoing decision-making between staff, local government, the management committee and older participants might have been included. The last four pages, on problem analysis, setting objectives, defining methods and roles, looking at time scales and resources, provide some of the best material in the booklet. Often we work hard at deciding aims, only to dissipate this effort by not clearly communicating them and not attending carefully to the implementation. The last part is focussed on evaluation; "The objectives provide the primary test for the evaluation" (p22), which leads nicely into the next volume - "**Value Judgements**".

"**Value Judgements**" sets out to help in the task of clarifying evaluation and defining evaluation problems in youth and community work. In my experience evaluation in youth and community work tends to be a fairly low priority. In a recent discussion of evaluation via a students recordings, the student supervisor suggested it was, 'typical trainer's rubbish' and that in any event there was no time to evaluate and in any case questioned its value, which all lends weight to the arguments of **The Politics of Youth Clubs** (p5), that - "The contribution that youth clubs have made to the social and educational development of young people in this country, is not in any convincing sense, susceptible to objective measurement". Clearly objective measurement in most fields of human relations is a minefield of methodological complexity. But, if we accept a position denying the possibilities of evaluating our work we have nothing but 'belief in the work' to put in the face of our critics. Feek and Smith recognise in their title that we are faced with more matters of judgement than matters of fact in our evaluations, but they argue positive possibilities. Their work is of value in three ways, 1. a straightforward why? what? how? framework in which to consider evaluation, 2. the definition of 'outcome evaluation', 'process evaluation' and 'service delivery evaluation', and 3. a discussion of the collation and use of information in evaluation. There are two slight drawbacks. One of these is quite common in considering evaluation, and rests in tending to portray evaluation as an additional facet of the activity or project, something which we do on top of what we are doing rather than as part of what we are doing.

Secondly, although mentioned, there could have been a stronger emphasis and elaboration of the ideas of looking at evaluative criteria in the process of setting objectives. In the review of the previous issues, I was critical of some unnecessary graphics, but praised the cartoons. I neglected on that occasion to identify the artist. The illustrations in these two issues are again done by Brik and are funny and to the point. One final valuable feature of this series, is that whilst stressing the importance of good management in youth and community work, there is never the feeling that management ideas and proposed structures become more important than people within organisations.

Bruce Malkin.

Anthony Lawton
YOUTH COUNSELLING MATTERS
National Youth Bureau, 1984
ISBN 0 86155 080 3
£1.50
pp. 27

Youth counselling matters. It most certainly does! But will this report have the effect and impact that the subject matter requires? Unfortunately, I doubt it. In his introduction, the author Anthony Lawton, states that the report was pruned and that some of the more provocative and opinionated sections edited, removing some of the passion and detail of the original, to make it more palatable for the target of the report ' - policy makers at all levels.' So we are left with a report that lacks punch and bite, which goes into great detail about definition of terms but which skips the major issues facing young people today and the concerns and conflicts of a changing world in which they are often, conveniently, denied power.

It is true that the report lists these concerns in a comprehensive way, but any document with such a title, must surely have missed the point if it devotes little more than a page to a chapter entitled '**Young People - Their Work and Expectations**'. This chapter should be the heart of the report, it should proclaim loud and clear the aims and aspirations of young people. Their doubts, fears and concerns about a society that has created them as a transitional group, not child, nor yet adult, and then exploited their spending power without granting them their legitimate share of power in the organisation of their lives. Society heaps responsibilities on to the shoulders of young people but refuses them the power to decide how to meet those responsibilities and thus make a difference in their worlds. The situation that young people find themselves in today is a matter for passion and provocation and the issues should not be ducked.

But what of the report as it stands. It defines terms and considers the base from which services have been developed and the traditions in youth counselling and advisory services. It looks at current provisions and attempts to draw principles from very little information. It states that at the time of writing there were 54 agencies (a footnote updates that to May 1984 when there were 85 such agencies) but makes no attempt to categorise these agencies in detail, by type of provision, number of clients, number of workers, theoretical provision, approach, organisational approach etc. It manages to sum up important initiatives in the space of a sentence or at most a paragraph. I want to know more about the **Teenage Information Network (Southwick)** which has tripartite funding and the **Liverpool Young Persons Advisory Service** staffed by MSC employees. Are these models to be developed or resisted? Do they solve or create

problems?

There are times when the report offers tantalising pieces of information or insight but then fails to deliver. I know that I can approach these organisations myself and gain that information, but there is not even an appendix to the report listing the agencies mentioned, let alone those not mentioned. I expect that a report of this nature would help me to understand current provision and base its recommendations firmly on such information. The chapter makes a number of recommendations, the broad objective of which is the improvement of the standard and scope of services. There are two major recommendations:

1. "A five year "centre of excellence" programme should be established, involving between five and ten existing generalist youth counselling and advisory agencies in a collaborative attempt to improve their services and provide and promote consultancy for other youth counselling and advising agencies".

Fine, but which ten should be chosen, on what basis and by whom? I would have thought this report could have addressed itself to these issues.

2. 'All local youth counselling and advisory agencies, and all national and local organisations engaged in, training for, or concerned about youth counselling and advisory work, should: (a) identify clearly the group(s) of young people and topics they aim to respond to themselves or enable others to respond to; (b) identify the wants and expectations that have been and might be involved; (c) clarify their aims and purposes for such work; (d) review the level, appropriateness and quality of their current youth counselling and advisory work or the work they are doing to foster and promote it.'

This is basic commonsense, all organisations should be clear who their client group is, what it wants and identify how it is going to meet the wants. If the author feels that this is not being done by current organisations then the service is truly in a sorry state.

Perhaps the most unfortunate aspect of this report, is that it seems clear to me, that Anthony Lawton does understand the nature of the problems that face young people and is passionately committed to a comprehensive counselling and advisory service for young people that is independent of the statutory services. He has a clear understanding of the crucial importance of training and support for counsellors, of the difficulty, non-commonsense nature of the work. He makes a plea to all agencies who have responsibility for such work to make funds available and hints often at the tenuous nature of that support from many agencies. Yet my overall impression is that the report does not work. It is methodical and mechanical, and passion has been edited out. What remains is a lack lustre document which has its heart in the right place, but does not have the passion of its convictions.

Tom Adams

analysis

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

law

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

The New Board and Lodging Laws

With the issue of the Supplementary Benefit (Requirements and Resources) Miscellaneous Provisions regulations 1985, which came into effect on 29 April 1985 (otherwise known as the Board and Lodging Regulations), the Government has provided a framework for taking us back to the days of the Poor Law. The Regulations, amongst other things, limit the maximum payment to claimants for Board and Lodging in Hostels, Nursing Homes, Residential Care Homes and ordinary Board and Lodgings, and impose restrictions on the amount of time that certain claimants can be paid Supplementary Benefits as boarders.

Before 29 April 1985, homeless people could claim Supplementary Benefit as boarders up to a maximum amount which was determined by each area DHSS office taking into account local factors. There was no limit to the amount of time a person could claim payment for Board and Lodgings. The new rules have changed all this.

The Rules

1. **Limit for payment in ordinary Board and Lodgings** - The Secretary of State will set up a limit for each Board and Lodging Area (containing one or a group of local DHSS offices) on the maximum price the DHSS will allow claimants to pay for full board (Bed, Breakfast, Dinner and Evening Meal). This will be between £45 and £70, depending on the type of area (eg. the limit in London will be £70, in Nottingham £55, in parts of Tyneside £60), and regardless of whether any accommodation is available at the price. There is no right of appeal against the limit. Where the new limit is lower than previously, there are transitional provisions, but ultimately the claimant will have to move to cheaper accommodation or pay the excess out of her/his personal allowance (£9.25 per week).

2. **Restrictions on Young People** - people under the age of 26 will only be paid as boarders in any one Board and Lodging Area for a limited period of time. The time limits are set by Secretary of State and are either 2, 4 or 8 weeks depending on the area. Notably, in so called seaside areas, the limit is 2 weeks. The young person cannot be paid again as the boarder in the Board and Lodging Area for 6 months. After the time limit has expired, the young person will either:-

1. be paid as a non-householder if they remain in the Board and Lodgings (current rate is £22.45 for anyone over 18. People aged 21 or over will also get £3.30 towards housing costs),
2. be paid a "No Fixed Abode Allowance" if they are homeless (current rate is £29.40 per week, often paid on a daily basis), or
3. be paid as a boarder if they move to a different Board and Lodging Area.

Effectively this means that a young person could, for instance, become homeless in Newcastle and be paid as a boarder for 4 weeks, move to Whitley Bay and be paid as a boarder for 2 weeks, move to London and be paid for 8 weeks, and so on.

Some young people will be exempt from the time limits if they:-

1. have a child,
2. live in a hostel,
3. are pregnant (or have a partner who is),
4. are chronically sick, mentally handicapped, physically disabled or suffer from a mental disorder (or have a partner who is or does),
5. have lived in the accommodation for 6 months while working, prior to claiming Supplementary Benefit (or have a partner who did),
6. have lived in the accommodation for 6 months and were not required to sign on as available for work (or have a partner who did),
7. moved to the accommodation as part of a programme of rehabilitation or resettlement under guidance of, for example, a social worker or probation officer,
8. are a student on vacation who is staying in their normal term-time accommodation,
9. have been in care within the last 12 months (or have a partner who has been), or
10. are under 19 and
 - a) have no parent or no one acting as a parent,
 - b) have had to leave the family home because of physical or moral danger, or
 - c) are in care.

With the new Regulations, introduced against the advice of the Social Security Advisory Committee and despite representations from many individuals and groups, the Government is seeking to:

- reduce expenditure on Commercial Board and Lodgings (£205m was spent in 1982 and an estimated £570m in 1984),
- discourage the expansion of the use of Board and Lodgings by Supplementary Benefit claimants (they cite a significant rise in young people claiming Supplementary Benefit for Board and Lodgings),
- prevent Board and Lodging payments from acting as a work disincentive (they blame youth unemployment partly on the attractiveness of life in lodgings at the seaside).

We feel that, essentially, the Government failed to take account of several factors:

- Rising expenditure on Board and Lodgings is a reflection of both increased prices/lodging charges (and in some cases, out-right profiteering by landlords) and increased homelessness as a result of, among other things, family pressures, poor housing and unemployment.
- House building programmes have been severely cut and large numbers of existing homes are in poor repair. As a consequence, homeless people often have no option but to take up Board and Lodgings, often in appalling conditions.
- Young people do not choose to be unemployed, they are unemployed because there are not enough jobs.
- Life on the dole in Board and Lodgings is not fun. Once board is paid for, Supplementary Benefit claimants are left with £9.25 per week with which to pay for all other requirements, the remainder of their money going directly to the landlords.

The Secretary of State has preserved considerable powers to himself which were previously vested in local DHSS Offices and this effectively removes any right of appeal for the claimant regarding limit of payment or time spent in Board and Lodgings.

Impact

No one is yet certain how many young people will be affected by this legislation. What is certain is that young homelessness will increase. There is a likelihood that some young people will be forced to move around the country, thereby limiting their access to Council or other permanent accommodation, jobs, friends, etc., and this mobility will obviously have an effect upon the person's right to register to vote or even to marry! Perversely, the Government will not make the savings that they anticipate, as young people will still be claiming for Board and Lodgings, and additionally, the problem of young homelessness will increase in the larger urban areas, as young people will be drawn to the areas where the time limit is longest.

Other young people, in part because of the unavailability of travel warrants, will be forced into worse living arrangements in their own area, such as staying with friends or relatives, sleeping on floors, sleeping rough, in other words, becoming part of the growing numbers of the "hidden" homeless, who, of course, will not appear in Government figures.

With these Regulations, the Government is furthering its policies on the family in that there would appear to be a presumption that young people should live at home. The reality is that many young people cannot remain within the family unit for a variety of reasons. Consequently, the only alternative for many will be to approach their local authority. The reality for local authorities will be that their already limited resources will be stretched further in their attempts to make a provision for homeless young people in their areas.

benefits

Rod Crawford is currently preparing a review of Norman Fowler's Green Paper which, due to lateness of publication, has been held over to the next issue (14).

Erratum

In the last issue the headings for the feature review were incorrect. The Correct Version should be as follows:

Bolger S. and Scott D.
STARTING FROM STRENGTHS
National Youth Bureau 1984
ISBN 086155079X
£2.55

Wiggins A.
MAKING THE PAST COUNT - Extension Report One
National Youth Bureau 1984
ISBN 0861550811
75p.

John G. and Parkes N.
WORKING WITH BLACK YOUTH - Extension Report Two
National Youth Bureau 1984
ISBN 086155082X
75p.

Taylor P.
JUST SOMETHING TO DO - Extension Report Three
National Youth Bureau 1984
ISBN 0861550838
75p.

Lacey F. and Sprent S.
WOMEN, TRAINING AND CHANGE - Extension Report Four
National Youth Bureau 1984
ISBN 0861550846
74p.

'Monitor for' this issue:

Sunderland Community Resource Centre
R. Jenks
A. McAll
J. Wright
M. Yardley

Code

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

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

V57 N127

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Barry Jones asked the Sec. State Wales what percentage of school leavers in Wales joined youth training schemes in 1983-84; how many Y.T.S. places in total exist in Wales in 1984; what percentage of places remain unfilled in 1984; and what effort he is making to improve the take-up of the places.
Mr. John Stradling Thomas: Of the eligible school leavers who entered the labour market in 1983 approximately 78 per cent. have so far joined the youth training scheme. At 29 February 1984 the number of approved places was 24,337 and at that date the number of places occupied was 16,330 amounting to 67 per cent. of places available. The target number of entrants for the end of February 1984 was set at 24,250 and by 29 February 21,093 had entered the scheme in Wales which represents 87 per cent of the profiled entry for that date. A national press and TV campaign will be launched shortly which, together with local marketing, initiatives, will further emphasise the opportunities available under the scheme.

V57 N128

Children's Homes WA

Mr. Gordon Brown asked the Sec. State Social Services how many residential places were available for children in local authority homes and registered voluntary homes 1983 and in each year from 1979.
Mr. Newton: These statistics have not been collected centrally. In 1983 of the 109 local authorities from whom more limited information was requested, 99 provided returns about residential places which have been amalgamated as follows:

	Community homes with observation and assessment facilities	Community homes with education on the premises
At 31 March 1983	3,894	3,993

The types of local authority home about which the information requested is not available centrally are ordinary community homes, community homes providing hostel facilities and residential nurseries.
 At 31 March 1983, the number of residential places available in registered voluntary homes was 2,203.

Full-time Education WA

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett asked the Sec State for Educ to what factors he attributes the fall in the proportion of 16-year-olds in full-time education from 48 per cent. in 1983 to 44 per cent. in the current year.
Sir Keith Joseph: This year's figures are provisional estimates which reflect a number of factors including the introduction of the youth training scheme and what are widely reported to have been better employment opportunities for young people in some areas. The estimates referred to in the hon. Member's question show a proportionate increase also in the categories that include employed 16-year-olds.

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. William Powell asked the Sec State for Employment how many young people have unreasonably refused suitable youth training scheme places in Northamptonshire and in the Corby area at the latest convenient date; and how many have had their benefit reduced in consequence.
Mr. Peter Morrison: Only one case of unreasonable refusal of a youth training scheme was reported in Northamptonshire between 1 September 1983 and 31 December 1983, the latest period for which information is available. That case arose in the Corby area and resulted in disqualification.

Mental Health Act 1982 OA

Mr. Proctor asked the Sect State Social Services whether he is satisfied with the operation of the Mental Health Act 1982; and if he will make a statement.
Mr. Kenneth Clark: The Mental Health (Amendment) Act 1982 was consolidated with the 1959 Act into the Mental Health Act 1983, almost all of which was implemented satisfactorily on 30 September last year. I am very pleased with the bringing into operation of the provisions of the legislation so far.
Mr. Proctor: Is my right hon. and learned Friend satisfied with the speed with which mental health review tribunal hearings are taking place?
Mr. Clark: I am glad to say that I am, and, in particular, section 2 applications are being dealt with within the statutory time limit that was laid down.

V57 N129

SOCIAL SERVICES

Costs (Statistics) WA
Mr. Marlow asked the S State Social Services what is the cost per week per worker calculated by dividing the gross cost by the total numbers in employment in the United Kingdom of (a) housing benefit, (b) the National Health Service budget, (c) the social security budget and (d) the total budget

of his Department.

Mr. Fowler: On the basis given in my hon. Friend's question, the figures for Great Britain are that on average housing benefit costs £3 per worker per week, the National Health Service £13, social security in total £29, and the National Health Service and social security combined, including administration, £43.

These figures are based on Great Britain data for 1983-84, rounded to the nearest £1. Figures for Northern Ireland are not readily available in the form requested.

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Bruce asked the Sec State for Employment how many young people have entered the youth training scheme since it began.

Mr. Peter Morrison: 342,317 young people had entered the youth training scheme up to the end of February 1984. Information on the number of disabled entrants to the scheme is only available quarterly. By the end of December 1983, 1,899 young people known to be disabled had entered the scheme.

Mr. Spearing asked the Sec. State Employment what evaluation he has requested, received, or made concerning the respective merits of modes A and B of the youth training scheme; where any such evaluation is published; and what subsequent actions he has taken.

Mr. Peter Morrison: As stated in the White Paper "Training for Jobs" (Cmnd. 9135), so far as possible training under the Youth Training Scheme will be provided through employer-led (mode A schemes), though mode B provision will continue to be needed. It has recently been agreed that a detailed evaluation programme of the scheme as a whole will be carried out.

Higher Education (Non-mature Students) WA

Mr. Radice asked the Sec State Education what proportion of non-mature student entrants to higher education institutions in each of the past 10 years have been female and what proportion of those female entrants were educated at fee-paying, grammar and comprehensive schools respectively.

Sir Keith Joseph: The available information is as follows. As the pattern in women's enrolments to higher education was influenced by the reduction in initial teacher training courses during the 1970s, the second line in the following table shows entry to higher education excluding these courses. Information on the type of school attended is readily available only in respect of girls leaving schools in England intending to take up full-time degree courses. The falling share attributable to the grammar schools reflects similar fall in their share of all pupils.

Percentages

	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83
GREAT BRITAIN										
Percentage of entrants to higher education aged under 21 who were women	46	46	44	43	42	42	43	43	43	44
Percentage of entrants to non-teacher training higher education aged under 21 who were women	36	37	37	38	39	39	41	42	42	43
ENGLAND										
Girls leaving school intending to take up full-time degree courses—percentage from*:										
Grammar schools	43	36	31	26	21	19	13	13	11	11
Other maintained schools	29	38	43	49	54	58	64	64	66	65
Independent schools	28	26	26	25	25	23	22	23	23	25

*Percentages may not sum due to rounding.

V57 N130

Education and Science WA
16 and 17-year-olds

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett asked the Sec State Education how many pupils, and what percentage, remain at school after they reach the age of 16 years and after 17 years in each local education authority in January 1983.

Sir Keith Joseph: The numbers and proportions of pupils remaining at maintained schools after 16 and 17 years in each local education authority in England in January 1983 are as follows.

	Number of pupils aged 16 remaining at school	Proportion of pupils aged 16 remaining at school	Numbers of pupils aged 17 remaining at school	Proportion of pupils aged 17 remaining at school
Barking	516	22.5	258	11.1
Barnet	2,070	55.9	1,276	33.4
Bexley	1,220	34.8	646	18.9
Brent	1,572	48.1	737	21.0
Bromley	1,723	42.6	982	24.3
Croydon	1,582	33.8	921	19.6
Ealing	1,498	42.3	674	19.0
Enfield	1,527	38.6	829	21.2
Haringey	1,038	37.8	437	15.0
Harrow	1,220	50.8	745	29.7
Havering	1,137	28.2	762	19.4
Hillingdon	1,328	39.6	650	19.2
Hounslow	1,315	46.5	725	24.3
Kingston-upon-Thames	803	46.8	471	27.1
Merton	937	41.7	492	21.7
Newham	1,050	30.5	433	12.9
Redbridge	1,104	36.8	658	21.1
Richmond-upon-Thames*	11	0.7	1	0.1
Sutton	908	38.5	582	24.4
Waltham Forest	1,136	37.0	449	15.2
ILEA	10,377	36.1	5,117	16.8
Birmingham	4,590	27.4	2,624	15.3
Coventry	1,336	26.3	804	15.1
Dudley	827	17.4	724	15.5
Sandwell	1,063	20.8	686	13.3
Solihull	843	24.1	706	19.9
Walsall	1,189	24.6	826	17.2
Wolverhampton	1,089	26.0	655	15.2
Knowsley	707	20.7	348	9.6
Liverpool	1,999	25.1	1,283	14.9
St. Helens	743	24.0	589	18.8
Sefton	1,431	29.7	1,010	19.4
Wirral	1,545	29.5	984	18.2
Bolton	985	22.8	760	17.2
Bury	810	29.3	580	21.0
Manchester	2,079	28.3	1,283	16.7
Oldham	611	17.9	412	12.1
Rochdale	897	27.1	567	16.6
Salford	923	23.9	653	15.6
Stockport	1,475	32.8	994	21.2
Tameside	598	17.2	495	14.1
Trafford	578	17.5	524	15.4
Wigan*	1,002	19.0	714	14.0
Barnsley	582	16.2	395	10.4
Doncaster	1,237	24.9	845	16.8
Rotherham	950	21.1	626	14.5
Sheffield	2,284	25.7	1,543	17.5
Bradford	2,194	31.7	1,140	16.7
Calderdale	874	28.9	575	19.1
Kirklees	1,513	26.6	1,121	18.9
Leeds	3,387	30.5	1,900	16.8
Wakefield	831	16.3	530	10.5
Gateshead	720	21.6	384	11.4
Newcastle upon Tyne	1,113	28.1	706	16.9
North Tyneside	852	28.2	542	17.7
South Tyneside	541	20.1	383	13.8
Sunderland	1,012	20.7	725	14.5
Avon	4,285	31.6	2,528	18.3
Bedfordshire	2,690	33.6	1,403	17.1
Berkshire	3,501	34.7	2,271	21.8
Buckinghamshire	3,021	34.8	2,124	24.8
Cambridgeshire	2,396	28.5	1,507	18.1
Cheshire	3,883	26.3	3,023	19.8
Cleveland	2,601	25.5	1,859	17.9
Cornwall	1,895	30.3	1,087	17.8
Cumbria	1,826	24.3	1,278	16.4
Derbyshire*	2,897	20.6	2,104	14.9
Devon*	2,738	20.4	1,916	14.4
Dorset	2,065	24.9	1,534	18.5
Durham	2,021	21.0	1,472	14.8
East Sussex	2,867	35.3	1,680	21.1
Essex	7,425	32.5	4,396	19.2
Gloucestershire	2,172	27.8	1,534	19.4
Hampshire*	6,715	30.8	4,608	20.8
Hereford and Worcester	2,500	26.3	1,672	17.6
Hertfordshire	5,883	38.6	3,658	23.8
Humberside	3,710	25.6	2,264	15.6
Isle of Wight	574	32.6	322	18.9
Kent	7,525	32.8	4,455	19.3
Lancashire*	4,324	20.9	3,289	15.5
Leicestershire	4,685	35.1	2,868	21.2
Lincolnshire	1,797	21.7	1,299	15.8
Norfolk	2,159	21.8	1,368	13.5
North Yorkshire	3,122	31.6	2,209	22.2
Northamptonshire	2,315	27.1	1,399	16.4
Northumberland	1,338	31.8	906	20.3
Nottinghamshire	3,594	22.5	2,387	14.7
Oxfordshire	2,718	34.2	1,623	19.8
Shropshire*	1,590	26.2	1,089	18.0
Somerset*	1,038	17.6	635	11.0
Staffordshire	3,637	22.8	2,464	15.3
Suffolk	2,500	28.5	1,352	15.6
Surrey	5,964	46.6	3,736	28.5
Warwickshire	1,814	24.1	1,274	17.0
West Sussex	3,571	40.3	2,151	23.3
Wiltshire	2,214	27.7	1,342	16.5
England	203,052	28.9	127,567	17.9

LEAs marked * are known to have a tertiary college system. In January 1983, the system was most extensive in Richmond upon Thames, Wigan and Somerset with over 50 per cent. of those 16 and 17-year-olds remaining in education being taught in tertiary colleges.

V57 N132

Youth Training and Work Experience WA

Mr. Madden asked the Sec State Employment what measures have been introduced, since the start of the youth training scheme, to improve safety.

Mr. Peter Morrison Trainees on the youth training scheme have always been covered by the Health and Safety at Work etc. Act 1974 in broadly the same way as employees. However, the Health and Safety (Youth Training Scheme) Regulations 1983, which came into operation on 11 January 1984, now require that trainees on the youth training scheme are treated in exactly the same way as employees.

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Gordon Brown asked the Sec State Employment how many young people have entered the youth training scheme; and how many are currently in training on the latest day for which figures are available. for Scotland and the United Kingdom.

Mr. Peter Morrison: At the end of February, the number of entrants to the youth training scheme in Scotland was 36,280 and in Great Britain 342,317. The numbers in training were 29,435 and 259,282 respectively.

V57 N133

School Inspectors (Visits and Reports) OA

Mr. Fisher asked the Sec State Education what is the (a) shortest, (b) longest and (c) average period of time between the end of Her Majesty's inspectors visits to a school or group of schools and the publication of their report.

The Secretary of State for Education and Science (Sir Keith Joseph): Her Majesty's inspectors report orally at the end of their inspections to the head and, usually, to the governors shortly afterwards. Their written reports are now normally published between one and two terms after the inspection.

Mr. Fisher: Is the Secretary of State aware that some reports have not been published for as long as two years after the initial visit? Does he agree that that is far too long? Is the delay due to slowness in drafting, slow approval by the Department, or slow printing? What steps will the Secretary of State take to change the situation? Does he agree that if schools implement a report's recommendations quickly they can find themselves in the impossible position, when the report comes out of being criticised for faults which they have already put right?

Sir Keith Joseph: Yes, for every reason, the sooner the report is published the better. The long delays were due to teething troubles at the beginning of the publication process. The time taken generally involves the gathering together to complete their report of the inspectors, who are quickly engaged on other inspections. There is no particular problem about inspecting or printing now, and the average time taken is about six months.

Mr. Dickens: Is my right hon. Friend taking any steps to speed up the process.

Sir Keith Joseph: As I tried to explain, the process has been remarkably speeded up and now takes on average only about six months. Taking into account the business of the inspectors who have to gather together to agree their report while doing other inspections, I think that the time taken is quite commendable.

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett: We are delighted that the reports are being published, but we press the Government to try to speed up the time taken. It is a little demoralising for a school and its governors when, having received a verbal report and having started to put things right, out comes a report which implies that the school is still failing to meet the standards that everyone would like it to meet.

Sir Keith Joseph: I entirely agree, but I am not sure whether it will be practical to make the time much shorter than the present average.

Mr. Pawsey: Can my right hon. Friend tell the House what he believes to be the principal benefits of publishing reports? What lesson does he think have been learnt by the Department from their publication?

Sir Keith Joseph: It is not so much that the Department has learnt, because Ministers have always read the reports, but that the schools concerned have benefited. The purpose is to encourage the local education authorities, which are taking the reports this seriously, not only to apply the lessons learnt in the school inspected, but to generalise from that in relation to all the schools in an area. I hope that more of them are taking this seriously.

Further Education Colleges OA

Mr. Ashton asked the Sec State Education what will be the effect on further education colleges of the cut in mode B youth training scheme provision.

Sir Keith Joseph: In 1983-84 many approved places for mode B schemes were not filled. The reduction in provision is intended to lead to a closer match between supply and demand, giving colleges a sounder basis for planning.

Mr. Ashton: Is the Minister not aware that the places were not filled because industry is running at half pace? Five years ago, North Nottinghamshire technical college in my constituency turned out 80 skilled apprentices. The figure has now fallen to 30. Under these proposals, no skilled apprentices will be turned out. Instead, the Manpower Services Commission will turn out a handful of lads for bucket and ladder jobs. In such a situation, how will we produce the skills and technology that are needed to put the country back on its feet?

Sir Keith Joseph: The hon. Gentleman must recognise that the technologies of the industries that he has in mind have changed dramatically and that in recent years they have gone through a grisly period as they have tried to recover their competitiveness. As a result, the numbers of apprenticeships have been very much reduced. However, I am glad to say that the Government, the employers and the education service are dramatically increasing the number of places in the new technologies, where there is a huge demand.

Mr. Lyell: A great many of the places provided last year at a wasted cost of up to £70 million were used to train no one. We must get the right match, so that the many good B1 schemes are taken up by young people and the others are abandoned, with the money being used more wisely elsewhere.

Sir Keith Joseph: I agree. A more effective deployment of the money is the motive underlying my answer to the question asked by Mr. Ashton.

Mr. Sheerman: Some of the best mode B1 and B2 schemes are being cut, with no evaluation of how good they are. Many people believe that there is no consultation between the Department of Education and Science and the Department of Employment before the savage cuts which affect the future of our further education colleges and our young people are made?

Sir Keith Joseph: Those are wild allegations. The reduction in the number of mode B places simply reflects the fact that there was not a demand for all the places provided last year.

Mr. Hayes: Will my right hon. Friend confirm that last year there were 95,000 mode B1 places available, that the uptake was 55,000, and that the Government have cut back the number of places to 75,000?

Sir Keith Joseph: My hon. Friend's figures are more or less the same as mine, except that he is bringing together the mode B1 and mode B2 figures. My figures are slightly different, but show a similar lack of demand for the places that were available.

Development Council for Continuing Education OA

Mr. Dormand asked the Sec State Education what representations he has received for the establishment of a development council for continuing education.

Mr. Peter Brooke: About 70 letter have been received in the Department since 1 January 1983, and I have discussed the issue with representatives of the local authority associations and the Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education. Although we do not intend to set up a council of the sort proposed by ACACE, my right hon. Friend has agreed to grant-aid the development unit being established by the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education.

Mr. Dormand: That is an extremely unsatisfactory answer. Is the Minister aware that since the Government abolished the advisory council there has been a yawning gap in this area? Does he realise that without such an organisation continuing education will inevitably suffer? Is the Government's attitude on such a council based on principle, or on financial considerations?

Mr. Brooke: ACACE wanted a large council, with a substantial annual budget. We doubt the wisdom of channelling all adult education development funds through a single agency, bearing in mind the existence of other relevant bodies such as the further education unit and the adult literacy and basic skills unit. The arrangement that we have in mind provides the flexibility that is needed. The unit provides a central focus, but there is a choice of agencies to carry out specific projects.

Mr. Greenway: Does my hon. Friend accept that adult and continuing education has a great role to play in retraining for work and in providing self-identity to the old and unemployed? Will he make it a priority to give a higher profile to this important service?

Mr. Brooke: I am delighted to tell my hon. Friend that the expenditure from my Department will increase by 14 per cent. next year and by 22 per cent. in the following year.

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Murphy asked the Sec State Employment how many youth training scheme places have (a) been filled and (b) remain vacant in Hertfordshire and in Welwyn Hatfield at the last convenient date; and how this compares with the national average.

Mr. Peter Morrison: Information is not available in the precise form requested. The following table provides the number of youth training scheme places approved, and the number of young people in training, as at the end of February for Mid-Hertfordshire, Hertfordshire and Great Britain.

	Number of YTS places approved	Numbers in training
Mid-Hertfordshire*	771	527
Hertfordshire	4,561	2,960
Great Britain	442,356	259,282

* Includes Welwyn, Hatfield and Potters Bar.

Mr. Nellist asked the Sec State Employment if sponsors on the youth training scheme are entitled to stop amounts from trainees' allowances by way of imposing discipline for late arrival or breach of rules.

Mr. Peter Morrison: All sponsors are required to have grievance and discipline procedures and to explain them to their trainees. Sponsors who already have such procedures for their own employees are likely to apply them to their trainees. In other cases, special procedures must be set up. In both cases financial penalties may be included as part of these procedures.

"What Opportunities for Youth" WA

Mr. Foster asked the Sec State for Employment if he concurs with the findings of the report by Youthaid, "What Opportunities for Youth", a copy of which has been sent to him; and if he now plans any changes to the scheme.

Mr. Peter Morrison: No. The Youthaid article was based on one of several studies examining the role of the youth opportunities programme between 1978 and 1982 in different parts of the country. The study was in fact completed before the commencement of the youth training scheme and the article's comments on this scheme are therefore purely speculative.

YMCA (Training for Life Scheme) WA

Mr. Wainwright asked the Sec State Employment if he will list the number of training places notified to the Manpower Services Commission as being lost through financial cutbacks on the Young Men's Christian Association training for life scheme; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Peter Morrison: As part of the policy of relating mode B1 provision under the youth training scheme to estimated uptake, it is currently planned for there to be a net reduction of 773 places on the association's training for life scheme.

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Welsh asked the Sec State Education and Science what long-term role his Department will have in maintaining standards and establishing standards in the educational component of the youth training scheme.

Sir Keith Joseph: The MSC is responsible to my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Employment for the standards of the youth training scheme. A DES official acts as an assessor to the commission's advisory group on content and standards and within the limits of its resources Her Majesty's Inspectorate will monitor and report on the quality of college-based provision for trainees as it does for other educational provision. The inspectorate has recently undertaken a survey of the provision made by a sample of colleges and a report will be published in due course.

Universities and Polytechnics WA

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett asked the Prime Minister if the Government are planning to close any universities or polytechnics over the next 16 years.

The Prime Minister: The closure of institutions cannot be ruled out if the demand for higher education falls. The Government's objective is to maintain access to higher.

Unemployed Young Persons WA

Mr. Allen McKay asked the Sec State for Education and Science if he will estimate the proportion of the 370,000 unemployed 16 and 17-year-olds as at January 1984 who were taking advantage of the 21-hour rule.

Sir Keith Joseph: The provisional estimate of the number of unemployed 16 and 17-year-olds claiming benefit at January 1984 is 270,000, not 370,000. It is not possible to provide information about the proportion of this group undertaking part-time study while seeking employment but a recent report by the Youthaid organisation indicated that the number of 16 to 18-year-olds in England taking advantage of the 21-hour rule in 1981-82 probably exceeded 5,000.

V57 N134

Football Hooliganism OA

Mr. Pendry asked the Sec State for Environment if he will consider making his liaison group a more effective body in the monitoring of football hooliganism.

Mr. Macfarlane: The task of the liaison group is to co-ordinate policy and precautions against violence associated with soccer. I am currently reviewing, in the light of recent events, all options open to the Government.

Mr. Pendry: Is the Minister aware that his liaison group met last on 16 February about two weeks before the England-France game in Paris which, as the House knows, resulted in appalling violence? How can the Minister be satisfied that the liaison group is an effective body to combat football hooliganism unless it meets regularly immediately before and after such games so that the right conclusions may be drawn? When will the Minister publish the results of his inquiry into the matter?

Mr. Macfarlane: I understand the hon. Gentleman's anxiety, but he must not assume that because a meeting took place in February it was necessarily associated with the Paris match. Preparations for that match and others began last September, with dialogue at varying levels, as I have told the hon. Gentleman. The liaison group is essentially a partnership between football governing bodies and the relevant Departments. Mistakes have occurred, and we must continue to consider urgently problems surrounding the stadium, distribution of tickets and travel.

Sir Anthony Grant: Is my hon. Friend satisfied that clubs and players are doing all that they can to curb this nonsense? Does the Minister think that the antics of some footballers during and immediately after matches, which did not occur in the days of Sir Stanley Matthews, Bobby Charlton and other great players unnecessarily excite the more lunatic elements in the crowd?

Mr. Macfarlane: The performance and actions of some football players can undoubtedly inflame spectators. However, the worst excesses of violence have occurred outside the stadium and, more recently, outside this country. Violence outside the stadium is a continuing problem for all civil authorities.

Mr. John Hunt: Is it not true that many thugs and hooligans can be readily identified through television coverage of matches? Can more be done to track down and prosecute them by that means?

Mr. Macfarlane: I agree with my hon. Friend that that is an important aspect. Many prosecutions result from such identification, helped by equipment inside the stadium and elsewhere. Clearly,

much of my hon. Friend's question should be diverted to my hon. Friends at the Home Office.

Mr. Ashton: Why is it that when a handful of hooligans can wreck a football stadium in Paris, the Government do nothing but wring their hands and set up a committee of inquiry, yet when miners want to go on peaceful picketing, they are stopped and over 500 are arrested—

Mr. Speaker: Order. That is widening the question too far.

Mr. Macfarlane: The hon. Gentleman must understand that the offences during the recent England-France match occurred outside this country. Unless the French authorities prosecute and convict, there is not statutory system in this country whereby a prosecution can take place for offences committed outside the country.

Sir Kenneth Lewis: Is my hon. Friend aware that much of the violence comes about because the young people who go to the matches have too easy access to drink?

Mr. Macfarlane: I take note of that point. Many league clubs automatically prohibit alcohol. We try to operate a voluntary system in this country.

Dr. Cunningham: Does not the Minister agree that as football hooligans pose a real threat to the reputation of this country, more needs to be done to stop them travelling abroad in the first place? If the police can stop miners going about peaceful picketing, why cannot the Government come up with proposals to prevent football hooligans from doing what they are doing? That is an important question. Do not the events in Paris confirm what my hon. Friend the Member for Stalybridge and Hyde (Mr. Pendry) said — that present Government policy is not working, and new initiatives are required?

Mr. Macfarlane: The present Government policy is very much working. Overseas travel and the problems surrounding English clubs and the international sides were of such concern to me that I began the European initiative in January 1983, working with some 20 other Ministers responsible for sport in the Council of Ministers. I believe that it still has time to work. Mistakes occurred on the other side of the English Channel. We are looking closely at those matters.

Manpower Services Commission WA

Mr. Janner asked the Sec State Employment how many persons are employed by his Department to check upon, supervise, regulate or otherwise watch over the work of the Manpower Services Commission; what are their grades; and what is the annual cost of such persons to the Revenue.

Mr. Peter Morrison: I shall reply to the hon. and learned Member as soon as possible.

Sir Philip Holland asked the Sec State Employment if he will list the secondary education projects that are partially or wholly funded by the Manpower Services Commission; and if he will give the amount of such funding in each case and for each education authority.

Mr. Peter Morrison: Under the Government's technical and vocational education initiative, the Manpower Services Commission is currently supporting pilot projects in 14 local education authorities. The Commission is funding the following authorities over the five academic years 1983-84 to 1988-89 as follows:

Work Experience WA

Mr. Madden asked the Sec State for Employment why the MSC is unwilling to agree that every place where work experience is being provided is visited or inspected by any Manpower Services Commission or Health and Safety Executive officer.

Mr. Peter Morrison: Health and safety legislation places the prime responsibility for the health and safety of employees and youth training scheme trainees on the employer or occupier of the premises where work or training is being provided.

Manpower Services Commission staff appraise all proposals for training under the scheme, including consideration of the adequacy of health and safety provision. Inspectors of the Health and Safety Executive plan their visits to premises on the basis of a full assessment of relative hazards, and the presence of young people at a site is a factor that is considered in the assessment made.

V58 N138

Youth Training Scheme OA

Sir William van Straubenzee asked the Sec State for Defence whether more recruits are now joining the armed forces youth training scheme and its civilian counterpart.

The Under-Secretary of State for Defence Procurement (Mr. John Lee): Recruits are continuing to join the armed services youth training scheme, and last month some 50 trainees joined the scheme, making more than 650 in total.

With regard to our civilian scheme I am pleased to say that there are signs that the number of young people wishing to join the scheme is increasing, and about 170 of the 250 training places available are filled.

Sir William van Straubenzee: Bearing in mind the value of the armed forces YTS, has he fresh ideas to increase the numbers of those taking part?

Mr. Lee: We are continuing actively to promote schemes through recruiting officers, newspaper articles, local radio and television. In many ways the youngsters on the schemes are themselves the best possible ambassadors.

Mr. Greenway: How many of those on the armed services YTS might be recruited into the services permanently if they so wish?

Mr. Lee: Few of those on the armed services YTS have moved to our regular forces. Obviously, at the end of the year youngsters on the scheme must compete with civilians, but they have an advantage.

Mr. Evans: Is it not time for the Minister to admit that the scheme is a disastrous flop and scrap it?

Mr. Lee: It is certainly not a disaster. More than 3,000 youngsters applied, of whom 2,387 were rejected because they did not meet the high standards that we demand. About 660 youngsters are at present on the armed forces scheme and 170 are on the civilian scheme.

Manpower Service Commission (Manpower Boards) WA

Mr. Sheerman asked the Sec. State for Employment how many women are members of area manpower boards of the Manpower Services Commission; and what proportion this represents of all members.

Mr. Peter Morrison: There are 70 women of area manpower boards and this represents 7 per cent. of the total membership. Six boards are chaired by women Services Commission.

Mr. Sheerman asked the Sec State for Employment how many people of ethnic minorities are members of area manpower boards of the Manpower Service Commission; and what proportion this represents of all members.

Mr. Peter Morrison: Seventeen, which represents 2.6 per cent. of all members. I understood that a number of others have been co-opted by individual boards from time to time.

Manpower Services Commission WA

Mr. Janner asked the Sec. State Employment how many persons are employed by his Department to check upon, supervise, regulate or otherwise watch over the work of the Manpower Services Commission; what are their grades; and what is the annual cost of such persons to the Revenue.

Mr. Peter Morrison: The number and grades of staff working full time within our Department in co-operation with the work of the Manpower Services Commission and in accordance with the requirements of the Employment and Training Act 1973 are as follows:

Grade	Number*	Annual overall cost £
5	2	97,284
Principal	6	212,946
SEO	6	175,506
HEO	7	170,751
HEO(D)	2	48,786
AT	1	18,420
EO	4	79,704
CO	3	43,587
CA	2	23,774
PS	2	26,154
	35	896,912

* As at 1 April 1984.

Recoupment costs WA

Mr. Leigh asked the Sec. State Education if he will clarify the situation concerning the granting of recoupment costs under the further education regulations 1980 for pupils wishing to attend out-of-country schools and A-level colleges.

Sir Keith Joseph: The recoupment of the cost to local education authorities of providing school or further education for pupils and students who belong to the area of another authority is governed by section 31 of the Education Act 1980 and, in the area of Greater London and its contiguous countries, by section 31(8) of the London Government Act 1963. Authorities providing primary, secondary and sixth form education in schools (including sixth form colleges) to pupils from another authority are entitled to recoupment. Those providing education to children under 5 and for students in further education colleges are entitled to recoupment only where the provision was made with the consent of the home authority. Slightly different arrangements apply for London and contiguous countries.

Northumberland	2,187	1,449	46.5	30.4	—
Nottinghamshire	7,119	4,284	42.5	25.4	—
Oxfordshire	4,338	2,683	41.8	24.2	*
Shropshire	3,095	2,047	43.7	28.0	—
Somerset	3,196	1,793	42.6	23.0	—
Staffordshire	7,807	4,776	47.2	28.9	—
Suffolk	3,814	2,121	39.6	21.5	—
Surrey	8,074	5,565	46.4	30.9	—
Warwickshire	4,266	2,685	52.5	32.6	*
West Sussex	5,077	3,542	48.2	32.8	—
Wiltshire	4,283	2,668	47.2	28.2	—

Pupils and students aged 16 and 17 in full-time education in maintained school and further education establishments in 1982-83

Local Education Authority	Numbers of pupils/students		Percentage of the relevant population		Authorities indicating no expenditure on EMAs in financial
	Aged 16	Aged 17	Aged 16	year 1982-83	
Barking	870	463	38.1	20.0	—
Barnet	2,580	1,842	60.7	42.0	—
Bexley	1,885	1,060	55.5	45.9	—
Brent	2,153	1,565	53.3	37.4	—
Bromley	2,300	1,446	49.3	30.3	—
Croydon	2,330	1,586	45.0	29.9	—
Ealing	2,086	1,378	50.4	32.6	—
Enfield	2,089	1,351	53.5	34.1	—
Haringey	1,622	1,165	50.0	34.7	—
Harrow	1,644	1,121	54.3	36.1	—
Havering	1,998	1,174	51.3	29.9	—
Hillingdon	1,748	1,079	46.6	27.6	—
Hounslow	1,618	1,117	52.1	34.9	—
Kingston-upon-Thames	1,087	724	58.5	38.1	—
Merton	1,301	781	55.9	32.9	—
Newham	1,619	910	46.7	25.7	—
Redbridge	1,676	1,075	49.4	31.0	—
Richmond-upon-Thames	904	642	40.9	28.1	—
Sutton	1,398	897	56.8	36.1	*
Waltham Forest	1,644	908	51.6	28.3	—
Inner London	14,798	9,421	41.3	24.8	—
Birmingham	7,779	4,584	43.9	25.3	—
Coventry	2,536	1,597	44.3	27.3	—
Dudley	1,915	1,244	41.5	27.4	*
Sandwell	1,957	1,186	38.2	23.2	*
Solihull	1,977	1,323	55.8	37.6	*
Walsall	2,002	1,357	43.5	29.6	—
Wolverhampton	1,901	1,185	41.8	25.9	—
Knowsley	1,445	748	40.2	20.2	—
Liverpool	3,244	2,239	35.1	23.4	—
St. Helens	1,677	1,009	52.6	31.6	—
Sefton	2,539	1,706	49.0	32.5	—
Wirral	2,694	1,889	48.4	33.8	—
Bolton	1,961	1,340	46.3	31.7	—
Bury	1,449	965	50.7	33.6	—
Manchester	3,122	2,131	36.5	23.7	—
Oldham	1,256	822	35.5	23.4	—
Rochdale	1,307	908	38.6	26.9	—
Salford	1,645	1,131	38.5	26.0	*
Stockport	2,362	1,705	50.9	36.8	—
Tameside	1,428	948	40.7	27.0	—
Trafford	1,755	1,262	47.2	33.7	*
Wigan	2,594	1,572	52.0	31.9	—
Barnsley	1,378	731	37.0	19.8	—
Doncaster	2,179	1,344	43.5	26.3	—
Rotherham	2,223	1,103	53.4	26.6	—
Sheffield	3,978	2,436	43.9	26.6	—
Bradford	3,196	1,817	42.1	23.8	—
Calderdale	1,408	951	46.0	31.1	—
Kirklees	2,781	1,945	45.7	32.3	—
Leeds	5,161	3,088	42.2	24.7	*
Wakefield	2,055	1,206	39.4	23.2	—
Gateshead	1,268	634	36.3	17.9	—
Newcastle upon Tyne	1,686	1,106	35.6	25.7	—
North Tyneside	1,437	901	45.7	28.3	—
South Tyneside	1,278	693	46.8	24.9	—
Sunderland	1,861	1,209	37.5	24.3	—
Avon	7,002	4,488	44.3	27.4	—
Bedfordshire	4,056	2,503	47.4	28.8	—
Berkshire	5,600	3,602	44.4	27.5	—
Buckinghamshire	4,721	3,370	46.6	32.7	—
Cambridgeshire	4,330	2,718	43.6	26.2	—
Cheshire	7,521	5,427	47.5	34.0	*
Cleveland	4,475	2,805	44.5	27.7	—
Cornwall	3,533	2,129	51.7	30.4	—
Cumbria	3,403	1,998	43.5	25.2	—
Derbyshire	6,643	4,201	45.4	28.5	—
Devon	6,989	4,612	44.6	28.2	—
Dorset	3,850	2,714	41.3	28.1	—
Durham	3,575	2,412	35.5	23.7	—
East Sussex	4,845	2,972	48.0	28.5	—
Essex	11,149	6,797	48.0	29.4	—
Gloucestershire	3,642	2,554	41.7	28.5	—
Hampshire	12,358	7,893	46.3	27.8	—
Hereford and Worcester	5,371	3,412	50.4	31.6	—
Hertfordshire	9,335	6,033	56.3	35.7	—
Humberside	6,523	3,744	45.0	25.7	—
Isle of Wight	1,172	653	65.3	36.1	—
Kent	12,620	7,874	50.2	30.8	*
Lancashire	9,485	6,660	43.0	30.2	—
Leicestershire	6,899	4,471	47.0	29.7	—
Lincolnshire	4,426	2,749	49.7	30.2	—
Norfolk	4,278	2,774	39.0	24.8	—
North Yorkshire	5,138	3,601	42.6	28.5	—
Northamptonshire	4,603	2,658	51.7	29.7	—

V58 N142

Toxteth (Compensation Claims) WA

Mr. Parry asked the Sec State for Environment how many claims were made for compensation following the Toxteth disturbances in 1981; how many have been settled; and how many are still outstanding.

Mr. Patrick Jenkin: Following the Toxteth disturbances in 1981, the Merseyside county council, as the statutory compensating authority, received 723 claims for compensation. Of those, 222 were rejected as not being eligible, 41 were withdrawn or not proceeded with and 424 claims settled. There are 36 claims outstanding.

Mr. Parry asked the Sec State for the Environment what was the total amount of compensation paid following the Toxteth disturbances in 1981.

Mr. Patrick Jenkin: The total amount paid to date by the Merseyside council following the disturbances in Toxteth and other areas of Merseyside has been £4,676,041.

Mr. Parry asked the Sec State for the Environment what is the reason for the delay in settling compensation claims following the Toxteth disturbances in 1981; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Patrick Jenkin: The Merseyside county council is responsible under the Riot Damages Act 1886 for settling compensation claims. I am not in a position therefore to give reasons for any delays which might have occurred in settling claims. I understand, however, that of the 36 outstanding claims, the council is waiting for further information from 35 of the claimants. The remaining case is to be the subject of a High Court action.

Mr. Parry asked the Sec State for the Environment on what basis compensation claims were settled following the Toxteth disturbances in 1981.

Mr. Patrick Jenkin: Following the disturbances in Toxteth and other areas of Merseyside in 1981, compensation claims were settled in accordance with the provisions of the Riot Damages Act 1886. The Act provides for compensation for loss or damage to houses, shops, buildings and their contents arising from a riot. The Act does not provide compensation for loss of earnings or business or for losses when a riot is not deemed to have taken place.

Mr. Parry asked the Sec State for Environment if he will state the highest claim for compensation which has been settled following the Toxteth disturbances in 1981.

Mr. Patrick Jenkin: Merseyside county council was responsible under the Riot Damages Act 1886 for settling compensation claims following the disturbances in Toxteth. Details of individual settlements are confidential to the county council and the claimants. I am not in a position therefore to state the highest claim for compensation which has been settled.

Mr. Parry asked the Sec State for the Environment how much of the Cost of compensation claims made following the Toxteth disturbances in 1981 have been borne by Her Majesty's Government.

Mr. Patrick Jenkin: The contribution to date by Her Majesty's Government towards the cost of the compensation claims settled following the Toxteth disturbances has been £2,841,190. This contribution relates not only to the disturbances in Toxteth but also to other disturbances in other parts of Merseyside in 1981.

V58 N143

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Batiste asked the Sec State Employment what is the anticipated saving for 1984-85 arising from the reduction announced in mode B1 places.

Mr. Peter Morrison: The number of youth training scheme mode B1 places to be approved in 1984-85 is expected to be around 19,000 fewer than the total approved for 1983-84, mainly as a result of reductions to the community project element of provision.

The cost of 19,000 community projects places in a full year would be around £35 millions, not including trainee allowances.

The estimate for youth training scheme for 1984-85 takes account of this reduced number of mode B1 places.

Community Programme WA

Mr. Sheerman asked the Secretary State Employment what policy changes are planned or have taken place in the last six months with respect to the Manpower Services Commission funding of centres for the unemployed; and what has been the basis for these changes.

Mr. Peter Morrison: No specific policy changes have been introduced in the past six months in respect of centres for the unemployed supported under the community programme. However, in that period the Manpower Services Commission has issued guidance about general priorities in selecting projects for new and continued support. This guidance, which applies to all community programme projects, emphasises the need to ensure that they make a significant contribution towards increasing the long-term employment prospects of participants and create something of practical value to the community. As to the future, I cannot anticipate the outcome of discussions between the Manpower Services Commission and officials of the Trades Union Congress about funding of these centres.

Supplementary Benefit WA

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett asked the Sec State Social Service how many young people studying in their first three months of unemployment have been denied supplementary benefit because their weekly hours of study have exceeded 15 since August 1982; how many of them have appealed to a tribunal and how many to a Commissioner; and in each case how many have won.

Dr. Boyson: Records are not kept on the reasons for refusing individual claims to supplementary benefit and it is not therefore possible to identify the number of cases in which young people have been refused benefit because their hours of study were 15 or more.

Appeals on this issue may be made either to a national insurance local appeal tribunal, on the question of whether a young person is to be treated as in full-time education for child benefit purposes, or to a supplementary benefit appeal tribunal in connection with the young person's supplementary benefit claim. There were 16 appeals to a national insurance local appeal tribunal in the period from August 1982 to April 1984: of these, there were four cases in which it was decided that the young person was not in full-time education and was therefore eligible to claim supplementary benefit, and three cases in which the decision went the other way. Two cases were withdrawn in advance of the hearing, and on seven the outcome is not yet known.

The records on appeals to supplementary benefit appeal tribunals do not identify separately those cases relating to claimants who had been refused benefit while studying for 15 hours or more during the first three months of unemployment. The total number of appeals against the refusal of benefit to unemployed young people treated as receiving relevant education in the period 1 October 1982 to 31 December 1983 was 1,017, of which 73 were successful. Appeals concerning hours of study are thought to make up only a small proportion of these.

There have been three appeals by a claimant to a Social Security Commissioner concerning the refusal of supplementary benefit to a young person whose hours of study were 15 or more.

V59 N145

Students WA

Mr. Viggers asked the Sec. State Education how many young people between the ages of 16 and 25

years fall into each of the following categories and what level of grant or public support is given to each category: (a) students in full-time education and in receipt of grant and (b) students in full-time education but not in receipt of a grant.

Sir Keith Joseph: In 1982-83 there were just over 1 million students between the ages of 16 and 24 (inclusive) in full-time or sandwich education in England. Information on students in receipt of maintenance awards is not available by age.

Young Persons WA

Mr. Viggers asked the Sec. of State for Employment how many young people between the ages of 16 and 25 fall into each of the following categories and what level of grant or public support is given to each category (a) trainees on youth training scheme and (b) unemployed.

Mr. Peter Morrison: At the end of March, there were 251,516 young people in training on the youth training scheme in Great Britain. On 12 January, the latest date for which an age analysis is available, there were 1,209,443 unemployed claimants aged under 25 in Great Britain.

The current training allowance for young people on the youth training scheme is £25 per week.

Young Persons WA

Mr. Wigley asked the Sec. of State for Employment how many young people between the ages of 16 and 21 years are currently being employed on temporary schemes funded by the Manpower Services Commission.

Mr. Peter Morrison: The estimated figure is some 300,000. Following is the information.

Measure	Numbers Currently Supported (end of March)
Community Industry	7,059
Community Programme	*112,900
Enterprise Allowance	†26,889
Training in Industry	‡1,547
Youth Opportunities Programme	3,567
Youth Training Scheme	‡251,516

* Detailed information on the age of entrants to the programme is not available but it is estimated that 28 per cent. (31,600) of entrants were aged between 18 and 20.

† Detailed information on the age of the people supported by the scheme is not kept although 5,880 of the people covered were aged under 25.

‡ Detailed information on the age of people supported is not kept although approximately 700 first year apprentices were in the age group concerned.

§ Of those currently supported it is estimated that 5 per cent. are employees. This figure excludes some 30,000 adult supervisors.

Young Offenders WA

Mrs. Renée Short asked the Secretary of State for Social Services if he will give details of the projects so far approved as part of the central initiative to improve facilities for the intermediate treatment of young offenders.

Mr. Kenneth Clark: All facilities are managed by committees that include representatives of local agencies concerned with young people and of the juvenile bench, and each provides intensive programmes of intermediate treatment as an alternative to custody or residential care for young offenders. The details requested are as follows:

Designating local authority	Designated voluntary body	Number of facilities	Places available per annum
Avon	National Children's Home	2	60
	Youth and Community Help Trust	1	30
Barnsley	Barnsley IT Association	1	36
Bradford	Bradford Community Alternatives	1	44
Buckinghamshire	Inter-Action Milton Keynes	1	8
Bury	Bury Youth Enterprise	1	24
Cambridgeshire	Alternatives in Fenland and Huntington	1	10
Cheshire	Halton IT Scheme	1	30
	National Children's Home	1	35
	Vale Royal Development Group for Young Offenders	1	21
Cleveland	Cleveland Alternatives for Young People	1	60
Cornwall	National Children's Home	1	30
Coventry	Coventry IT Association	1	48
London Borough of Croydon	Croydon Guild of Voluntary Organisation	1	40
Devon	National Children's Home	6	144
Durham	County Durham Youth Development Trust	3	102
East Sussex	Hastings and Rother Intensive IT Association	1	20
Essex	Rainer Foundation	1	36
Gloucestershire	Gloucester Trust for Young People at Risk	1	9
London Borough of Greenwich	Rainer Foundation	1	30
Hampshire	Rainer Foundation	1	40
Hertfordshire	National Children's Home	1	60
	St. Albans Diocesan Council for Social Responsibility	1	105
Humberside	The Sobriety Project	1	30
Kent	Community Service Volunteers	9	254
Kirklees	Kirklees Enterprise for Youth	3	89
Leeds	Leeds Voluntary Alternatives	1	45
Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire Youth Activity Trust	1	30
Liverpool	Dr. Barnado's	1	50
London Borough of Newham	Newham Youth Consortium Trust	3	73
Norfolk	Norfolk Children's Project	1	56
Salford	National Children's Home	1	66
Sandwell	Community Alternatives for Young Offender in Sandwell	1	36
Solihull	Forum Weekend Club	1	36
Somerset	Community Service Volunteers	1	36
South Tyneside	Dr. Barnado's	1	65
Sunderland	Save the Children Fund	1	36
London Borough of Wandsworth	Wandsworth Association for Youth	2	60
City of Westminster	Westminster Association for Youth	1	30
West Sussex	Chichester Diocesan Association for Family Social Work	1	30
Wiltshire	National Children's Home	1	30
TOTALS		62	2,074

V58 N147

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Wilson asked the Sec. State for Employment if he will make a statement on the implications of the proposed cutback in mode B1 places under the youth training scheme funding.

Mr. Peter Morrison: The government believe that as many as possible of the young people entering the youth training scheme should be catered for under employer-based schemes. In the circumstances we are satisfied that we shall need fewer places in training workshops and community projects in 1984-85 than were approved during the first year of the scheme. We are satisfied that suitable training places will be available on the scheme to meet the needs of all eligible youngsters seeking places in the coming year.

Mr. Colvin asked the Secretary of State for Employment what are the latest available figures for the number of places on mode A and B1 on the youth training scheme which have been taken up.

Mr. Peter Morrison: At the end of February there were 185,465 young people in training on mode A schemes and 55,319 in training on mode B1 schemes in Great Britain.

Mr. Rowe asked the Sec. State for Employment what is the statistical basis for the assumption that mode A of the youth training scheme provides young people with a better chance of finding employment than mode B.

Mr. Peter Morrison: Schemes based in firms provide the most realistic workplace experience and training and this reflects the view of the youth task group which firmly believed the scheme should be primarily employer based. Whilst the youth training scheme can offer no guarantee of employment on completion of training it will enhance the employment prospects of young people by better equipping them to meet the demands of the labour market.

Mr. Chris Smith asked the Secretary of State for Employment how many managing agents and sponsors under youth training scheme are registered under the Factories Acts.

Mr. Peter Morrison: From 1 April 1984, all new and renegotiated youth training scheme contracts require that managing agents and other providers give the Manpower Services Commission a written assurance that they have complied with any statutory requirements on the notification of their undertakings. They must also inform the commission that similar written assurances have been obtained from their subcontractors.

A-Level Curriculum WA

Mr. Rowe asked the Sec. State Education what plans he has for broadening the curriculum for A-level students; and if he will make a statement.

Sir Keith Joseph: My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Wales and I have published a consultative paper which proposes the introduction of a new range of examination courses designed primarily for A-level student, to be known as AS (advanced supplementary) levels. Copies of the paper have been placed in the Library.

Our principal objective is to broaden, without diluting academic standards, the curriculum for A-level students. We envisage that all who can manage it should continue to take at least two A-levels. The purpose of the new AS-level courses would be to give students the opportunity to develop their knowledge, skills and understanding over a wider range of subjects than at present including, wherever possible, one or more subjects which contrast with their main A-level specialisms. AS-levels would be a single subject examinations involving a two-year course; they would be as intellectually demanding as A-levels and would cover not less than half the amount of ground covered by the A-level for the subject in question.

We are inviting higher education bodies to confirm their support for the new examination courses and through their admissions arrangements to encourage students to take a broader range of subjects at A or AS-level. We hope the LEAs, colleges and schools will do all they can within available resources to make an AS-level course or courses available to students who wish to take them.

Provided that comments received on the paper indicate the necessary level of support, my right hon. Friend and I propose to invite the GCE boards in co-operation with the Secondary Examinations Council to launch development work in syllabuses before the end of the year. We hope that this work could be completed in time to enable the first AS-level courses to begin in September 1986.

V59 N151

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Eggar asked the Sec. State Employment what was the total number of mode B1 places approved in 1984; what was the number actually filled in each month since the scheme got fully under way in September; how many places are planned for 1984-85; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Peter Morrison: Some 90,000 Mode B1 places have been approved for 1983-84 and the actual number of places filled at the end of each month was as follows:

Month	Mode B1 Filled Places
September 1983	43,675
October 1983	49,444
November 1983	51,609
December 1983	54,321
January 1984	55,459
February 1984	55,319
March 1984	53,329

Some 71,500 Mode B1 Places are planned for 1984-85.

We are satisfied that suitable training places will be available on the scheme to meet the needs of all eligible youngsters seeking places in the coming year.

Benefits WA

Mr. McCrindle asked the Sec. State Social Services to what extent his Department is encouraging the take-up of social security benefits.

Mr. Newton: The Department has taken several measures over the last year to improve the information and advice available to the public and thereby encourage the take-up of benefits. In addition to a programme of general advertising, there have been local initiatives in several parts of the country. These include the secondment of local office staff to social services departments, an experiment with a "benefit bus" a mobile information service and the visiting of adult training centres by local office staff.

In addition, I was glad to launch DHSS freephone service on 11 April making advice by telephone on social security benefits available in all parts of the country except for the London postal districts, to which we hope to extend the service next year. We are also re-designing many of our forms to make them clear and effective. Other measures are being taken in respect of particular benefits, including, as part of the preparation for the introduction of severe disablement allowance, writing to 75,000 potential recipients of non-contributory invalidity pension inviting a claim.

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Lawler asked the Secretary of State for Employment what percentage of trainees of (a) Asian origin, (b) West Indian origin and (c) whites are on youth training schemes mode A schemes, mode B1 schemes and mode B2 schemes nationally.

Mr. Peter Morrison: Information is not available in the form requested. Between April 1983 and March 1984, the breakdown of entrants to the youth training scheme by ethnic origin and by training mode was as follows:

	Mode A per cent.	Mode B1 per cent.	Mode B2 per cent.
<i>Entrants in Great Britain*</i>			
Asian	1.2	1.4	2.8
African/West Indian	2.1	3.2	4.1
White/European	95.5	92.8	90.6
Other	1.2	2.6	2.5

*Entrants figures exclude those for construction industry training board schemes, which are not classified by ethnic group.

V59 N152

Riot Control Equipment WA

Mr. Tony Banks asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will list the types of equipment available to the Metropolitan Police for the purpose of controlling street riots.

Mr. Hurd: The Commissioner informs me that, in addition to equipment held for normal policing purposes, the Metropolitan Police hold stocks of the following public order equipment:

- Crowd control barriers
- Warning Barriers
- Long and short protective shields
- Plastic baton round dischargers and rounds
- CS launchers and cartridges
- Protected vehicles

Young Persons WA

Mr. Wigley asked the Secretary of State for Employment what is the average cost per week in terms of (a) wages and (b) associated employment costs for young persons aged between 16 years and 21 years who are employed by the various temporary job schemes set up by the Manpower Services Commission.

Mr. Peter Morrison: Of the various employment and training schemes administered by the Manpower Services Commission only community industry provides employment exclusively within the 16 to 21 age group. Details for this scheme are as follows:

	£
Average weekly wages for young people	34
Associated weekly employment costs	31

The Manpower Services Commission also administers the youth training scheme which provides training opportunities for 16-year-old school leavers and for unemployed 17-year-old school leavers and also for certain disabled young people up to the age of 21. The average weekly grant to a sponsor towards costs, including the £25 allowance payable to the young person, will vary between about £40 and £70 per week depending on the mode. Detailed information is not kept about the age of people supported by the enterprise allowance scheme, but all receive a grant of £40 per week. Young people between the ages of 18 and 21 are eligible to join the community programme and young people between the ages of 16 and 21 are covered by training in industry. However, other age groups are also covered by these programmes and as details on the age of people supported is not kept, the information sought is not available.

V60 N154

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Sheerman asked the Sec. State for Employment (1) to what extent youth training schemes are automatically renewed if they meet minimum monitoring standards;

(2) what criteria are being used to assess whether youth training scheme projects should be renewed under modes A, B1 and B2.

Mr. Peter Morrison: The main criteria for renewal are performance in the previous year, the quality of training being offered and the number of places required for young people. No scheme is renewed without an assessment of these criteria.

V60 N155

Higher Education WA

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett asked the Prime Minister what percentage of the age group the Government are planning to attract into higher education over the next 16 years.

The Prime Minister: The Government's expenditure plans for higher education assume that the age participation rate will rise to over 14 per cent. by 1986-87 compared with 12.4 per cent. in 1979-80. Provision for higher education in the longer term is being reviewed.

Rent Act 1977 (Lettings to Students) WA

Mr. Chris Smith asked the Sec. State Education if he will list the educational institutions and bodies specified and of a class specified for the purposes of subsection (2) of section 8 of the Rent Act 1977 (Letting to Students).

Mr. Brooke: The educational institutions and bodies currently specified, or of a class specified, for the purposes of section 8 of the Rent Act 1977 are those specified in the Protection Tenancies (Exceptions) Regulations 1974 (SI 1974/1366), as amended by Regulations 4(5) of the Further Education Regulations 1975 (SI 1975/1054) and the Protection Tenancies (Further Exceptions) Regulations 1976 (SI 1976/905), which are available for reference in the Library of the House. These regulations, made under the Rent Act 1968, continue to have effect by virtue of paragraph 1 of Schedule 24 to the Rent Act 1977.

New regulations, to be made under section 8 of the 1977 Act, are in the course of preparation but they are not expected to differ substantially from the current regulations.

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Kilroy-Silk asked the Secretary of State for Employment how many unemployed young people have refused places on the youth scheme (a) on Merseyside and (b) in Knowsley.

Mr. Peter Morrison: The total number of refusals is not available. The number of young people whose benefits were reduced for unreasonable refusal of a youth training scheme place in the metropolitan borough of Merseyside between 1 September 1983 and 31 March 1984 was 10. No cases of unreasonable refusal were reported in Knowsley.

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett asked the Secretary of State for Employment why he intends to reduce the number of staff monitoring the youth training schemes.

Mr. Peter Morrison: There is no intention to reduce the number of staff monitoring the youth training scheme.

Mr. Batiste asked the Secretary of State for Employment what is the average cost of an unfilled place on (a) a mode A youth training scheme and (b) a mode B1 youth training scheme.

Mr. Peter Morrison: I refer my hon. Friend to the answer given in my reply of 26 April to the hon. Member for Bishop Auckland (Mr. Foster) at column 559.

Mr. Nicholas Winterton asked the Sec. State for Employment what the target figures for youth training scheme places in the construction industry recently negotiated with the construction industry training board are in each of the following categories (a) building crafts, (b) specialist building, (c) clerical and administration, (d) building operatives, (e) civil engineering, (f) mechanical engineering, (g) technician (building/civil engineering) and (h) mechanical engineering technician.

Mr. Peter Morrison: The Construction Industry training board has provisionally agreed to provide the following youth training scheme places in 1984-85 under its managing agency:

Category	Target figures
Building crafts	9,500
Specialist building	300
Clerical and administrative; Building operatives	*4,200
Civil Engineering	750
Mechanical Engineering	2,325
Technician (building/civil engineering)	1,550
Mechanical engineering technician	320
Total	18,945

These figures do not include places in electrical contracting which are still under negotiation.

* A breakdown of the figure given for clerical and administrative and building operative places is not available.

V60 N156

Violent Offenders WA

Mr. Charles Wardle asked the Sec of State for the Home Department whether he is satisfied that the sentences available to the courts to deal with violent offenders are appropriate:

Mr. Mellor: We are generally satisfied that appropriate and sufficient penalties are available.

Convictions (Young Persons) WA

Mr. Ron Davies asked the Sec of State for the Home Department what has been the percentage increase in convictions of persons under 21 years of age since 1979.

Mr. Mellor: The number of persons aged under 21 years found guilty at all courts of all offences in England and Wales has increased by 10 per cent. over the period 1979 to 1982. Information for 1983 is not yet available.

Jobcentres WA

Mr. Kilroy-Silk asked the Sec State for Employment if he will list those jobcentres that have been closed since 1979.

Mr. Peter Morrison: The jobcentres which have been closed since 1979 are:

Ashbourn, Attercliffe, Berkhamstead, Bethesda, Bristol Minster House, Burry Port, City London, Crewkern, Crieff, Dalton-in-Furness, Darlaston, Gillingham (Dorset), Glasgow Kinning Park, Grange-over-sands, Grimsby Commercial Hebden Bridge, Hendon, Holborn 'Temps', Huchnall, Inverurie, Kirby-in-Ashfield, Lesmahagow, Leyton Grosvenor Park, Liverpool Leece Street, Liverpool Walton, Llandovery, Lochgilphead, Lytham, Manchester Deansgate, Manchester Trafford Park, Newcastle Plummer House, Nottingham maid Marion way, Pembroke Dock, Preston Commercial, Ramsbottom, Rhos, Ripley, Rye, Sedgely, Sheffield Steel City House, Shepton Mallett, Stonehaven, Teamvalley, Tranent, Woolston.

The majority of the decisions to close were made on efficiency and cost-effectiveness grounds. In some cases usage was low and in others operating costs were high against the performance of the office.

The list does not include offices which have been closed but where a new office has been opened in different premises in the same locality.

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Sheerman asked the Sec State Employment what is the regional breakdown of youth training scheme places currently operated under the aegis of private training agencies as a percentage of (a) Mode A and (b) all youth training scheme places in these regions.

Mr. Peter Morrison: Information in the precise form requested is not available. The following table gives information from a survey in October 1983 and shows the percentage of youth training scheme places in each region provided by private training agencies.

	Mode A Schemes	All Schemes
Scotland	7	7
Northern	18	13
North West	14	12
Yorks and Humberside	5	5
Midlands	13	12
Wales	14	10
South West	13	11
South East	1	1
London	12	11
Great Britain	10	9

The figures exclude those places which were arranged by the Manpower Services Commission's large companies unit.

V60 N159

Solvent Abuse WA

Mr. Kilroy Silk asked the Sec of State for the Home Department (1) what consultations he had, and with whom, before reaching his conclusion about the need for legislation to make it an offence to sell substances to people under the age of 16 years for inhaling;

(2) what representations he has received on the need for an offence of selling substances to persons aged under 16 years for the purposes of inhaling to achieve intoxication;

(3) what evidence he has that persons in England and Wales have been selling substances to young people under the age of 16 years knowing or having reasonable grounds for believing that they are likely to be inhaled to achieve intoxication;

(4) whether he has any evidence of the sales of glue sniffing kits in England and Wales.

Mr. Mellor: There have been isolated reports of sales of glue-sniffing kits in England and Wales. There is no firm evidence as yet that persons in England and Wales have been selling solvents to young people knowing or having reasonable grounds for believing that they are likely to be inhaled to achieve intoxication; it is the Government's aim to prevent this happening.

Since the conviction last December of two Glasgow shopkeepers for selling glue sniffing kits, Home Office Ministers have been asked eight questions on the subject of solvent misuse, five of them on the question of legislation on sales. We have received some 20 letters from hon. Members, mostly raising this question, and a number of letters from the general public. Wide ranging consultations on the desirability of legislation to restrict generally the sale of solvents to young people were undertaken by my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Social Services last year. Consultations are currently in progress with the police and representatives of manufacturers' and retailers' associations on the specific proposals my right hon. and learned Friend announced on 3 May.

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Park asked the Secretary of State for Educ what consideration he has given to means of remedying the shortage of technical and vocational preparation in schools to make easier the transition to the youth training scheme.

Sir Keith Joseph: We are concerned that the education which is provided for all young people in schools, whatever their destination on leaving school may be, should include a substantial practical element. We are encouraging improvements in science education and in craft, design and technology in the schools. We have also taken steps to promote the use of microcomputers in schools. The lower attaining pupils programme is addressing the particular needs of pupils for whom examinations at 16+ are not designed; and the technical and vocational education initiative will in due course make the curriculum on offer more practicable and applicable.

Work Experience WA

Mr. Park asked the Secretary of State for Educ if he will give further consideration to improving schools-industry links by encouraging the provision of more work experience or alternatives during the fifth year; and if he will make a statement.

Sir Keith Joseph: The Government recognise the importance of all forms of school-industry liaison, including work experience. Two recent initiatives—the technical and vocational education initiative and the lower attaining pupils programme—make substantial provision for enhanced links between schools and industry, and real and simulated work experience.

More generally the Government hope than an increasing proportion of pupils will undertake work experience courses as part of their preparation for adult and working life. They welcome the contributions of organisations which are active in this field. The provision of work experience for fifth-year pupils is, however, a matter for the LEAs and schools themselves.

School Leavers WA

Mr. Park asked the Secretary of State for Educ if he will consider introducing a training package of at least five years duration designed for school leavers with special needs who are not successful in finding employment.

Sir Keith Joseph: No. School leavers with special needs already have access to an increasing variety of further education and training, including provision targeted to their particular needs and more general provision, of which the YTS is an example, available to young people in general.

Unlawful Drug Possession WA

Mr. Ron Davies asked the Sec State for the Home Department how many persons were convicted for offences connected with (a) the sale and (b) the possession of unlawful drugs in England and Wales, respectively, for each of the last five years for each of the following age categories: (i) under 18, (ii) between 18 and 25, (iii) between 25 and 35 and (iv) over 35 years.

Mr. Mellor: The available information for the years 1978 to 1982 is given in the table below. Figures for 1983 are not yet available.

V61 N163

Persons sentenced for unlawful supply or possession of controlled drugs by type of offence, age and country England and Wales 1978-1982

Type of offence*	1978		1979		1980		1981		1982						
	England	Wales	Total England	Total Wales	Total England	Total Wales	Total England	Total Wales	Total England	Total Wales					
Under 18															
Unlawful supply	35	2	37	28	2	30	29	2	31	27	2	29	36	3	39
Possession with intent to supply unlawfully	2	1	3	4	—	4	9	—	9	9	1	10	7	1	8
Unlawful possession	395	19	414	445	22	467	560	23	583	651	31	682	849	31	880
Total	406	19	425	453	23	476	572	24	596	664	32	696	864	34	898
18 and under 25															
Unlawful supply	374	12	386	297	9	306	359	11	370	367	15	382	378	24	402
Possession with intent to supply unlawfully	199	3	202	167	13	180	192	6	198	198	17	215	233	14	247
Unlawful possession	5,603	207	5,810	5,192	305	5,497	5,965	367	6,332	6,468	333	6,801	7,472	445	7,917
Total	5,704	207	5,947	5,317	311	5,628	6,127	368	6,495	6,637	340	6,977	7,684	459	8,143
25 and under 35															
Unlawful supply	273	2	275	276	1	278	390	5	395	426	12	438	481	12	493
Possession with intent to supply unlawfully	228	5	233	205	9	214	241	14	255	319	12	331	344	22	366
Unlawful possession	3,741	169	3,910	4,002	209	4,211	4,754	267	5,021	5,030	270	5,300	5,320	337	5,657
Total	3,867	170	4,037	4,148	210	4,358	4,980	271	5,251	5,325	274	5,599	5,633	342	5,975
35 and over															
Unlawful supply	42	2	44	48	3	51	67	—	67	116	1	117	122	2	124
Possession with intent to supply unlawfully	41	3	44	58	1	59	76	3	79	113	2	115	131	5	136
Unlawful possession	607	14	621	645	26	671	918	37	955	973	39	1,012	1,155	57	1,212
Total	638	17	655	690	28	718	995	37	1,032	1,084	40	1,124	1,264	57	1,321
All ages															
Unlawful supply	724	18	742	649	16	665	845	18	863	936	30	966	1,017	41	1,058
Possession with intent to supply unlawfully	470	12	482	434	23	457	518	23	541	639	32	671	715	42	757
Unlawful possession	10,346	409	10,755	10,284	562	10,846	12,197	694	12,891	13,122	673	13,795	14,796	870	15,666
Total	10,651	413	11,064	10,608	572	11,180	12,674	700	13,374	13,710	686	14,396	15,445	892	16,337

* As the same person may be sentenced for more than one type of offence, rows cannot be added together to produce totals.

V61 N164

Young People (Jobs and Training) OA

Mr. Haslehurst asked the Sec State for Employment whether he will meet the chairman of the Manpower Services Commission to discuss new ways in which jobs and training for young people could be devised.

Mr. Tom King: I frequently meet the chairman of the Manpower Services Commission to discuss the progress of the commission's employment and training measures, including those which held young people.

Mr. Haslehurst: Is there not a whole host of what might be termed odd jobs which, if they were organised and aggregated, might provide a lot of real and worthwhile opportunities, especially for young people, if they were trained to meet those opportunities? Could not the MSC conduct an experiment along those lines to see whether it is possible to get a practical scheme under way?

Mr. King: There are several ways in which the MSC tries to encourage the ways in which managing agents can help to pick up individual opportunities for young people in rural areas. There is more scope for imagination in that area. I shall certainly discuss that point with the chairman of the MSC.

Mr. Nellist: Is the Secretary of State aware that the £25 allowance that is currently paid to youngsters on the youth training scheme ought to be almost £40 if it had increased in line with wages or inflation in the past five years? Why does he not admit to the House and working people outside that the real aim of the scheme is to drive down the level of wages paid to young people to play elastoplast politics and to cover up the real level of youth unemployment?

Mr. King: The real aim of the youth training scheme is to give more than 250,000 young people—as it will be this year—the chance of a year of good training and work experience at the start of their working life. I am satisfied that that objective is being achieved. It is a training allowance, and my first concern is to ensure that all of those young people get the best training that we can obtain for them. I give the highest priority to that aim.

Mrs. Rumbold: Is my right hon. Friend aware that, although many employers greatly welcome the introduction of the youth training scheme, the application forms for such schemes last year amounted to two or three pages which had to be filled in, but this year about 28 pages must be filled in? Will he reassure me that he will investigate that matter?

Mr. King: I announced to the House that we would have a consolidation of the scheme this year. I must tell my hon. Friend that what she described is not what I had in mind. I shall look into that aspect.

Mr. Kennedy: Will the Secretary of State consider constructively discussing with his Scottish Office colleagues any proposals that might come from the Highlands of Scotland for improving MSC funding to provide greater youth opportunities for training in oil rig repair and maintenance?

Mr. King: The hon. Member knows that is the responsibility of my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Scotland, but I shall certainly take note of what he has said.

Mr. Lawler: Returning to the original question of my hon. Friend the Member for Saffron Walden (Mr. Haslehurst), and given initiatives like Instant Muscle, will my right hon. Friend consider amending the enterprise allowance schemes so as to help people under 18 coming off YTS schemes to go into business on their own, given their desire to do so?

Mr. King: The first and obvious difficulty is that people under 18 would not be able to enter into a legal contract, as required under the enterprise allowance scheme. That poses a real problem. My

right hon. Friend will know that the enterprise allowance scheme is extremely successful. At the moment demand is very large indeed and I do not think that we envisage expanding the age category.

Mr. Sheerman: When the Minister meets the chairman of the Manpower Services Commission to discuss jobs and training for young people, how will he defend his Government's action in sabotaging the European Commission proposal that everyone should have a right to two year's training? How can he do that when he knows that the chairman of the MSC is fully behind the proposal for two years' training, cashed in when the individual wants them? Why did his Government sink the European Commission proposal to give that to all people in Europe?

Mr. King: The hon. Member knows that in Germany, for instance, the training schemes on a two-year basis are employer-led to a large extent. The difference in this country is the degree to which the Government are leading the schemes. I should like to see ways in which employers could take forward the training initiative. I think certain Opposition Members would be willing to concede that the YTS has been a remarkable success in many areas. There is now an opportunity to build with employers further schemes to improve training provision.

V61 N164

Students (Travel Allowances) WA

Mr. David Howell asked the Sec State for Education what estimate he has made of the saving in administrative costs arising from his proposal that student travel allowances should be changed to a flat rate basis.

Mr. Brooke: By removing the need for local education authorities to scrutinise individual claims and make individual assessments and payments to very large numbers of students, we expect the new arrangements for meeting students' travel costs announced recently to lead to worthwhile savings.

Mr. David Howell asked the Sec State for Education and Science what proportion of university students will be worse off under the proposal to change to flat rate student travel allowances; and what will be the average annual loss.

Mr. Brooke: My right hon. Friend expects students to take account of the new arrangements in arranging their affairs. My right hon. Friend cannot predict how this may affect individual students' travel patterns and expenditure, and so cannot determine what proportion of students will be worse off under the new arrangements or what the average annual loss might be.

Mr. Crouch asked the Sec State Education what additional financial provision he is making in respect of students grants to compensate students who will be attending university for the first time for increased travel costs consequent upon the new arrangements for reimbursing student travel; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Brooke: We do not expect the new arrangements for dealing with students' travel expenses, announced on 4 April, to increase travel costs. It will be for students to decide how best to arrange their affairs within the resources available to them.

Mr. Wareing asked the Sec State for Education and Science how many representations he has received to date protesting against the change in the system of reimbursing students for their travel costs to and from their homes and institutions of higher education; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Pike asked the Sec State for Education and Science how many representations he has received regarding the proposal to change to a flat rate student travel allowance; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Brooke: My right hon. Friend has received some 900 such representations.

Education Courses (Efficiency) WA

Mr. Deakins asked the Sec State Education how he assesses educational efficiency and value for money in respect of courses followed by pupils who do not obtain formal academic qualifications.

Mr. Dunn: My right hon. Friend's main source of information and advice on the quality of all educational provision is Her Majesty's Inspectorate. My right hon. Friend's concern for the group of pupils referred to is well known, and a number of initiatives are under way to improve the standards and appropriateness of education they receive.

The lower attaining pupils programme, which began last September, exemplifies the Government's concern with those pupils for whom the existing 16-plus examinations are not designed. Early reports from the LEAs concerned are encouraging: there is evidence of higher motivation among pupils and enthusiasm among teachers. In mathematics, the Department has commissioned three research projects at a total cost of over £500,000 on the needs of lower attaining pupils in secondary schools; two of these are concerned with the use of graduated tests as a means of assessment.

My right hon. Friend announced at Sheffield earlier this year the Government's aim of bringing 80 to 90 per cent. of pupils to the level currently achieved by average pupils across a number of subjects. This will have major implications for the teaching of less able pupils, and syllabuses and examinations will need to provide opportunities for these pupils to demonstrate what they are capable of achieving. The development of records of achievement for school leavers will do much to ensure that no pupil leaves school with nothing to show for the years spent in full-time education.

V61 N165

Children (Contraceptives) WA

Mr. Nicholas Winterton asked the Sec State for Social Services (1) if he will give a breakdown by region of the numbers of children under 16 years of age who visited family planning clinics and were prescribed contraceptive drugs or devices in each of the last 10 years for which figures are available;

(2) what has been the total annual cost of the prescription of contraceptive drugs and devices to children under the age of 16 years in each of the last 10 years.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke: Health authorities have been required to send in statistics showing the numbers of children under 16 seen at family planning clinics since 1976. The figures for the years 1976 to 1982 are as follows:

Regional Health Authority	England only						
	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Northern	292	316	365	367	423	566	619
Yorkshire	532	470	428	621	797	909	1,257
Trent	506	742	799	845	958	1,221	1,492
East Anglian	294	339	364	352	464	640	772
N.W. Thames	547	649	871	996	953	1,150	1,141
N.E. Thames	622	736	972	1,108	1,362	1,387	1,321
S.E. Thames	721	956	1,157	1,193	1,373	1,519	1,492
S.W. Thames	864	937	974	984	1,013	1,217	1,390
Wessex	593	662	599	703	827	1,085	1,075
Oxford	418	493	539	585	709	741	779
South Western	220	437	483	541	549	535	677
West Midlands	1,507	1,482	1,217	1,140	1,412	1,857	2,110
Mersey	162	286	339	370	505	497	522
North Western	724	921	552	750	782	1,000	1,193
TOTALS	8,002	9,426	9,659	10,555	12,127	14,324	15,840

The other information requested is not available centrally.

V61 N167

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Baldry asked the Sec State for Education and Science if it is intended that Her Majesty's inspectors should play any rôle in developing links between the youth training scheme and further education and training.

Sir Keith Joseph: Her Majesty's Inspectors will continue to inspect those parts of the youth training scheme that take place in further education institutions and the youth and community service; and their inspection reports will be published. There is also a continuing dialogue between HMI and officials of the Manpower Services Commission, about the YTS.

letters

Dear Youth & Policy

You have provided a splendid alternative to the notorious Keith Joseph speech of 1975 in Birmingham for my first year sociology students! It was usually new to the students but after a decade of use I was certainly getting tired of it! Now, Marsland will see me through to the mid-nineties with a ready-made package, illustrating perfectly blatantly spurious argument grounded in unsupported assertions, absentee analysis and an accumulation of contradictions.

A less prosaic response is to acknowledge the tardiness of the piece and to confront the secreted ideological bias and intellectual dishonesty in order to reveal the patriarchal authoritarianism it espouses in the cause of sustaining a capitalist economy in crisis. It is the apotheosis of the New Right writ dangerously large, mad and menacingly against the already seriously exploited, stigmatised and dispossessed working-class youth in contemporary Britain.

Marsland's **self-proclaimed** radical community service model is the product of a totalitarian perspective and could only conceivably function as a result of large-scale brain-washing or a national network of concentration camps. His article subjects/massages/lashes us (choose according to personal preference!) incessantly with **radical** this, **radical** that and **radical** the other; from **radical** response, innovation and changes, through **radical** alternative, reorganization and reconstruction, to bring us back to **radically** new, innovative and transformed. Presumably such a plethora of the **radical** is not indicative of a linguistic deprivation but rather an orchestrated propaganda campaign to lull the reader into submission through repetition in the absence of argument.

The very title of the piece is grossly misleading; Marsland was not concerned with **FREEDOM & EQUALITY IN ALTERNATIVES TO UNEMPLOYMENT** otherwise he would not have so readily eschewed concern for those concepts and realities within employment, which is, surely, an alternative to unemployment. The substitution of a colon for the preposition in his title reflects the perspective and concern informing this riposte, namely: **FREEDOM & EQUALITY: ALTERNATIVES TO UNEMPLOYMENT!**

The model we are given right at the end of the article is not radical at all; it is merely a grotesquely logical extension of YTS, a clear message to the capitalist that Your Trading Surplus will indeed be protected whatever the cost to working class youth. Finally, however, over and about the absence of analysis, truncated description and false promises the grossest insult is reserved for the feminist movement. One could almost be forgiven for believing that feminist theory and practice were non-existent, but not quite since there are scatterings of feminist thought pushed forward either to support his own largely implicit ideological ends or to belittle the theory and practice from which they have been wrenched, and used to turn against the anti-sexism of the women's movement.

Every single criticism made here is amply illustrated in Marsland's article. Perhaps a few examples will suffice, and the nature of the extent to which the traditional, individualising pathology model has been reinvigorated to serve the purposes of the New Right will be made abundantly plain.

"Youth employment (sic*) constitutes a major structural crisis in Britain...the pattern, its causes and its effects are similar throughout Europe." (*perhaps this may not have been a typesetter's mistake; presumably it is **unemployment not employment** that is seen to be the problem).

Is this **really** true? Is youth unemployment in Britain similarly caused similarly patterned and productive of similar effects as it is in for example, Poland, Portugal and Switzerland? And what is the point of the reference to Europe anyway? Would reference to the USA, Japan and the USSR be enlightening?

But what are the causes? We are not told so presumably they are either unknown or widely known and consensually agreed that they can be left unaddressed. Proceeding, therefore, in the dark, we are told that responses to the causes have been hitherto "piecemeal and inadequate". Thus the YTS and "prolongation of education" are not the answers. Why? Because YTS "merely postpones the problem" and there is a grave danger that there will be "longer term damage to the labour market...caused by the distorting effects of subsidies"! No references, note to the distorting effects of the young persons aspirations, opportunities and life styles, nor to the injection of state capital prior to privatizations.

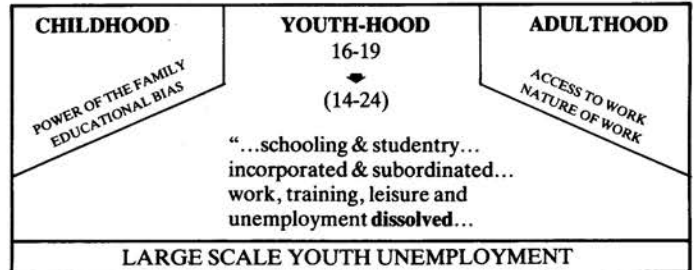
For the prolongation of education (it actually **sounds** a weary and pointless exercise!) it seems there is "little evidence that the most unemployment

prone benefit much from formal education". Presumably we all know that so there is no need of evidence. It suggests that there is a minority rather than a majority of young people leaving school without real job prospects and that the young people are inadequate rather than the curriculum, pedagogy and teachers' attitudes being in need of a **radical** (!) examination.

The clinching argument, however, against offering greater educational opportunities is outrageously bizarre: "There is I think a real danger that the effect would be further systematic depression of young women's work prospects compared with those of men"! The notion that the sexist structure of education could be changed, indeed that in some places it is being challenged and changed goes unremarked. But then when we are told that: "youth unemployment has revealed with peculiar vividness the nature and extent of the deep socio-cultural inequalities dividing men and women" we can only assume that the author has deliberately ignored the substantial body of literature which has for a long time detailed the oppression and discrimination of women in the home, in education and in work. Instead we are served such meaningless euphemisms as "cultural ambivalence" and "deep-laid social forces" which "remain largely mysterious" and we are asked to believe that these are somehow more accentuated during high unemployment. Thus "young women in large numbers will **simply withdraw** from the competitive stress of the labour market". What a neat reversal of reality! Having been discriminated against, blocked and rejected they decide to **withdraw**!

Where do the young women withdraw to? Here we have a prime example of the typical tabloid trickery of double standards for they withdraw we are told, to the trap of the parental home, or worse still, marry, often already pregnant and create their own new home trap, although it would seem not for long since "few of these marriages turn out to be permanent". Echoes of Keith Joseph in Birmingham 1975? We are told that "unemployment must not be allowed to become an excuse for re-burying young women in the prison home of the traditional family", but on page 3 we are told that "the cultural pair man/work leaves little scope for effective, coherent incorporation of woman into the world of work"! Further, any change to that patriarchal hegemony "regardless of its desirability, **which is arguable**, is in the short run evidently unlikely." Clearly Marsland is not over anxious for such a change and certainly his ideas ensures the "evidently unlikely" prospect of real (radical?) change.

In summary, therefore, we can see Marsland's model for the shibboleth it truly is; exemplifying a deep-seated conservative status quo utterly devoid of the faintest fragment of radicalism.



MARSLAND'S MIRACLE MODEL OF 'RADICAL' COMMUNITY SERVICE.

After the "dissolution" the new ten year Youth Trading Surplus will "target a multitude of neglected social problems and community needs." "Childhood and adulthood are thus protected against the destructive transformations promised or threatened by communist, fascist and other pseudo-radical programmes." Youth-hood becomes a wedged hiatus between the harsh inequalities of childhood and adulthood, where, somehow, differences, discriminations and developments are miraculously suspended and the energies of young people are directed to rectify the deficiencies and deformities developed by a defective economy.

"The power of the family, educational bias, access to work and the nature of the work" remain untouched, sacrosanct and beyond the orbit of state intervention.

How are the discreet and finite boundaries either side of youth-hood to be policed? "It presumes that all young people should have the opportunity of participating." What about all the young people who do NOT wish to participate? What is to become of higher education? What for that matter would become of GCSE? How will anti-sexism be implemented within such a sandwich course of people's lives? What about the "longer term damage to the labour market...caused by the distorting effects of subsidies..." or is youth-hood envisaged as costless?

The Guardian annually treats its readers with a sophisticated April Fool: should we, after all, have seen Marsland's piece as the Youth & Policy effort for 1985?

PETER KENT-BAGULEY, STOKE-ON-TRENT.

Dear Youth & Policy

With regard to the article by Steve Rogowski in issue No. 12 of Youth and Policy, I would like to express my thanks for the pleasure I took in reading it. I felt that it deserved a response from I.T. workers - for whom the issues should have some interest and relevance.

My contribution - admit given with a sense of trepidation - relates to a number of points I would like to take issue with.

Firstly, with respect to the assumption that capitalism is the "root cause of delinquency", it should follow if this was the case that the less capitalistic the country, the less delinquent the adolescent population. Given that this were the case - which I do not feel it is - I would suggest that only the nature of delinquency would change. Delinquency is an expression of deviant behaviour and within any social context there will be deviancy. State and Social systems, by their structure, need consensus, and it is accepted by many sociologists that societies need some form of deviant group for social cohesion. I would further suggest that sociological themes such as interactionism and deviance amplification are recurrent within any industrial society, capitalist or socialist.

The next issue I would question relates to the use of the "nothing works" argument. Whilst accepting that the sources quoted are authoritative, one could point to other sources that show exactly the opposite. For example, see an article by Bill Lockhart on the work of Ross and Gendren (Lynx No. 10, Feb. 1984 magazine, published by EXTERN, 46 University St., Belfast BT7 1HB).

Furthermore, research is often misleading - for example, in the case of I.T. projects, the work is so open to a wide range of variables that what actually is being researched is different from what is really happening. Research can also be misleading in that the findings can be misrepresented.

The generally accepted idea that "nothing works" owes much to recent work in U.S.A. However, has it not been argued that what researchers actually meant was that no one approach works for all kids - which is an entirely different finding.

To go onto another area I feel could have been developed further, it is generally agreed that one of the unintended consequences of the '69 Act was the increase in numbers incarcerated and that I.T. has concentrated too much on "at risk" adolescents. Clearly this approach should be rectified. Thus, the need to develop alternatives to custody should be prioritised.

I would go further to suggest that, given the right structures, delinquency and its effects can be reduced - even within the most capitalistic of systems - providing the structures are right and that the management of such systems is based on the philosophy of minimal intervention with a range of programmes for offenders. The example of Massachusettes, U.S.A., would give some supporting evidence for this.

It is important that I.T. workers do find a variety of methods and ways of working with young people. So I was slightly disappointed that the role of restitution between offenders and offended was not developed. It was suggested that the capitalist system is repressive and unjust and that the justice system and social workers are ways of maintaining the system. The use of restitution is a possible method of challenging the system, for it brings back the human and personal relationship between the parties concerned with the offence.

It is not the case that many young offenders are often victims of, and within, the justice system, but so too is the victim of offences. The judicial system takes power away from both parties and reinforces the power of judges, solicitors, etc.

My final criticism relates to the "politicising" solution put forward towards the end of the article. I totally agree with the principle of the need to politicise those we work with, but however, there are some pitfalls I am concerned about. If a radical stance leads to the acceptance of politicising clients, do we accept that those with other political stances should also be allowed to "politicise"? Could there, therefore, be the development of a continuum of political intervention with Marxists (or anarchists) at one end of the scale, with socialists, liberals, democrats, conservatives and fascists at the other. The idea of having N.F. I.T. workers putting forward a political stance could be argued as being justified, in terms of political equality. Clearly, the situation stated is an extreme example, but it does show that the approach is open to abuse. This, as all I.T. workers will know, is particularly relevant when working with adolescents who are often immature or open to manipulation and abuse.

I would question whether all crime is political, as much crime is, for example, seen as an opportunity for short time financial gain - a result of group pressure, boredom or just because of a lack of thought regarding the outcomes. Thus, I would question just how appropriate a political activist solution is. What I am suggesting is that options are needed for workers and offenders. Whilst working with offenders to encourage political activity may be relevant in some cases, other issues and alternatives should be suggested.

If it is accepted that we are social controllers, then we need to politicise ourselves, as Steve Rogowski has suggested, to ensure that our role is not only minimal but also effective.

EAMONN KEENAN, I.T. WORKER BELFAST.

WORKING FOR A CHANGE

**1985 A.G.M. Training Conference of the
National Working Party of
Young Volunteer Organisers**

Date: 6th - 8th September 1985

Venue: Leicester Polytechnic

The weekend has been planned to allow for informal discussions with other workers and will also offer structured sessions for individuals to look at ways of changing or developing a particular area of their work. Space has been allocated for groups to discuss specific topics of concern to them and plan action where appropriate.

The sessions are:

- Countering racism for white workers
- Work programme planning
- Global inequality and action by young people
- Raising issues with young people using drama and art
- Connecting issues facing young people with the work we do
- Challenging our own attitudes and views
- Net working skills
- Anti-sexism for men
- Life after playschemes
- Young people and the Police Bill
- National Community Service

Further details and registration forms available from: Alison Tomlin, Young Volunteer Resources Unit, N.Y.B., 17-23 Albion Street, Leicester. Tel. 0533 554775

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YOUTH the journal of critical analysis AND POLICY

SUBMISSION

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

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

INSERTS

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