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# **YOUTH** the journal of critical analysis **AND POLICY**

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# playing with money: political economy of popular music

JOHN STREET

*No one disputes the importance of pop music to young people. Disagreement only emerges when the music's significance is analysed. Does pop involve the expression or the exploitation of youth? This article argues that pop can both exploit and express, and that the best way to understand pop is to see these processes as happening simultaneously. Neither the industry nor the audience is ever fully in command of the music. It is because of this that pop is a place in which political struggles can be acted out.<sup>(1)</sup>*

Pop music is everywhere, in pubs, shops and factories, on Walkman's and on car stereos. No longer the exclusive possession of the young, pop is now an international commodity. The music business is big business. Nonetheless, pop also remains a place in which political ideas are expounded and through which political gestures are made. Records have been made to raise money for starving people in Africa and for the miners. Musicians have appeared for the Labour Party, the Conservatives and the GLC. Recently, the **New Musical Express** has contained more political comment than most daily papers. But how do the money, the music and the politics fit together?

The Channel 4 programme, **Diverse Reports**, once filmed a meeting at Arista Records. The representatives of the various departments - promotion, sales, PR - were discussing their marketing strategy for one of Arista's best-selling acts, The Thompson Twins. The conversation was all about "keeping the dance club base" of the act, of "mega mixes", 12 inch and 7 inch singles; it was about getting coverage from **The Sun**, **The Daily Mail** and **The Daily Express**, and about which journalist to send to Japan to cover the world tour. Stress was put on the video - "this video has got a lot of work to do because the band aren't here". Plans were made for a new gimmick: a jigsaw disc which is made of three identical singles, all to be bought separately. There was no mention of the music.<sup>(2)</sup> The same sort of talk can no doubt be heard in company offices throughout the world. There may be different products to sell, but the problem is the same: how to make a profit. For all the rhetoric of art and politics that accompanies pop music, the record industry remains just another business. As the Managing Director of EMI once explained, "We live in a capitalist society, and until that changes the motive is money".<sup>(3)</sup>

For some writers, this is all that needs to be said about the political economy of popular music.<sup>(4)</sup> The demand for popular music is created and managed by the record industry.

The music has been taken from its original makers - the musicians and their audience - and transformed into a product. Quality has been replaced by quantity in the measurement of values; a good record is one that sells. With the use of artificially created fashions and advertising hype, the industry builds immediate obsolescence into the product, thereby maintaining demand and improving turn-over. In other words, making music is really about making money.

While there is more than an element of truth about this argument, it remains a very partial view both of the industry and the political economy of popular music. It is a view that depends on too many unexamined assumptions about the industry, the audience and the music. The business of making popular music is not always as cynically calculating as it seems.

## **The record industry/The owners**

Selling records is a very lucrative business. Hardy's survey of the British record industry showed that in the year 1982-3 the UK market was worth £271.5 million.<sup>(5)</sup> But few major companies sell to a single market. Pop is now an international business, dominated by transnational companies. Between 1973 and 1978, world record sales grew from £4.75 billion to £7 billion. Most of this money is generated by the sale of records to young people. The rise of the record industry in the 1950s resulted from the recognition that there was a new phenomenon, 'the teenager', with few responsibilities and with money to spare.<sup>(6)</sup> From these earliest days, the industry has developed strategies to persuade teenagers to part with their cash. It has been remarkably successful. Even though sales have fallen in recent years, the industry has compensated itself by increasing prices. The campaign to introduce a levy on blank tapes and to cut down on home taping, is clearly a further attempt to maintain sales and profits.

Yet in emphasising the money being made overall, there is a danger of overlooking the character of the market. Because there is so much money to be made, the competition is intense. We cannot talk of a single record industry, but a series of different companies competing in a variety of markets. It is important, for example, to notice the different types of company. There are the small, independent labels who produce and distribute their own products (e.g. Rough Trade, Beggars Banquet); then there are the 'majors' (e.g. Virgin, Island) who sign and record their own artists, but who depend on a third category of company, the transna-

tional companies (e.g. WEA, CBS, Thorn-EMI) for the mass production and distribution of records.<sup>(7)</sup> Although the transnationals are able to dominate the market through their size and their resources, they do not have things all their own way.

Flexibility comes expensive in a large corporation, and yet flexibility is a quality worth possessing in the pop market. It is the ability to respond to sudden changes in fashion and taste. The larger the company the more it either wants tastes to remain the same or to determine what changes of fashion occur. The independent, in contrast, is more able to react to shifts in consumer habits. It was the independent sector that provided the commercial basis for punk music. The big companies found themselves both out of sympathy with, and unable to deal with punk. EMI's attempts to sign The Sex Pistols faltered because the band refused "to do the normal things" and to allow the company to "operate in the normal fashion".<sup>(8)</sup>

Yet while the independents flourished during the early stages of punk, their success was brief. As the music itself changed (there was only so much you could say with a three-chord thrash and a scream), and as the large companies joined the bandwagon, the independents, with their limited power and resources were elbowed aside by the majors and transnationals.

Since the demise of punk, the larger corporations have tended to regain and reassert the power that they had wielded during the early 70s. They have been able to reinforce their natural conservatism, against the market liberalism of the independents. This position of power has been greatly helped by two factors: the overall economic decline and the emergence of the video. Since 1979 the sale of records has fallen considerably, and consequently, market competition has intensified. In these circumstances, it has been the smaller companies that have suffered most because of the narrow profit margins and their limited ability to diversify.<sup>(9)</sup> This trend has been further encouraged by the use of videos to promote records. Where the technology which punk exploited - cheap recording techniques - helped the company with limited capital, video has favoured the company with large budgets. Selling a record increasingly depends on there being an accompanying video which can be shown on breakfast TV, weekend children's programmes, **The Tube**, **Whistle Test** or **Top of the Pops**). The format of these shows are increasingly being organised around the availability of videos (only 'chart climbers' with a video are going to be mentioned on **Top of the Pops**). Not only does the video give the major/transnational an advantage over the independent, to also affects policy within these larger companies. Because of the cost of videos, companies will tend to distribute funds to those acts they know will sell - the ones that are already successful, rather than to favour the unusual or the untried.

With the majors and transnationals in this position of relative power, the choice available to consumers is restricted and conservative. These tendencies are further encouraged by the broadcasters of pop, the main form for the consumption of the music. Although TV and radio sometimes impose their own judgements on the output of the media through the use of 'specialist' shows (e.g. John Peel, Robbie Vincent) or censorship (e.g. the banning of Frankie Goes to Hollywood's 'Relax'), more often their decisions reflect the

market. Programming is organised around the charts.<sup>(10)</sup> That is, they reflect a commercialised version of popularity. However this too needs to be qualified: it is not always the records that sell most copies that reach the charts. Certain forms of music, notably black music, are under-represented, partly because sales are geographically concentrated, and partly because of the prejudices and practices which permeate the industry.<sup>(11)</sup> Both women and black people have reason to resent the way the industry has treated them, denying them and their music equal status. The very distinction between black (once labelled by the white industry as 'race' music) and white music epitomises the way in which politics is deeply ingrained in the economic structure and behaviour of the industry.

Thus, one feature of the political economy of popular music is the industry and the mediating institutions, while their power is considerable, it is important to recognise that the industry is no monolith and that its power varies over time. Even the largest company in the most advantageous conditions is not all powerful.

Most records released by most companies are not hits. This simple, obvious, and yet crucially important fact is too often ignored. It suggests that for all the companies' power and for all their marketing strategies, they remain vulnerable to the choices made by their consumers. Buying records is not exactly the same as buying other consumer items. As Frith once pointed out, "people don't buy Ted Nugent rather than Billy Joel just because his record is cheaper".<sup>(12)</sup> While this may allow record companies to increase record prices without adversely affecting sales, it also means that the original choice - Nugent vs Joel - cannot be determined absolutely by the industry.

### **The audience/The consumers**

Two diametrically opposite views of the audience pervade writing about popular music. Either the audience are consumers or they are creators. The first interpretation fits with the idea that pop music is just another commodity and the audience just passive recipients. Such an argument can either be employed to castigate the entire industry or to distinguish one faction from other - 'serious', 'progressive' rock is set apart from teenybop music. Either way the audience is viewed as the victim of the industry's manipulative strategies and marketing ploys. Groups are seen as the creation of the sales department. One apparent example of this phenomenon is the Puerto Rican group, Menudo. Menudo are the latest in the line that included The Monkees, The Partridge Family and The Archies. They are designed for teenage girls. There are shops in New York which are devoted solely to selling Menudo souvenirs - one 15 year old girl spent 200 dollars in a month in one store. MacDonald's Hamburgers invested 400 million dollars on an advertising campaign using the group. Commercial values do not end with the selling of the group. Even the performers are part of the process of planned obsolescence. The members of the group are replaced as soon as they get too old. The retirement age is 16.<sup>(13)</sup> For those who see the pop audience as exploited consumers, Menudo merely represent an extreme example. Writing about British popular music, Taylor and Wall argue that working class youth is treated in the same way as teenage fans of Menudo. David Bowie they argue was marketed in such a way as to disguise the class polarisation and cash nexus that characterize working class life. Bowie was simply "a new kind of media product". As such he was part of a

much more general practice:

the youth culture of consumer capitalism is one which celebrates existing forms as universal and inevitable, rather than particular and open to change, instrumentality (music for relaxation, dancing and sexual conquest) rather than expressivity (music of an alternative lifestyle, imaginativeness or protest) and, most crucially, financial consumption rather than human participation.

Taylor and Wall conclude, "changes in working class youth culture are.....manufactured changes, imposed on the mass via the media, and determined primarily by sales potential".<sup>(14)</sup>

Explicit in Taylor and Wall's argument is the assumption that popular music can serve a quite different purpose - it can be expressive, it can speak to, and through, a class. Indeed, Taylor and Wall write with a nostalgic glance back to a time when music did actually resemble their ideal. In the sub-text of their argument lies the second, and quite contrary view that can be taken of the pop audience. Here the cynicism is replaced by a romanticism which sees the consumers engaged in a form of collective creativity. It is born of ideas like 'the Woodstock generation' or of rhetoric like this, written about the early days of San Francisco's flower power:

The bands, pure primal power, our first deities, the sources of our new myths, metaphors and anecdotes. If there was any social organisation in the Haight in those days, it was that of a big, anarchistic family, with the bands as a sort of primal father and we as happy, naive children.<sup>(15)</sup>

During punk's heyday in the late 70s a similar rhetoric could be heard.<sup>(16)</sup> The mood and the music were different, but both eras were understood in terms of the audience's role in creating their culture. Popular music was interpreted as the people's music, much in the same way that folk music is traditionally (if wrongly) linked with particular social experiences.

Inevitably there is some truth in both approaches. There are times when the industry is able to manipulate its consumers; and there are times audiences belong to a genuine musical community. Yet we need to be wary of accepting uncritically the rhetoric of those who live by propagating myths about the meaning of the music - rock writers and advertising copywriters; and we also need to draw a distinction between the intentions of the industry and its actual achievements. Both approaches tend to rest on unargued assumptions about how meaning is attached to music. Those who emphasise the music's commercial character have problems explaining how audiences actually choose between the sounds they are being sold and those who emphasise the audience's creative role have difficulty in explaining how consumer preferences are expressed through a vast, bureaucratic industry.

Fred and Judy Vermorel, pop's eccentric archivists, have recently published their discoveries of 'The Secret Fantasies of Fans'. The book, *Starlust*, makes disturbing reading as fans recount, in lurid detail, their obsessions - from the 40 year-old woman who fantasises about Barry Manilow when making love to her husband, to teenagers who document their imagined sexual encounters with Sting. However sad or strange these confessions are, it is difficult to see them as coldly created. They owe too much to their authors for that. Most musicians or record executives would probably recoil

in horror at the mixture of lust, anger and sentiment that their fans and consumers invest. Whether or not they do, it is clear that the power of the music and the audience's response to it is too complex to be crudely controlled and exploited. As Marnie said of watching David Bowie, "I had a mixture of feelings inside me. I felt shock, happiness, fright, hysteria and a perpetual dream state feeling - all at the same time".<sup>(17)</sup> As Garratt has observed, "A fan's mind is a curious thing.....It picks and chooses from the information available, giving credence only where it wants to, and even managing to retain and believe quite contradictory facts simultaneously".<sup>(18)</sup> If this is true, then the idea that fans are simply manipulated is much harder to sustain. Indeed, the fans themselves are engaged in a form of manipulation themselves, turning pop's images and idols to their own purpose.

The use of the imagination in the enjoyment of pop establishes an area of relatively autonomous power for the listener. "Fantasy", remarks Garratt, "unlike reality, isn't binding". It is the importance of fantasy which is overlooked by Taylor and Wall in their dismissal of David Bowie. While Bowie may not have addressed class division, and may have drawn support from both middle and working class fans, his image and music allowed the audience to explore and resist other forms of social control, particularly those imposed by gender stereotyping. Like Boy George, Prince and Grace Jones who also play games with gender, Bowie provided an opportunity for his followers to explore alternative role models and forms of sexual expression.

But the audience's ability to assert itself does not end with the opportunities offered by the imagination. Even in the simple act of home-taping, people put a small spoke in the industry's wheel. Not only does home-taping involve a refusal (or an inability) to pay inflated prices, it may also entail a wish to re-shape the product, either by simply making personalised compilation albums or more radically by remixing and re-editing the original. The proliferation of pirate stations in London and elsewhere has further undermined the control exercised by the industry and the broadcasting authorities. Even the brief success of Frankie Goes to Hollywood suggested that audiences could make fun of the business of selling records. Savage wrote:

'The people who queued up.....to buy 'Welcome to the Pleasure Dome' were participating, as they were fully aware, in an event. In buying Frankie they were buying the idea of success as much as what the group had to offer'.<sup>(19)</sup>

Such events, together with the new forms of music consumption, obviously have their limitations. They are, to an important extent, parasitic upon the industry. But then it may not be possible to conceive of a widely available popular music which is not sustained by a large and powerful organisation, whether that organisation be the state, as in the Soviet Union, or capitalist industry, as in the West. The point is to recognise the endless struggle for control over the production and consumption of popular music. Victories for either side are temporary and uncertain; they are never total triumphs. Neither the audience nor the industry is in complete command, and it is important to be conscious of the ever-shifting terrain upon which these struggles are acted out. As MacInnes wrote in his 1959 novel about teenage life, *Absolute Beginners*: "It's been a two-way twist, this teenage party. Exploitation of kiddos by the conscripts, and exploitation of themselves by the crafty little absolute beginners".<sup>(20)</sup>

### The music/The product

Just as we cannot understand the music industry without the audience, so we cannot understand the link between them without the music. The political economy of popular music has, it might be said, and aesthetic dimension. To explain the achievements of the industry or the challenges mounted by the audience, it is necessary to appreciate what the product itself - the music - means. For example, it is arguable that, for all punk's radical rhetoric its importance can best be accounted for in musical rather than political terms. Many of the leading figures in the rise of punk were, as British rock stars often are, middle-class graduates of art school, or they were people who had made names for themselves during the flower power era. Together they created an image for the music - that it could change the world, it was self-expression - which may have had only tangential relevance to those who consumed it.<sup>(21)</sup> For them, punk was a new sound, a new way of consuming music; they were not fooled, any more than was the industry, that a three minute song, however loud or angry, would change a single vote or mind.

Appreciating the meaning of the music means distinguishing between the forms in which it comes - rock, pop, soul, reggae, country etc. Each has different rules, a different language and vocabulary with which to work. The subject matter and style of rock are not the same as soul or pop. Similarly, the audiences vary, both between, and within, musical styles. Where pop and rock are youth-oriented musics, country, soul and reggae place less emphasis on age. But rock artists vary in the kind of audience they attract. One of the most interesting features of the rock audience, as distinct from the pop one, is its male domination. This particular feature provides a good way of illustrating the way musical form, audience and meaning are linked.

Women musicians and technicians have always found it difficult to win the respect accorded their male colleagues. Although women musicians, partly through the opportunities created by punk, have recently been able to assert their own musical identity. The singer, Billie Davis, recalling her experiences in the 60s, said of her male backing musicians: "They think, 'she's a girl, she doesn't know what she's talking about'. It's very hard to get them to do what you want to do, all the time they want to do their own thing".<sup>(22)</sup> Today, women can play a more decisive role, as performers as diverse as Joni Mitchell, Poly Styrene (X-Ray Spex), Joan Armatrading, and Siouxsie (and the Banshees) have demonstrated. Nonetheless, women producers and session musician remain very rare.<sup>(23)</sup>

Although these inequalities owe much to the employment practices and ideologies which pervade all industries, there is a further explanation. Rock is, in many ways, a male form. Frith and McRobbie argue that not only does "rock....(have) a crucial role to play in the process by which its users constitute their sexuality", it also propagates particular kinds of male sexuality. One such sexual and musical style is linked in the phenomenon they call 'cock rock' (The Stones, Led Zepplin, Heavy Metal generally) in which the singer and the songs are 'aggressive, dominating, boastful', encouraging a view of man as proud and in control. While the music reinforces a particular male image, and excludes women in its performance, women are denied access to the sound itself.<sup>(24)</sup> McRobbie has drawn attention to rock's use of images and activities associated with the street:

It has always been on the street that most subcultural

activity takes place....it both proclaims the publicisation of the group and at the same time ensures its male dominance. For the street remains in some ways taboo for women (think of the unambiguous connotations of the streetwalker).<sup>(25)</sup>

For as long as women are prohibited from a public life equivalent to that of male street culture, and for as long as rock music remains obsessed with the myths of streetlife, then women will tend to find rock's pleasure alien. Even Bruce Springsteen, who concerns with everyday frustration and oppression uses rock to considerable effect, remains attached to a variety of male myths and experiences. In his songs, women accompany the bids for freedom or are appended to the frustration. This does not, of course, stop women from enjoying Springsteen's music, just as previous (or the same?) generation enjoyed The Stones, despite the notoriously unpleasant sentiments of songs like 'Under My Thumb'. Their pleasure has been possible because the lyrics are of limited importance to the meaning of a song. But however the Stones are enjoyed by women, it is noticeable how women musicians and audiences have sought out different sounds and styles to those being offered by the male dominated industry. It is also worth observing the way other musical forms have provided a musical and lyrical language more receptive to women's concerns. In soul, Sister Sledge have had hits 'We Are Family' and then, more recently, 'Frankie'. Both used group voices to give a sense of collective strength, in striking contrast to the isolated rock voice which rock traditionally gives to women. (In the same way, the 'mindless screaming' and 'hysteria' which some commentators see in girls' response to Duran Duran or Nik Kershaw, may be better understood as girls just having fun together in a way that society does not normally allow). Country music too, for all the anti-feminist message of many of its songs, is different from rock in the way in which the female voice operates as an instrument in itself, and not as an embellishment to a male musical setting, and in the way it allows women to sing of their domestic life - children, marriage - while rock ignores both.<sup>(26)</sup>

My point here is not to offer a definitive reading of the way different popular musics are heard by different groups. (One of the pleasures of music is the spirit of democratic disagreement that pervades argument about taste - everyone knows what they like). Rather I want to draw attention to the complexities entailed in analysing the way pop is enjoyed. We may not be able to offer irrefutable proof that music means one thing and not another. However this should not alter the fact that any attempt to understand the politics of popular music must include this kind of interpretation. The music forms the bridge that links the industry and its consumers. It is through the meanings given to the music that both consumers and producers seek to control it. Popular music matters because of the money being made out of it and the importance individuals attach to it. It is also important because of the way both executives and audiences try to control their world through it. A view of the popular music's political economy which concentrated on the industry would be as partial as one that concentrated on the industry would be as partial as one that concentrated only on what audiences do. The relationship between the two is forever changing, mediated by new technologies, marketing strategies, musical ideas, social experience and political values.

Although pop presently seems to be firmly in the hands of the music industry, this impression may be misleading. The wider political context invests pop with a variety of conflicting meanings. While the pre-eminence of the transnationals fits with Tory commitments to the profit motive, there is a tension between this and an equally strong Thatcherite ideological commitment to ideas of free choice and a consumerist populism. The conflict is most apparent in the Government's uncertainties about whether, or in what form, a levy on blank tapes should be introduced. Should it protect profits or private leisure choices?<sup>(27)</sup>

Ultimately, these questions are about who should control popular music. This is an increasingly pertinent issue as the Government's commitment to the value of leisure clashes with its belief that young people should be forced to look for work. In such circumstances competing definitions of 'leisure' abound, and attempts to give effect to them involves controlling the means to pleasure. Where young people see unemployment as an inevitable and permanent fact of life, then control over the use and production of pop takes on greater importance as a way of laying claim to non-work hours and investing them with meaning. Now, it seems, the right to pleasure has to be fought for, and in the process the meaning and control of pop becomes increasingly political.

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# turning the tables: feminist analysis of youth unemployment

CHRIS GRIFFIN

*Rises in youth unemployment levels have led to a renewed burst of activity amongst social scientists involved in research around youth, education and employment. This article reviews some of the main feminist criticisms of research on young people which attempts to 'fit' young women's experiences into existing theories and which treat male experience as the norm. I conclude by considering the implications of 'turning the tables', and making female experiences the focus and starting point for our understanding of contemporary employment, unwaged work and unemployment for all young people.*

## Research on 'Youth': Perpetuating the Male Norm

Most research on youth, youth subcultures and the so-called 'transition from school to work' has focussed on the experiences of young, mainly white and working class men.<sup>(1)</sup> There have been a number of critiques of the predominantly male focus of this work.<sup>(2)</sup> Despite these criticisms, we are still being presented with studies of young men's experiences which develop theories of supposedly universal relevance, without seeing this as a problem.<sup>(3)</sup> Alternatively, some studies do consider young women's experiences as well as young men's, but focus their analyses around the latter, so that young women are merely fitted into gender-specific, male categories.<sup>(4)</sup>

Have all of these researchers really missed the points made by the various critics of earlier youth studies? Do they feel so secure in their positions within the academic hierarchy that they are able to ignore such criticisms? Perhaps we are witnessing an example of the process described by Spender when she demonstrated some of the ways in which words, indeed their very presence is often ignored. Or it is simply a lack of imagination that most male and some female researchers are unable to envisage any other way of thinking than to focus on men's experiences?

This focus on male experience is one example of what Silta-nen and Stanworth have called the "academic male-stream" and Spender has referred to as "men's studies".<sup>(5)</sup> I have no space here to speculate on the reasons for academics' resistances to taking women's experiences and criticisms seriously. I want to concentrate on the ways in which this gender-specific approach has influenced our understanding, or rather our lack of understanding of gender differences in waged work and unemployment.

In youth research, as in most areas of the social sciences, we

are faced with a range of theories which treat men's experiences as the norm. These are effectively gender-specific analyses which are presented as relevant to **all** young people, though most have little to say about masculinity, femininity or gender relations.<sup>(6)</sup> Young women have either been ignored or marginalised in most research on youth cultures, education and the move from school to the job market.

Young women's experiences and the analysis of gender relations are not the only areas which have been neglected in most studies of youth cultures and the school to work transition. The latter have tended to focus on the lives of white youth, giving little attention to the experiences of Black British young people, and even less to the incidence of racism in leisure, education and employment.<sup>(7)</sup> Black youth and especially Afro-Caribbean males have usually been seen as a potential threat to the social order and treated as 'problems', plagued by "negative social identities".<sup>(8)</sup>

With the inner city uprising of 1980 and '81, this tendency to view Black British young people with a mixture of fear and pity intensified. In the expanding area of 'ethnicity studies', Black youth, mainly Afro-Caribbean males were presented as deprived, discriminated against, disillusioned - and angry. The spiritual and political teachings of Rastafarianism have been the focus of many such studies and white sociologists have shown a remarkable lack of understanding of Rasta as a religion, a political doctrine or even a subcultural style.<sup>(9)</sup> As usual, the main focus of this research has been young men's lives. Since feminist studies of young women's position have concentrated on young white women, the experiences of young Asian and Afro-Caribbean women have not been reflected in most research on young people's lives.<sup>(10)</sup>

## Moving Beyond the Male Norm

Those researchers, usually women who have an interest in young women's position, or in gender relations, are faced with a difficult dilemma. The overwhelming dominance of gender-specific male theories means that young women's experiences must be explained in the latter's terms. Within youth cultures research there have been several attempts to understand the particular experiences of young, again mainly white and working class women, and to move beyond the limitations of what I called the "gang of lads" model.<sup>(11)</sup> The article by McRobbie and Garber was one early attempt to do just that which met with a sharp rebuke from the guar-



dians of the dominant, in this case Marxist analysis.

McRobbie and Garber argued that "the position of girls may be, not marginally, by **structurally** different" in youth subcultures (original emphasis). In their discussion of female 'Teeny Bopper' fan cultures based in the home rather than on the street corner, McRobbie and Garber concluded that gender and sexuality were crucial to young women's experiences. As they put it:

when the discussion of sexuality is included in the study of youth subcultures, girls can be seen to be negotiating a different space, offering a different type of resistance to what can at least in part be viewed as their sexual subordination.<sup>(12)</sup>

This suggestion was controversial in the context of **Resistance through Rituals**, in which class relation were seen as central to the predominantly Marxist analysis of youth subcultures. The notion that youth could be resisting anything other than their class subordination was clearly a sensitive issue. McRobbie and Garber's exploratory piece was followed by a complicated **Note on marginality** by Powell and Clarke, which concluded that:

women do not inhabit a separated and invisible part of the social formation, but are engaged in exactly the **same** institutional subcultures as men, but in different relations<sup>(13)</sup> (original emphasis).

Such a harsh reaction to McRobbie and Garber's article indicates that any attempt to question the primacy of male theories and/or to focus on female experience can draw swift criticism. This hardly filled me with optimism during my own attempts to apply gender-specific theories to young women's experiences. I worked on a study of "Young Women and Work" at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham University from 1979 to 1982. This involved extensive interviews with mainly female students in six Birmingham schools. It then followed 25 young white working class women into their first two years in the job markets.<sup>(14)</sup>

This study was partly set up to complement Paul Willis's work with young white working class men in school and into the job market, which covered six years altogether. As the study progressed, I felt a definite pressure to identify female equivalents of Willis's lads and 'earoles: working class male anti- and pro-school cultures respectively.<sup>(15)</sup> Other researchers have attempted to apply this model to young women's experiences with varying degrees of success.<sup>(16)</sup>

Willis argued that the lads counter-school culture acted as a bridge between school and the labour market, leading them to 'choose' hard, heavy manual jobs. After spending many hours struggling with tape transcripts and sheafs of fieldnotes, I finally found the confidence to admit that the young women's experiences simply could not be understood in terms of a theory which had quite explicitly been developed to explain the position of young white working class men. This was not a failure on my part, nor was it an outright rejection of Willis's theory: the latter could hardly be expected to explain young women's experiences if it had not been designed to do so in the first place.

I have explained the reasoning involved in my decision in greater detail elsewhere.<sup>(17)</sup> Firstly, the definition of young women's conformity and deviance in school was quite different to that for young men. Deviance amongst female stu-

dents tends to be defined in relation to their sexuality, whilst for young men it centres on their perceived levels of verbal and physical aggression.<sup>(18)</sup>

The most fundamental factor was that there was no female equivalent to the 'gang of lads' which has provided the foundation for so much research around youth and youth subcultures. The social structure of female and male friendship groups was very different. Young women tended to mix either with one 'best' girlfriend, or with small groups of between two and four young women. Some of these friendships could last for years, while others changed as young women argued and shifted their allegiances elsewhere. It was therefore extremely difficult to identify specific groups of young women as pro- or anti-school in the broader cultural sense described by Willis.

Finally, there was no obvious connection between young women's status in school and their eventual positions in the full-time job market. The interaction of social and financial pressures to get a boyfriend, husband and eventually a family meant that the move from school to the labour market was quite different for young women. It was difficult to trace links between young women's attitudes to, and behaviour in school, and their eventual destinations in the job market. The main distinction for working class fifth formers was between office jobs ('a good job for a girl') and factory work. Young women's expectations about these jobs related to perceived differences in rates of pay, working conditions and the forms of feminine appearance required in, and associated with office and factory work. The latter were race, age, class and gender specific.

#### **Recent Analyses of Youth Unemployment: The same Old Story?**

The prevalence of analyses based on men's experiences make any attempt to think about gender relations, young women's position or the social meanings of femininity and masculinity extremely difficult. Unfortunately there are signs that many of the inadequacies of previous research are being reproduced in recent analyses of unemployment, and especially youth unemployment. This is particularly damaging, since it reinforces the notion that women's unemployment and employment is less important than men's. Such assumptions can only support the view expressed by Patrick Jenkin, as the Secretary of State for Social Services, when he declared in a **Man Alive** programme on BBC TV in October 1979. "I don't think that mothers have the same right to work as fathers. If the good Lord had intended us to have equal rights to go to work, he wouldn't have created man and woman".

A short article by Warr, of Sheffield University's Social and Applied Psychology Unit, demonstrates the continuing influence of the male norm in social science research on unemployment. This six-page article cites evidence from SAPU's studies of the psychological effects of unemployment on men for the first four pages. Warr does acknowledge the male bias of his analysis, and he actually mentions gender differences at the end of his first section:

Finally, what about sex differences in the effect of unemployment? Most of the results I have described have come from samples of men. However, we have also looked at aspects of women's unemployment, attempting to bring together a wide range of finding within an overall model.<sup>(19)</sup>

Warr then quotes in brief some research on differences in the psychological effects of paid work for women with children, which focuses on class rather than gender differences. He does not mention those SAPU studies which have made direct comparisons between the effects of unemployment on young women and men.<sup>(20)</sup>

Warr is by no means the only academic to treat male experience as the norm. Hayes and Nutman make their position clear in the introduction to their review of research on psychological impact of unemployment:

The place work occupies in the life of women has dramatically changed over the years. These changes are not reflected in many studies of unemployment reported in this book. In the majority of cases these studies examined **only the effects of unemployment on men**. Wherever possible we have included studies which embraced women, and we believe that the models and explanations that we have developed are **equally applicable to both men and women**.<sup>(21)</sup>

I have concentrated so far on the social science mainstream, but what of the more radical edge of research on youth unemployment? I have already mentioned Willis's study of the school to work transition for young white working class men, and I want to look at his most recent analysis of the social and political implications of contemporary youth unemployment.<sup>(22)</sup> Willis's paper is not an empirical report of research results but a series of speculations on the possible political and cultural consequences of youth unemployment. His analysis is quite different in style and content to Warr's paper and he does take gender relations more seriously. However, I would argue that the experiences of young white working class men are still being treated as the norm in Willis's analysis and that this limits the value of his ideas for developing our understanding of young women's (and young men's) waged work and unemployment. I am not about to launch into a negative attack on Willis's work in the usual academic tradition, but I do want to find a constructive way of developing some of his ideas.

Willis argues that we must acknowledge the unrealistic and hollow ring of calls for a return to full employment or for the total boycott of all government training schemes, because such initiatives do not always mesh with the conditions of working class people's lives. We must recognise, however reluctantly, the potentially positive **and** the negative implications of mass youth unemployment.<sup>(23)</sup> Willis suggests that if the old-style transition from school to work has long gone, then most working class youth face "a broken cultural apprenticeship". They are trapped in a social, cultural and economic limbo, unable to reach the adult status associated with a full-time job. Willis's analysis is often interesting and imaginative, presenting a fuller picture of the impact of prolonged unemployment than the survey-based studies quoted by Warr. I want to consider some of Willis's main points in more detail, 'turning the tables' and focusing on young women's experiences in order to develop our understanding of youth unemployment, work, leisure and family life.

### **Turning the Tables: Starting from Young Women's Experiences**

#### **(a) The Meaning of Work.**

Any analysis of unemployment must of necessity look at the nature of work. It is here that most studies demonstrate their male focus, since they see unemployment in opposition to

full-time waged work, and seldom consider unwaged domestic work as real work. Not everyone is as explicit as Parker, who made men in full-time employment the central defining category for his study of leisure. Housewives, along with prisoners, the unemployed and the idle rich were then defined as having "nothing but free time".<sup>(24)</sup> Since domestic work is overwhelmingly women's responsibility, most research on work, unemployment and leisure has difficulty in appreciating women's experiences because it is based on the assumption that the wage is the principal defining characteristic of work.

However, Willis does look at the implications of housework and childcare for women and at the tendency for unemployed young women to be trapped in the home by domestic commitments. Yet if we examine the ways in which he refers to work and non-work, a rather different picture emerges. In the very first paragraph, Willis describes the bleak job prospects facing most young people in Wolverhampton, concluding that "many will never work". Unemployed young people are frequently referred to as "the workless", or as "workers without work". There is only one occasion in which a form of domestic work (shopping) is treated as work, and then in relation to ways of turning it into a **pleasurable** activity. Long-term unemployment for many young working class women does not mean a life of 'worklessness' any more than Parker's category of 'free' leisure time applies to full-time housewives and mothers.

Willis is quite explicit about his theoretical approach and sees the role of domestic work within capitalist society as secondary to employment. This insistence on the primacy of Capital underlies some the gaps in Willis' argument and makes it difficult for him to recognise that work can be organised to any significant extent by social relations other than those based on capital and class.

When Willis turns to the separation between home and work, the gender-specific nature of his approach becomes clearer. He argues that:

The home is the main living embodiment of the labourer's 'freedom and independence' from Capital - apart from wage labour, ...which is the price for the independence of the separate home. But this price really does purchase something. The household is an area of privacy, security and protection from the aggression of work, from the patriarchal dependencies of the parental home, for the vicissitudes of the market place. The separate home is still a universal working class objective and its promise of warmth and safety more than offsets the risk and coldness of work. Waged work is still the key to its opposite. No wage is no keys to the future.<sup>(25)</sup>

Of course the home is all of these things to most working class people. To many Asian and Afro-Caribbean people home also provides a refuge from racist attacks and insults.<sup>(26)</sup> Yet there is another side to working class family life which Willis barely mentions. The home is a workplace and a primary site of oppression for most women and girls. Family life all too often means violence and even sexual abuse from fathers, stepfathers, brothers, partners or husbands.<sup>(27)</sup> The image of the home as a haven of 'privacy, security and protection' is so powerful that it can bring immunity from Police intervention: rape in marriage is still legal in Britain. Whatever its positive attributes, the home remains a workplace for most women, regardless of their paid

employment outside of, and even within, those four walls. Women do the bulk of the never-ending and largely unnoticed housework and take on the 24-hour childcare responsibilities.

Willis makes a brief but intriguing mention of what he calls "the cycle of sacrifice-reward-dignity" which is implicit in the experience of waged work. "Sacrifice" in these terms refers to the exchange of a worker's labour power in return for the "reward" of the wage and the "dignity" and status that comes with a paid job. The notion of sacrifice is also central to domestic work, and especially childcare. Willis recognises this when he describes the latter as offering "a clear role, the work of meeting the needs of someone else". However, the literal self-sacrifice required of full-time wives and mothers is of a different order to that involved in waged labour.

Domestic work is seldom exchanged for any financial reward, with the exception of paid home helps and nannies in upper and middle class households. Childcare brings the associated status of motherhood, but the dignity connected with this role is not unequivocally positive, as Rich has pointed out.<sup>(28)</sup> Motherhood is seen as a woman's true vocation, and as the most appropriate expression of her creativity. Paradoxically, the work involved in childcare is attributed to inborn female characteristics rather than learned skills - at least by many childcare 'experts' in the medical profession, if not by mothers themselves.

Sharpe has looked in detail at the lives of 'working mothers', and at the social meaning of waged work, housework and childcare for white working and middle class women and men. Basing her analysis on women's experiences of running a home whilst 'holding down' a paid job, Sharpe describes the continual pressures of women's work in vivid terms. For most housewives and mothers, their "responsibility becomes so taken for granted it is carried around like a permanent weight which is difficult to shed".<sup>(29)</sup> Domestic work commitments can take over so much of women's lives that any time which is not spent actually doing the work is spent worrying about it. Finding a space for any 'leisure' outside of waged and unwaged work becomes difficult, if not impossible to achieve.

Like Willis's work, Sharpe's analysis is valuable because she recognises the importance and the complexity of people's experiences. Her concluding chapter examines the different meanings of work for women and men both in and out of the home. Unfortunately Sharpe also tends to use 'work' to refer to waged work alone, although she does acknowledge the work involved in housework and childcare. Sharpe is mainly concerned to compare experiences of employment and domestic work and the connection between jobs and gender, devoting relatively little space to the impact of unemployment on women's and men's lives.

Willis has more to say about the social and cultural implications of the loss of the wage for young working class men. He is less forthcoming about the meanings of unemployment for young women and for their sense of femininity. This is partly because we know less about the social, psychological, cultural and economic meanings of work and employment for women as compared to their male peers, and it is here that the insights of Sharpe and her peers are invaluable. If we start from women's perspective, our understanding of

waged work and unemployment can hardly fail to look at the role of housework and childcare. If researchers continue to ignore or marginalise this vital but largely invisible work, we will be seeing only a part of the complete picture.

For many women and girls, unpaid domestic work can be seen as the baseline against which their experiences of work, employment and unemployment must be judged. Domestic commitments clearly affect young women's schooling, leisure activities and employment status, as well as their experiences of unemployment and family life.<sup>(30)</sup> Yet what of their male peers? A few studies have looked at the implications of unemployment for young men and for their sense of masculine identity, but we know almost nothing about their involvement in domestic work and even less about the influences of family life on men's lives.<sup>(31)</sup>

#### **(b) The Implications of Mass Youth Unemployment**

Willis suggests that prolonged unemployment may undermine the pattern of sacrifice-reward-dignity for young working class men, and "may actually question that traditional (masculine) identity and its divisions of labour" (p.24, my insertion). This conjures up the somewhat unlikely image of unemployed 'lads' in kitchens and bathrooms all over Britain, cleaning toilets and washing clothes. Of course, this would be a positive step forward, but I can see no obvious reason why young men should begin to take on such 'women's work' to any significant extent. All the recent evidence seems to point the other way, suggesting that mass unemployment is having few positive effects on family life but has led to an increased incidence of male domestic violence and all the unpleasant consequences of alcohol and drug abuse.<sup>(32)</sup>

Willis does acknowledge that youth unemployment may not necessarily lead to positive changes in young men's behaviour and attitudes towards women. As he puts it: "one creative form of the resolution of a 'gender crisis' among young men may well be an aggressive assertion of masculinity and masculine style for its own sake", and this "may also deepen some of the brutalities and oppressions experienced by working class women".<sup>(33)</sup> It is difficult to see such "aggressive assertions of masculinity" as creative, especially when they take violently sexist or racist forms. Willis seems reluctant to expand on "the brutalities and oppressions experienced by working class women". There is no specific mention of male violence and he shies away from identifying the gender of the fist which "might" be crunching into the face of a woman or a child. However, it is worth remembering that most researchers have ignored such aggressive manifestations of male power almost completely.<sup>(34)</sup>

Willis also looks at the implications of mass youth unemployment for family life. The speculative nature of his article means that we are given a series of potential consequences to consider, with no suggestions that there is any one definite outcome of contemporary youth unemployment. So Willis argues that unemployed young working class women may become trapped in the home by domestic commitments, and unfortunately all the evidence indicates that this is already happening.<sup>(35)</sup>

Another suggestion is that motherhood may emerge as a more acceptable 'career' for unemployed young women as both Campbell and Willis have pointed out.<sup>(36)</sup> This is an attractive proposition, but before we rush to name mother-

hood as a new form of working class female resistance, we need to know more about the status of motherhood for young women **before** unemployment levels began to soar in the 1980s. Is motherhood always such a conscious choice, as Willis and Campbell seem to imply? Most of the young women to whom I spoke in the early 1980s saw marriage and motherhood as inevitable. No other alternatives were socially acceptable or economically viable, and there was little space for 'choice' - at least for most young working class women.<sup>(37)</sup> I am not denying that increasing numbers of unemployed young women may be getting pregnant and/or married as a result of their exclusion from the job market. I am simply sounding a note of caution, since such changes could equally be attributed to the lads' "aggressive assertions of masculinity" taking a more coercive heterosexual form.

Willis also suggests that unemployment and the loss of the wage may make young working class men less attractive as potential boyfriends and husbands. If young men cannot provide a passport to more exciting and expensive leisure activities, and if they are unable to finance the move away from the parental home, then 'the lads' present a far less viable financial proposition for young women. Alongside the lack of council accommodation for young single people, this is given as another reason for the increased incidence of the single-parent family form, with the mother as the centre of this 'new' family structure.

For Willis, this new attack on the traditional nuclear family can fundamentally alter the sexual and romantic relation between the sexes and provide "the grounds of a real independence and liberation for some women".<sup>(38)</sup> This may well be the case, but the mother-centric family and the undermining of male power through mass unemployment is not so new in British society. It is certainly less of a novelty for many Afro-Caribbean people than it may be amongst other sections of the working class. Attempts to destabilise and fragment 'indigenous' family forms and support networks through high unemployment has been an integral part of colonialist strategy in the Caribbean and other areas. The legacy of this phenomenon is still reflected in the family structures and unemployment rates of Afro-Caribbean people in Britain today.<sup>(39)</sup>

Willis also gives an interesting account of the relation between commodities and consumerism and the particular cultural challenge posed by unemployed young people as they hang around city centre shopping precincts. From my observations of Birmingham's Bullring Centre over the past ten years, young people had been hanging around shopping precincts for some years before the recent rise in unemployment levels. They would "have a laugh" and wind up the police as an entertaining way of passing the time.<sup>(40)</sup> So whilst these activities may not be a direct consequence of youth unemployment, as Willis seems to imply, they have certainly been given a whole new set of cultural and political resonances by the current economic crisis and by the 'riots' of 1980 and '81.

Before the recent rise in youth unemployment levels, this 'youth occupation' of the Bullring had a range of meanings, some of which are still relevant in 1985. One area which is scarcely mentioned in Willis's analysis is the importance of hanging around these precincts for young black people. The police spend a great deal of time and effort using the SUS

and other laws to restrict the movements of Asian and Afro-Caribbean people to specific inner city areas. By doing their own thing, whether listening to reggae or funk music on portable cassette players, breakdancing, or simply 'hanging around', young blacks were and are claiming a part of the city's communal space for themselves.

When black youth are so defiantly visible in the commercial heart of the city, rather than isolated in 'ghetto' areas, they tend to be treated as a problem by the police, the shopkeepers and the white shoppers. The street uprisings of the early 1980s have ensured that this element of challenge to white authorities and white commercial space continues into 1985. Contemporary youth unemployment only serves to intensify the urgency of these resistances.

One final extension of Willis's argument concerns young women's relationship to commodities and consumerism. Young women themselves are seen and treated as commodities and as potential objects for male sexual consumption. They are also an important 'target' group of potential consumers in the market place. Simply 'hanging around' in the streets has a connotation of sexual availability for young women which affects their involvement in youth subcultures to a significant extent.<sup>(41)</sup>

Like their male peers, young women may create their own individual or collective styles, whether this is based on clothes which have been bought from high street boutiques, rag markets or junk shops, or simply nicked. Young women who wear the latest clothes, hair styles and make-up must still deal with the prospect of being judged in terms of their perceived attractiveness to men. Some styles, like punk for example, are an open challenge to the image of the nice, well-groomed (ie. white and middle class) young lady. Subverting this latter image in order to avoid being seen as a 'good girl' often means that young women are condemned as slags or lesbians.<sup>(42)</sup> In this context, it is extremely difficult for young women to develop an effective way of challenging their status as sexual commodities, and to dress for themselves or for each other.

### Conclusion

In this article I have looked briefly at the male-as-norm principle as it has influenced our understanding of young people's lives, and of work, employment and unemployment. One way to move beyond the limitations of this male norm is to 'turn the tables' and focus on women's experiences. I would see the latter as a starting point rather than an end in itself, as one potential means of examining the social meanings of work and unemployment which can include women's **and** men's experiences.

Moving beyond the male norm in analysis of youth, waged work and unemployment will no doubt have some effect on existing 'male-stream' theories. As Stanley and Wise have pointed out: "If you take women seriously, if you make women's experiences the central features of what you're doing then you just **can't** leave the rest undisturbed".<sup>(43)</sup>

It is long past time that academics began to take feminist criticisms seriously, and to reassess their approaches to analysing work, leisure and unemployment.

This article has looked at several recent analyses of the relation between gender, class and 'work', notably Willis's arti-

cle in *Youth and Policy*, and Sharpe's study of 'working mothers'. The former makes important connections between young people's experiences of waged work and unemployment, but the model on which the analyses is based is still the young white working class male. Sharpe does consider the meanings of domestic work and employment for women and men, through a focus on a group of mainly white working class women. The latter study was never intended to examine the effects of unemployment, but it does provide a useful analysis of work which includes women's and men's experiences of domestic work as well as employment.

Even such radical analyses, which recognise the importance of housework and childcare and examine differences between women's and men's experiences, still continue to use the term 'work' as synonymous with waged labour. If we are to appreciate the full implications of prolonged unemployment for young people, then we must take a long hard look at our assumptions about work, unemployment and leisure.

This is not simply an academic exercise. If our political understanding of youth unemployment is not based on young people's experiences in all their diversity, then any interventions will be of limited value. This is the case for those who are working in youth and community work, in education, social work, local government or in the voluntary sector. It is worth remembering the point made by Coote and Campbell in their account of the impact of the Women's Liberation Movement on British politics:

When it comes to formulating policy, it is not enough simply to add on a shopping list of feminist demands to objectives which already exist on the left. We need a new starting point, a new set of criteria, a new order of priorities. Patriarchal politics- whether on the left, centre or right - has a distorted perspective.<sup>(44)</sup>

This point is equally relevant to the academic 'male-stream' as to policy formation and the political process. 'Turning the tables' and focusing on women's experiences is only a starting point from which to develop our understanding of, and responses to mass youth unemployment. This will no doubt be a long process but we do not have the luxury of unlimited time. Unemployed young people do not want to hear regurgitated slogans and recycled strategies from the 1930s and they are unlikely to appreciate being talked down to by adults who seem unable to comprehend the full implications of youth unemployment in the 1980s.

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# feature review

BY PETER MALPASS

## BEYOND THE 'COSTA DEL DOLE'

H. Cowen and R. Lording

**THE HIDDEN HOMELESS: report of a survey on homelessness and housing among young blacks in Gloucester** Gloucester College of Arts and Technology, 1983

ISSN 0264-9098

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H. Cowen

**HOMELESSNESS AMONG BLACK YOUTH: policies and planning** Gloucester College of Arts and Technology, 1983

ISSN 0144-4875

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S. Venn

**SINGLED OUT: Local authority housing policies for single people.** CHAR, 1985

ISBN 0 906951 20 8

£2.95

pp. 68

Community Action Project

**BEYOND THE HOSTEL, 1982**

ISBN 01 907095 33 x

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Young Homelessness Group

**MOVING ON, MOVING IN: working towards proper housing for young people, 1985**

ISBN 0 906951 19 4

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pp. 28

**NO BED, NO JOB: Homelessness amongst young people**

CSV, Revised edn. 1984

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For many years the housing needs of single people, especially young single people, have been given low priority by both central and local government. However in 1984 the issue sprang to prominence, but not because the Government suddenly recognised that it should provide more resources. On the contrary, it was largely because of a press campaign amongst the tabloid papers, in which allegations were made about unemployed young people decamping to the seaside, there to live a life of comfort and idleness, in hotels, paid for by the DHSS. Ministers were apparently convinced that this revealed widespread abuse of the board and lodging allowances provided by the social security system and rule changes were announced in November which would end the so-called scandal of the costa del dole.

In the period 1979-84 the numbers of claimants living in board and lodging accommodation rose by 184%, from 49,000 to 139,000; the most rapid increase occurred amongst people aged under 26.<sup>(1)</sup> The cost of maintaining these claimants rose from £52m in 1979 to £380m in 1984.<sup>(2)</sup> Despite the fact that this expenditure represented less than 1% of the total social security budget and despite the very high levels of unemployment amongst young people and the great difficulties they face in securing decent housing, the Government's reaction was to introduce draconian measures to limit both the length of time that claimants would be entitled to board and lodgings allowances, and the maximum payments each week. The new regulations announced in November 1984 were to take effect in April 1985. Since the changes did not require legislation it was possible to act quickly and without exposure to full parliamentary scrutiny. So great was the desire to move against single young people that even the normal consultation procedures with the **Social Security Advisory Committee** were truncated. Nevertheless, the SSAC received over 500 representations from organisations and individuals about the proposals, and published a scathing report which very effectively demolished the Government's case.<sup>(3)</sup>

Winning the argument however, is not sufficient to prevent action by a determined and powerful opponent, and in fact the changes in the regulations which took effect on April 29th were even harsher than those originally announced by the DHSS. Now there are strict time limits on eligibility for board and lodging allowances for claimants under 26, even in their own home town. At the time of writing this policy has been successfully challenged through the courts by one young claimant. The Government is now considering whether to appeal against the judgement of the court. Close on the heels of this assault on a particular group of young claimants came the publication of the Fowler review of social security, in which it was revealed that the Government was planning yet more ways to undermine the living standards of all young claimants. Amidst the wide ranging proposals for trimming and privatising the welfare state it was announced that in future single claimants under 25 would be paid a lower rate of income support (the new name for supplementary benefit).<sup>(4)</sup>

These latest social security 'reforms', affecting the capacity of young claimants to establish and sustain independent homes, come on top of a decade of rising unemployment and six years of housing policy which has savagely reduced investment in new rented housing. The recession has hit young people particularly hard, resulting in unemployment levels generally well above the overall rate, and in certain localities young people in work are actually a minority group.

One consequence of lack of access to paid work is lack of access to decent independent housing. Alongside the problem of mass unemployment there is now a deepening housing crisis in Britain, which is being made worse rather than better by the Government's insistence on home ownership as the solution to all housing needs. Young people in general, but especially those who are unemployed, need to start their housing careers in rented accommodation. The continuing decline of the private rented sector, indeed its almost complete disappearance in some areas, means that many

young people must turn to their local authority for housing. However the response that they receive is likely to be unhelpful. It is not just that most local authorities are still reluctant to help single people, but that the combined effect of council house sales and massive cuts in new building imposed by central government has been to produce a big reduction in the supply of houses and flats available for letting. To make matters worse, even where authorities are willing to give priority to single homeless people, the Social Security Commissioner decided last year that claimants have to prove that there is no suitable furnished accommodation available before a furniture grant can be paid. This means that unfurnished local authority housing is very difficult to accept.

A consequence of all this is to make it more difficult for young people to leave home, and the present Government has made no secret of its intention to shift the burden of responsibility for dependency away from the state onto the family. The changes mean that parental responsibility now continues up to the age of 25; young people are expected to remain as members of their parents' household until well into adulthood. The fact that unemployment affects the working class as a whole more than other groups means that parents least well placed to accept extended responsibility for their grown up children are precisely the ones most likely to be required to do so. It is important to remember that whilst components of social security (such as unemployment benefit and housing benefit) which give most help to working class households have been prime targets for cuts in recent years, the Government has found it much more difficult to implement cuts in things like student grants (via increased parental contributions) and tax relief on mortgage interest, because of the extent to which these are of benefit to its middle class supporters. In other words, the class nature of current social policy should be recognised and borne in mind when thinking about specific issues such as homelessness amongst young single people. What we are witnessing in Britain today is part of a wider strategy, borrowed to some extent from Ronald Reagan's approach in the USA, to concentrate cuts in those very services that are most beneficial to the most vulnerable people in society, i.e. people who are least likely to vote Conservative, and who, with luck, will not vote for anyone. Indeed, one of the effects of the new benefit regulations might well be to create a new under-class of impoverished, mobile young people whose constant travels effectively deny them the right to vote, even if they wanted to.

These rather extended opening remarks are intended to set the issue of homelessness among single young people in a wider context and to establish the topicality of the papers being reviewed. Given the approach adopted by the present Government it is important to have available a range of studies which collectively provide a clear picture of the extent of the problem, the kinds of policy responses that are needed to tackle it and some strategies for achieving progress towards the elimination of young homelessness.

### **The Nature of the Problem**

An obvious starting point for analysis of homelessness among young people is to ask how many individuals are involved - what is the scale of the problem? Posing the question is very much easier than answering it, and there are sound methodological reasons why none of the papers under

review attempt to provide an answer. The Cowen and Lording piece is appropriately entitled **The Hidden Homeless** because of the difficulties attached to identifying the extent of the problem. Their research was initiated by the Gloucester Community Relations Council, and supported by the Commission for Racial Equality, in order to discover whether there was a problem of homelessness among single black young people in Gloucester. The city's housing department did not keep records of the ethnic groups to which applicants and tenants belonged and it was therefore impossible to be certain whether blacks were being discriminated against.

**The Hidden Homeless** report presents the evidence of a questionnaire survey of one hundred West Indian and Asian young people, but it is not clear how the interviewees were chosen. However it is clear that the great majority of respondents were not homeless in the narrow sense of the word, although 40% described their current accommodation as temporary (presumably including some who lived with their parents), and 48% claimed to be dissatisfied with their present housing. In view of the difficulty of compiling a population of homeless people from whom a sample could be drawn the interviewers fell back on asking respondents whether they knew of any other young blacks who had experienced housing difficulties. This ploy reveals both the problems of researching the issue of hidden homelessness in general, and the methodological weakness of the Gloucester study in particular. For the general reader, not involved in housing in Gloucester, the main interest in this study probably lies in the way that it illustrates the methodological difficulties of the subject. Having said that, it is useful as a study which focuses on the housing problems of black youth.

Perhaps it is more appropriate to ask how young people become homeless: why is it that some people who lose or leave the home they have, fail to find another? Here it is appropriate to note and reinforce the point made in the Young Homelessness Group report, **Moving on Moving in**, that, "the issue is not that young people leave home, but that when they do, little or indeed nothing, is done to meet their needs". (P.1) This excellent report repeatedly argues that leaving the parental home is a perfectly normal step which should be facilitated rather than made more difficult. The desire to leave home is for many people a natural part of becoming an independent adult and should not be interpreted as a sign of individual family pathology or the decline of the family in general.

Leaving home can however be a big step in terms of the financial, material and emotional resources required. It is therefore something which should ideally occur at an appropriate time, planned in advance. Unfortunately the rise of youth unemployment and the recent restrictions on board and lodgings allowances have both had the effect of forcing people to stay at home longer than they want to. The enforced idleness and lack of spending power of the unemployed is also likely to lead young people to spend more time around the home, with increased risk of rows and disputes. Thus the economic marginalisation of so many young people seems certain to be a reason for more of them to leave home in a crisis rather than as a planned departure. But it is precisely the people who leave home suddenly who need the support that is so obviously lacking in the housing service.

The Young Homelessness Group quite rightly argue that it is necessary to look at the housing needs of young people in general, in the context of the whole process of the transition to adulthood; to concentrate exclusively on homelessness is to examine only part of the problem. It is equally necessary to look at the housing system as a whole in order to understand the reasons for homelessness. In the past private landlords provided housing for a much higher proportion of the population, and the decline of the private rented sector to its present level of around 10% of all housing has contributed to the growing incidence of official homelessness. This is because the tenures that have largely replaced private renting, i.e. council housing and owner occupation, erect entry barriers of various kinds,<sup>(5)</sup> whereas in the old private rented sector access was much more likely to be on the basis of first come, first served and even the poorest could expect to find at least a damp cellar or leaky attic that they could afford.

Today access to home ownership requires a substantial and reliable income, in order to accumulate a deposit and to meet loan repayments. Clearly, therefore, rented housing is a necessity for most young people setting up a home of their own, and as the Young Homelessness Group say, "for most young people the only hope of good standard housing at a price they can afford must be in the public sector." (P.9)

The great majority of public sector dwellings are owned and managed by local authorities, and, as Sheila Venn's study **Singled Out** shows, most authorities provide a very poor service for single people. Her findings are based on a survey of the policies and practices of housing authorities in England and Wales, and the study refers to single people as a whole, with virtually no reference to age, sex or ethnic distinctions. The data were provided by a postal questionnaire which was returned by 75% of all authorities in the early part of 1984. This approach is undoubtedly very useful in producing an overall picture of what is going on up and down the country, but of course that picture lacks the fine detail that can only be obtained by more personal contact between researcher and researched. There must also be some doubts about the reliability of some of the responses. However these are really only methodological quibbles which do not in any way challenge the main findings of the survey.

Those findings show, for instance, that in dealing with single homeless people 83% of responding authorities did not go beyond the official code of guidance on the application of the 1977 Housing (Homeless Persons) Act. The Act does not include single homeless people as a priority group for rehousing unless they are pregnant or of pensionable age. It is difficult to summarise the evidence on allocations policies because of the wide variations from place to place, but it is clear from the survey that a large majority of authorities imposed some kind of restriction on eligibility for joining the waiting list, sometimes based on age and sometimes on residential qualifications. Sheila Venn points out that single people make up over a quarter of all waiting list applicants, yet they are not necessarily eligible for allocation of a dwelling. Some authorities reported that they imposed age restrictions on access to the waiting list, and then further age restrictions for allocation. Thus in one case the authority allowed single people to join the waiting list at the age of thirty but they were not eligible for allocation of a tenancy until retirement.

Sheila Venn goes on to show that even when single people are lucky enough to break through the allocations barriers in the public sector, the kind of accommodation provided rarely takes account of the special housing needs of some members of this group. The evidence is overwhelming: 89% of authorities provided no purpose built accommodation for young single working people; 73% provided no shared dwellings; 86% had no furnished accommodation; 83% had no intensively managed dwellings; and 79% had no hostels. No wonder she concluded that, "This report has demonstrated that although for many single people council housing will be the only realistic housing option local authorities implement policies and practices which frequently prevent single people obtaining access to, and allocation of, council housing..... council housing is generally failing to meet the housing needs of single people." (P.49)

### Forms of Provision

In the late 1960s the Ministry of Housing produced guidance on designing for young single working people which encouraged authorities to see them as a homogeneous group in need of a particular kind of housing. This approach has been criticised on both counts.<sup>(6)</sup> Many young people merely need ordinary housing, of an appropriate size and at a rent within their means. At the same time it would be quite wrong to ignore the need for special provision for other young single people. Both Sheila Venn and the Young Homelessness Group stress the need for a **range** of provisions, including shared units, furnished accommodation and units offering support in the development of confidence and social skills needed for independent living.

Having emphasised the need to understand how the structure of the wider housing system helps to generate homelessness, it is also important to recognise that for some young single people homelessness is primarily a result of personal or behavioural problems. It is essential to be aware of the causes of homelessness in individual cases in order to devise, provide and allocate appropriate forms of provision. The message from the Young Homelessness Report is that it is necessary, first, to understand the wider process of leaving home and the structural context that produces homelessness, and second, to recognise that in the end housing services are utilised by individuals whose particular backgrounds and needs must be taken into account. The complexity of the problem precludes simple solutions and, the Report argues, requires a flexible and co-ordinated approach, involving a range of agencies, including statutory services (such as housing, personal social services, DHSS and MSC), the youth service, the voluntary sector and housing associations. No-one should underestimate the difficulties of achieving progress in this institutional minefield.

The report of the Manchester based Community Action Project, **Beyond the Hostel** provides some very useful insights into the problems of setting up and running housing schemes for single young people. The schemes referred to in the book represent a joint venture involving a voluntary group and a local housing association. The first part deals with two contrasting schemes, one based in three short-life houses which had been in multi-occupation, and the other in a house in a prosperous and settled area of south Manchester. The short-life scheme was considered to be unsuccessful, because of the poor quality of accommodation, the unsuitable dwelling form that required too much sharing



amongst the tenants and problems of charging for heating and hot water. However the report gives much more space to the second scheme, referred to as the Egerton Road house, which has been functioning successfully for eight years when the report was written. The authors argue that it provides 'a useful and largely successful model for a housing scheme for young people'. (P.9)

The model is based on rejection of what they call the social work approach to homelessness, in favour of an approach which aims to give homeless young people maximum independence and privacy, but within a supportive setting. In practice this means that the accommodation provides self-contained, furnished bed-sitter units, complete with shower and toilet facilities. The report places considerable stress on the need for self-contained accommodation, partly because it is seen by tenants themselves as highly desirable, and partly because it is much easier to manage, enabling the project to take young people, "who have been considered too extreme for some hostels, and whose only other outlook would be sleeping rough or in some situations in mental hospitals". (P.64) The support within the Egerton Road house is provided by a 'caretaker'. The role of the caretaker is quite different from that of a janitor, being more to do with tenant welfare than housing maintenance. Four qualities are suggested for the ideal caretaker; i) ability to understand and accept varying youthful lifestyles; ii) an active life outside the house; iii) ability to relate to young people in a friendly way and iv) ability to handle routine business efficiently. (P.65) In order to provide some help to the caretaker a project support group was established, to meet regularly and to take an overview of relationships and developments in the house.

The first part of **Beyond the Hostel** is full of very useful comments and tips on what to do and what to look out for in setting up and managing housing schemes for single young people. The second part is less useful, being made up of verbatim accounts of loosely structured interviews with tenants. Given the value of the material in part one perhaps it deserved a more extended discussion, with less space devoted to the tenant interviews. For people interested in setting up small housing schemes this book is essential reading, and the authors are convinced that more schemes are needed: "There is absolutely no doubt in our minds that there are very significant numbers of young people in the 16-20 age group who desperately need this kind of independent accommodation within a basic framework of generalised support and concern." (P.25)

### Young People's Right to Housing

A major problem for homeless young people is to establish that they have a legitimate claim of scarce housing resources. This is explicitly acknowledged in **Beyond the Hostel and Moving On, Moving In**. It is all too easy for homeless people in general to be blamed for their own plight, and young homeless people in particular are even more open to the charge that they should return to the bosom of their family. It is therefore important to go beyond analysis of the problem and to campaign for official recognition of the housing rights of young people. The **Hidden Homeless** report had its origins in an attempt to persuade a local authority that a problem existed and that it should respond. Harry Cowen's paper, **Homelessness Among Black Youth**, summarises the findings of the earlier report and

chronicles the response by councillors and officials, showing how difficult it is to make progress. This paper is a useful reminder that justice is not obtained merely by asking for it. However, gains can be made, albeit bit by bit and very slowly - Gloucester City Council has recently appointed a research assistant in the Housing Department to specialise in monitoring the service given to ethnic minorities.

An important part of any campaign to establish the housing rights of young people must be a consciousness raising exercise amongst young people themselves. The CSV resource pack, **No Bed, No Job**, is an admirable attempt to put together a range of material suitable for use with students in schools and colleges, and in youth clubs. The major component is a board game for six players. It stimulates the experiences likely to befall young people simultaneously seeking a job and a home. The instructions stress that the teacher should be very familiar with the rules in order to derive maximum benefit for the players, and this is certainly true. I tried out the game on some housing students and we found it rather complex and difficult to get into for a while. However the players all agreed that it did show very clearly how difficult life can be for workless and homeless young people, and how vulnerable one can be in casual low paid work and in various forms of unregulated private rented housing. There were one or two aspects of the game which we could not quite understand and perhaps the instructions could have been rather more explicit, but overall the concept is excellent.

### Conclusion

The various publications reviewed in this article are all quite useful in their very different ways. Yet each taken on its own does not amount to very much and even collectively there is a failure to produce a thorough analysis of the problem of homelessness amongst young people. The paper by Harry Cowen is the only one to attempt any sort of theoretical analysis and even that focuses on policies on race rather than single homeless young people in general. None of the authors faces up to the challenge of defining homelessness,<sup>(7)</sup> and there is little explicit understanding of the wider economic, social and political processes at work in Britain in the 1980s, to intensify the problem of homelessness amongst young people. A personal criticism of these publications is that none of them clearly shows how young people are victims of government policy. They are the victims of an economic policy that has relied on high unemployment to reduce inflation. They are the victims of a housing policy that has relied obsessively on the expansion of home ownership, which is a tenure far beyond the means of the young unemployed. They are now victims of social security policy. On the evidence of the material reviewed here there is still a lot more to be written on this important topic in order to embrace these wider factors.

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# is being gay okay?

PETER KENT-BAGULEY

*This article questions the heterosexism of community and youth work training and suggests a method of integrating the gay issue into courses.*

I noticed recently that "Is being gay okay" headed the list of essay titles available in a Youth and Community Work Diploma Course and it prompted a flow of questions. Was the casually couched style of the question, I wondered, designed to illicit complexities of theory and practice? Okay for whom, where and when? Okay for Born Again Christians, Rastafarians, Orthodox Jews and Muslims? Okay for lesbians and gays wanting to buy any of the 142 books, magazines and newspapers seized by H.M. Customs and Excise from Gays The Word Bookshop in London; wanting to dance together in a lesbian/gay club, or wanting to be open about their sexuality at work? Okay for lesbians and gays when they seek custody of their children during divorce proceedings; when they request joint tenancies in council housing, or when, in the case of gays, they want to express their gayness before they reach the age of 21?

Was it, I wondered, ever conceived that the answer to the question could be remotely positive? Were any of the responses, in fact positive? Were the answers generally along the lines of "well of course being gay (hopefully, lesbians were included) is okay, natural and positive for people who identify themselves as lesbian or gay, but there are social problems; there are people who disapprove and so we must help the individual lesbian and gay to come to terms with social hostility?". In other words, counsel for individualised closetry or small group ghettos; avoid confrontation and conflict, yield to power and oppression, but at the same time sustain the myth of the youth and community worker as an agent of care and change! To what extent is such an approach unavoidable within training agencies, located as they are within traditional bureaucratic, academic institutions, steeped in traditional notions of professionalism? Thus, asking if being gay is okay generates a number of crucially fundamental and contentious questions, which broadly speaking fall into four main groups. Firstly what level of knowledge and experience of lesbian and gay theory and practice do we expect of students? Secondly, are lesbian and gay issues to be integral to or additional to work on sexism, heterosexism and anti-sexist theory and practice? Thirdly what kinds of theoretical and practical links are to be made with racism, anti-racist theory and practice and multi-ethnic, multi-cultural approaches? Finally what, precisely, in the sharing teaching and learning process is to be assessed, by what criteria and whom?

The final question exposes the conflicts associated with the confrontation of professional myths and political realities. A decade ago I wrote: "very largely, professionals, puppet-like, implement the politicians' prescriptions, publicly privatising politically proscribed social relationships into personal pathologies".<sup>(1)</sup> Szasz had earlier graphically illustrated the point in a footnote when he said: "Organised psychiatry's search for the 'causes of mental illness' thus reminds one of the drunk who looks for his house key under the street light - not because that's where he dropped it, but because that's where the light is."<sup>(2)</sup> Professionals are seldom willing to admit, and may even be unaware, that their focus of interest is directed by the politicians.

During the past decade, youth and community work has been Balkanised by the imperial power of professionalism which has pushed the political realities of youth and community work further and further to the background. Professionalisation is a deliberate and direct antidote to politicalisation. A perennially difficult problem to overcome with many students and practitioners is to convince them that it is not the case that some tutors bring politics into the work but that some tutors make explicit the politics inherently present. The bulk of professional literature fails to explicitly confront and expose fundamental political questions. For example, in her discussion of "the problem with the notions of professionalism and professionalisation", Kuper writes: "I would like to attempt to clarify the issue by distinguishing the structure from the functions of professionalisation. The structure may be defined **without the addition of any normative ascriptions** in a series of steps or traits, as a structural process" (my emphasis added).<sup>(3)</sup>

We are not told by what magic youth and community workers may immunise themselves from the ubiquitous political norms endemic in society. That aside, we are then encouraged to "distinguish this (structural) process from the functions that the professions have traditionally served in our society, in reinforcing mystification, elitism and social control and suggest that rather than agonise over the **structural reality**, one may instead concentrate on resisting and rejecting these historically associated functions" (again, emphasis added). The main problem now is to know which structural process it is that we should not agonise over; the one with, or the one without norms? Of course, if the structural process were established and operated without norms that bolstered mystification, elitism and social control, presumably the functions would be such that did not require resistance and rejection.

Having left the political realities of professionalisation unexcavated, we are then told that "the anxiety about training and expertise could then be replaced by a more positive focus on the quality and nature of that expertise. Within community and youth work, a focus on expertise would involve a debate on the content of theory, appropriate skills and teaching methods".<sup>(4)</sup> Discussions of professionalisation with a vague political framework are productive of vague generalisations, for example, about teaching methods where the emphasis has "shifted very substantially towards an experiential model, where the relationship with students was non-hierarchical, non-traditional and where mutual respect informed the learning process".<sup>(5)</sup> An exposition of the nitty-gritty problems involved with attempting to introduce democratic processes within a bureaucratic structure remain demonstrably unaddressed. The INTEP Guidelines endorse such teaching developments "in their emphasis on the full participation of students in the setting and achieving of learning objectives and outcomes..."<sup>(6)</sup>

What does "full participation" actually mean? Are such phrases merely professional myths currently in vogue or are they pointing towards a political reality of student control? Kuper concludes her article by stating that "CETYCW is quite explicitly hostile to any form of racism or sexism and our Guidelines to Initial Training make it quite clear that we expect to see these issues underlined in all courses of initial training".<sup>(7)</sup> Well, since the expectation is so explicit and professionals being what they are, there is little doubt that the issues will be duly underlined, but to what effect? Without explicit analysis of the political foundation upon which the professional structure and process rests a whole series of questions are fudged; who decides core course content and who decides final assessments? What, for example, will become of those who resist and reject anti-racist, anti-sexist theory and practice? Within our multi-cultural society is it alright for some to be anti-racist but sexist; some anti-sexist but racist, some to be sublimely indifferent and so on? What, furthermore, will be the measure of the anti-racist, anti-sexist student and teacher?

It is one thing to say that curricula shall be fully committed to anti-racist, anti-sexist perspectives but quite another to say that all participants should endorse and pursue those perspectives **themselves**. Of course where such commitments are systematically pursued students who find themselves at odds with those theories and practices are obviously going to experience a great deal of challenge and discomfort. Yet the fundamentally unaddressed political question remains. Is the student who has experienced such a course, fulfilled its requirements, to a greater or lesser degree via passive adherence, tactical ritualism and skillful avoidance, to be granted a professional licence? In short, does CETYCW envisage the possibility, if not the desirability of racist and sexist diplomates entering the profession? Bodies and individuals have a duty to specify the implications of their political commitments, otherwise they are just indulging in linguistic euphemisms which merely perpetuate confusions, ritualisms and frustrations. Attacking traditionally held norms is a difficult and dangerous pursuit in which students should not be encouraged unless the politics of youth and community work are confronted and clarified. Without that, how can we expect courage and commitment to inform theory and practice? However contentious, uncomfortable and disruptive it may prove to be we must work through the kinds of questions being raised here at the

interface of politics and professionalism and of racism and sexism. We must honestly confront analyses of the political limitations of multi-culturalism that expose inherent contradictions and consequent problematics for practice.

Attar, writing in *Shifra*, illustrates this issue clearly when she explains why "as a feminist who is Jewish", she has "some reasons to want to work alongside other Jewish women at times, but (has) no desire or need to work on inventing a feminist Judaism". She goes on to ask: "how can we deny that women suffer under the yoke of Judaism, just as they suffer under Catholicism and Islam". Thus exposing the inherent conflicts of multi-culturalism, she continues: "religion is after all a system of thought and practice involving hierarchies and dogma. Feminists generally oppose hierarchical systems and dogma - where you are expected to believe and accept what you are told with only limited freedom of judgement".<sup>(8)</sup>

In contrast, the ILEA guide to their anti-sexist policy appear to have side-stepped the conflict of ideologies when it asks: "are efforts made to meet requests from parents whenever possible within the framework of anti-sexist, anti-racist policy, eg. on issues of religious belief?"<sup>(9)</sup> Whenever it is impossible to meet the requests within the policy framework are the requests refused, or are they granted thus enabling inflexible and intolerant ideologies to undermine aspirations of flexibility and acceptance within a genuinely multi-cultural framework? Would this mean, for example, that dogmatic, intolerant and oppressive religious ideologies, regardless of the ethnicity of the adherents, are free to preach and practice that being lesbian and gay is not okay? Thus, the mere declaration of an anti-sexist, anti-racist policy, however well underlined in the prospectus, is not enough. It is no more meaningful than employers' declarations of being "equal opportunity employers" while at the same time either covertly or overtly continuing to discriminate against particular groups as did Rugby Council in September 1984 when it adopted such a policy and at the same time declared that lesbians and gays were unwelcome employees.

October 1984...

## THE SUN SAYS

### Top town

#### HOORAY for Rugby!

The Tory council has scrapped a guarantee that it will not discriminate against homosexuals seeking jobs.

Farmer Gordon Collett declares robustly: "We're not having men turn up for work in dresses and earrings."

#### Dead right!

The Sun has nothing against homosexuals. What they do in private is their own affair. But they have no right to make their closet problems our problems.

#### Preference

For years we have had to endure a campaign to cast homosexuals first as martyrs and then as heroes. Some employers have actually been bullied into giving them preference for jobs.

**Local authorities—notably the GLC —have rushed to hand out public money to any group on the sole qualification that it is part of a sexual minority.**

The homosexuals have been led to believe that they are superior, healthy and normal while the rest of the community are out of step.

A society which swallows that kind of sick nonsense is in danger of destroying itself.

**Let's ALL follow Rugby in fighting back!**

February 1985...

## CAPITAL GAY SAYS

### Top town

#### HOORAY for Rugby!

The Tory council has given a new guarantee that it will not discriminate against homosexuals seeking jobs.

Farmer Gordon Collett once declared robustly: "We're not having men turn up for work in dresses and earrings."

#### Dead from the neck up!

Capital Gay has nothing against farmers. What they do in private is their own affair. But they have no right to make their closet problems our problems.

#### Preference

For years we have had to endure a campaign to cast homosexuals first as wicked sinners and then as mentally sick. Some employers have actually given less qualified heterosexuals preference for jobs.

**Local authorities have repeatedly refused to fund any gay group on the sole ground that it is part of a sexual minority.**

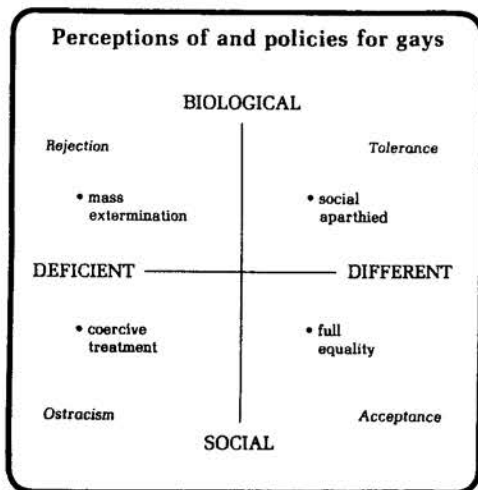
The heterosexuals have been led to believe that they are superior, healthy and normal while the rest of the community is out of step.

A society which swallows that kind of sick nonsense is in danger of destroying itself.

**Let's ALL follow Rugby in fighting back!**

Vigorous political activism was necessary to achieve a reversal of that ugly decision. It is vital that we have the political will to challenge the stigmatising aspects of people's ideologies, and be prepared for resistance, alienation and even withdrawal. After all, if some people's intolerance, prejudice and fears are such that they cannot even begin to operate a genuine anti-racist, anti-sexist policy then it should be patently clear that there is no place for them in youth and community work. If, of course, youth workers are not claiming to cater for all young people, they should have the courage to say so publicly - instead of sneakily banning young lesbians and gays and generally creating a hostile environment within their clubs.

It is important when examining any social issue not to lose sight of the simple, fundamental political questions involved; remembering, as Becker put it, "whose side are we on?"<sup>(10)</sup> Otherwise it is all too easy to be overwhelmed and confused by the super-abundance of competing conceptual definitions, theoretical perspectives and prescribed policies. Weeks rightly notes that "sexual theory in all its ever-growing abundance is now more a resource than a guide to activity."<sup>(11)</sup> The simple perception model below is designed to help the student to cope with the abundance. There is neither the time nor the need to plod wearily through the plethora of professional prejudice that forms the bulk of the literature. Nevertheless, students need to be familiar with the general outlines of the various ideological oppositions so that they may more effectively counter the opposition from both those with whom and for whom they work.



*Model 1*

Anti-gay, anti-lesbian ideology assumes a wide variety of forms, sustained and enforced by generations of professionals. With perhaps the exception of Jews, subject to the more virulent forms of anti-semitism, homosexuals are unique in shouldering the triple crown of sinfulness, sickness and criminality.

Despite the breadth of attack and the seemingly infinite variety of 'justificatory explanations' within the ideological onslaught, a simple model such as that above, far from being simplistic, inflicting terrible intellectual distortions on the multiplicity of 'theories', starkly illustrates the simplistic bias of the assumptions underlying the ideological opposition. Rather than being distinctively different in some fundamentally theoretical sense, the three oppositional variants share a common political assumption of **unnaturalness**. This essence of the ideological opposition assumes these three **forms**, which in practice develop, within their own

terms, more or less systematic strategies and social policy tactics for the implementation of the common ideology in particular social situations. Successfully challenging this essentialist view of human relationships is invariably a long and painful process. Its proponents have a seemingly endless armoury of rationalizations with which to purportedly support their irrational assumptions.

What generates and sustains ideological opposition to lesbians and gays is the subject of considerable conceptual controversy, which will be lightly touched upon towards the end, but suffice to say at this point, as Pearson does, that: "if the homosexual, for example, is a 'social problem', then he is a social problem irrespective of whether his genes are bad, his mothering is too good, or he has chosen to be that way. He is a 'problem' because in our society sex roles are structured in such a way as to make the homosexual appear as repulsive and menacing".<sup>(12)</sup> Sexual relationships, therefore, that have been socially constructed to be unnatural are clearly incorrect and must be corrected. The degree to which politicians are prepared to go along the road of correctionalism is merely the degree to which the three forms of strategy differ. The professionals (and there never seems to be any shortage of them) follow passively, implementing the political proscriptions whether they be extermination, torture or containment.

The link between political ideology and professional practice is made explicit in the model. Those who assume homosexuals to be deficient must be challenged to say why and also to say what correctional policies they endorse. The model framework can be filled out at the pace appropriate to the group discussion rather than via a didactic teaching style. Sufficient of the minutiae of political dogmas and associated professional practice in all its glaring intolerance will be gathered together and can then be related to relevant reading references. **The Men With The Pink Triangle**<sup>(13)</sup> must be required reading at least, so that the ultimate logic of the anti-ideologues may be appreciated in all the naked horror of the fascists' extermination camps.

People who see homosexuals as deficient for social rather than biological reasons should be shown that correctional psychological head-games, physical abuse or chemical castration are designed to exterminate the personalities if not the physical lives of lesbians and gays. For the more self-styled liberal anti-ideologues, who see homosexuals as biologically different rather than deficient, social apartheid in some degree is the usually favoured strategy. These are invariably the people who begin their sentences positively but conclude them negatively. If the model has been worked through successfully there should be a fair amount of disquiet, disruption and discomfort amongst a large proportion of the group. It should also be clear, as Milligan succinctly observes, that, "...it is remarkable that so much effort and so many taboos and prohibitions are thought to be necessary to enforce the sexual norms of our society...to ensure that we are all capable of doing 'what comes normally'"<sup>(14)</sup>

So that lesbian and gay issues may be tackled effectively they must permeate the whole curriculum rather than be segregated to a particular subject area for a specific number of sessions although some specific sessions are necessary for establishing a sound introductory framework. At Crewe and Alsager College homosexuality was introduced into the curriculum a decade or so ago, initially with sociology, where

the only obvious 'legitimate' place appeared to be within the section on 'deviance and crime'. However it was a totally unsatisfactory situation because although the issue was tackled in a positive way, the negative associations of deviance and crime formed a completely inappropriate setting. It also quickly became obvious that intellectual activity can easily be separated from actual, emotional behaviour. Thus a seminar group might deplore the discrimination and oppression experienced by lesbians and gays but continue to passively or actively support that discrimination and oppression on the campus, in youth clubs and in life generally. Gradually, therefore a more comprehensive and integrated approach was developed, both within and between different subjects, designed to embrace the whole of the political-personal dimension. Model 2 below indicates the main features of the macro and micro levels of theory and practice, both at the training and practice stages. In addition to specifically designated sessions within the different courses, lesbian and gay issues are prominently integrated throughout the sex education week course and the weekly professional tutorial sessions provide a convenient forum for the issues, especially in preparation for and during subsequent evaluation of practical work in the field.



*Model 2*

The hope is, therefore, that we will not add further to those already working in the field, who, like the one in Staffordshire recently told one of my students that there was no place in his club for homosexuals. On the contrary, it is designed to encourage activist workers who will be willing and able to support young lesbians and gays in their clubs and to be able to contribute generally in the positive promotion of the visibility of lesbians and gays within the local community. Helping lesbians and gays in this way means that workers need to be aware of the lesbian and gay national organizations that can be of help. Positive visibility can also be effectively carried through the local groups of other national organizations. Lesbian and gay group affiliations to the local Workers Educational Association and the Council for Voluntary Service, for example, brings their existence to the notice of a large number of other local groups and can be the beginnings of a successful educative dialogue.

Developing local positive visibility of lesbian and gay issues necessarily entails tackling the pervasiveness and persistence of negative media images, particularly in the press. It is vital that they are attacked. News stories need to be displayed and discussed and their intolerant ideology exposed. Positive periodicals, such as **Spare Rib**, **Gay Times** and **Cap-**

**ital Gay**, should be available not only to illustrate radically different perspectives on the issues distorted by the tabloids but also to show just how much lesbian and gay issues are censored from the national and local press.

The Tabloids, particularly **The Sun**, have increasingly splashed GAY perjoratively across their front pages. No opportunity is missed, however trivial, in their relentless pursuit to sustain the myths of sinfulness, sickness and criminality of homosexuals. Earlier this year, for example, **The Sun** blazed across its front page DYNASTY GAYS FURY because of "sizzling, sensational and explicit" homosexual scenes.<sup>(15)</sup> Two of the male characters, apparently, were shown "holding hands and hugging". The headlines for this pathetic piece occupied three times the space of the story.

Admittedly, more commonly, headlines involve real people but always emphasising the dangers homosexuals present to the security of the state (RAF gay orgies in secrets case), to the welfare of our cherished institutions (Testrail and the monarchy), and to the moral and physical well-being of ordinary, 'normal' individuals (AIDS).

Newspaper coverage of AIDS has illustrated par excellence the technique of damning people for simply being homosexuals. I cannot think of any other group of sufferers who are blamed for having a disease, but in the general treatment of AIDS the message is clear; it is the wilful irresponsibility and perversity of homosexuals themselves for being homosexuals that has brought the disease upon themselves. It proves their inherent sickness; it demonstrates divine retribution, and it shows their careless criminality by giving blood.

Nor has such unbounded invective been confined exclusively to the tabloids. **The Times** declared in its editorial that; "Aids horrifies not only because of the prognosis of its victims. The infectious origins and means of propagation excites repugnance, moral and physical, at promiscuous male homosexuality - conduct which, tolerable in private circumstances, has with the advent of 'gay liberation' become advertised, even glorified as acceptable public conduct, even a proud badge for public men to wear"<sup>(16)</sup> Syntax and vocabulary aside, the message is from the same ideological stable as that of **The Sun**; packaged lies, irrationality and illogicality. Illness may be socially constructed but is not itself subject to that social construction. Aids makes no distinction between heterosexual and homosexual relationships, nor does it distinguish between private and public homosexuals. But then the press treatment of homosexuality is seldom rational and logical. As Peter Tatchell has said "What Fleet Street really objected to was my socialism rather than my homosexuality. They merely played on my gayness to discredit my left-wing politics".<sup>(17)</sup> The sexual orientation of the Liberal, and successful candidate in that celebrated Bermondsey by-election passed unremarked, except for the crucially silent implied messages of heterosexuality purveyed by pictures of the candidate and his wife. The awful reality is that during the closing stages of the twentieth century homosexuality can be used as a weapon to successfully discredit opponents. Confronted with such a monolithic homophobia at the national, institutional level, makes our grass roots responses even more urgent.

The kinds of strategies and tactics employed for combating homophobia will necessarily vary according to the strengths of individual workers and their different environmental con-

ditions. It is a complex and difficult task, both because of the pervasiveness of homophobia (clearly, it is just as rife in youth and community work as anywhere else)<sup>(18)</sup> and because of the multi-dimensional nature of the phenomenon. As we have seen, the anti-homosexual ideology draws widely from moral, health and legal sources. We have also seen that the root concept supporting homophobia is the concept of **unnaturalness**. Until we can convince people of the spuriousness of the unnaturalness concept we cannot begin to make progress towards positive views of homosexuality and anti-sexist practice in general. Thus on the phenomenal level we must devise and execute strategies and tactics that relentlessly attack the ideological view that sexist gender systems are natural and therefore normal.

Analyses attempting to explain precisely why patriarchal power dominates our social constructions have produced a rich variety of competing explanations. Of course, such analyses are important theoretical tools informing our daily strategies and tactics but the degree to which there is time to examine in any detail the plethora of competing explanations is problematical within a relatively short and crowded two year course of Initial Training. It may be that some, particularly those of the primordial perspectives genre, may be dispensed with in passing. Essentially they resemble the chicken and egg conundrum. For example, Brittan and Maynard, struggling to eschew Marxist analysis, assert, "It is our contention that objectification can be prior to production. Or to put it differently, it is domination (oppression) which objectifies the world".<sup>(19)</sup> They fail to explain what kind of world they envisage where domination can in fact exist without (ie. prior to) some form of production. Such theorising of arbitrary excavations of the dawn of humankind is little more than the secular form of the Christian explanation of original sin. Such insatiable pursuits for finite origins divests the present of its potency, producing a spurious history, invariably ethnocentric with seemingly eternal ideas divorced from their material conditions.

Such pursuits are as pointless as elaborate archaeological analyses of the wheel for an understanding of the dynamics of the modern motor car; at best they are diversionary, at worst dangerous and simplistic. After all, early historical writings, akin to last year's publications compared with the dawn of humankind, provide us with enough problems through translation, re-translation and all the accompanying social constructions involved and for the homophobes largely dependent on religious sources Boswell is essential reading. He successfully illustrates that: "If religious strictures are used to justify oppression by people who regularly disregard precepts of equal gravity from the same moral code...one must suspect something other than religious belief as the motivating cause of the oppression".<sup>(20)</sup>

Is it not self evident that an ideology that supports productive exploitation cannot at the same time avoid exploitation and stigmatisation in social relationships however apparently distant from the direct process of production? The reserve army of unemployed are a structural necessity for capitalism but ideologically variously defined as dependent, work-shy and spongers. Such topsy-turvy ideology easily stigmatises women and blacks when too many white men are unemployed; women belong in their home, performing their 'natural' functions; blacks belong in their 'natural' homelands. The powerful need scapegoats to deflect and deform the powerless from seeing the real causes of their oppres-

sion. Anti-semitism has been the traditional tool for economic scape-goating just as more recently racism in a wider sense has been employed.<sup>(21)</sup> For the rest of society's ills homophobia has been developed as one of the most handy and powerful tools.

Whatever the complexities and problematics of the analysis of power may be, it is clear that society predicated on unequal power will produce stigmatised groups. A Socialist society, on the other hand, without such an inherent characteristic permits the possibility of a stigma-free diversity.

Perhaps, in conclusion, it is worth noting (in case excursions into abstraction obscures the point) that lesbian and gay relationships are about love; about the right and naturalness of people of the same sex to love each other. Unfortunately a great deal of nonsense, it would seem, has to be waded through in order to convince people of this simple social fact. Lesbian and gay campaigners are frequently accused of flaunting their sexuality and of over politicising the issue. No apology is necessary because it is the homophobes who have flaunted and hegemonised with their heterosexism. It is their own nonsense that they must be forced to confront and concede if we are ever going to be able to say that being lesbian or gay is okay.

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#### SELECTED RESOURCES

##### ORGANIZATIONS

##### CAMPAIGN FOR HOMOSEXUAL EQUALITY (CHE)

274 Upper Street, London N1 2UA 01 359 3973

Long established non-party political campaigning organization. Individual **campaign** membership for the activist; individual/group **supporters** membership for the passive, financial supporter. CHE lobbies Parliament and the press, produces occasional reports and has a national network of members and local groups.

##### LABOUR CAMPAIGN FOR LESBIAN AND GAY RIGHTS (LCLGR)

21 Devonshire Promenade, Lenton, Nottingham NG7 2DS.

Broad coalition of lesbian and gay people in the Labour party and/or trade unions, working for change within and through the Labour party and unions. Regional groups throughout Great Britain.

##### LESBIAN AND GAY YOUTH MOVEMENT (LGYM)

BM, GYM, London WC1N 3XX 01 317 9690

For lesbians and gays under 26 (no lower age limit). Produces a quarterly magazine, pen-friend scheme, information/support 'phone line and encourages formation of local groups and takes direct action to further their aims. Over 26s can affiliate to support LGYM's aims and actions.

##### LONDON LESBIAN LINE

BM Box 1514, London WC1N 3XX 01 251 6911

Operates Monday and Friday 2pm-10pm; Tuesday and Thursday 7pm-10pm. Advice and information for women; will inform you of your nearest local Lesbian Line number.

#### LONDON GAY SWITCHBOARD

01 837 7324

24 hrs information/counselling service for homosexuals. Will inform you of your nearest local Gay Switchboard number.

For a comprehensive list of lesbian and gay groups, political, religious, ethnic, trade union etc. and lesbian and gay groups throughout the country see ROUND BRITAIN GAY GUIDE in GAY TIMES.

ANTI SEXIST RESOURCES GUIDE 92 pages of information on hundreds of organizations concerned with anti-sexist education. Compiled by Sue Adler & Annie Cornbleet.

From: ILEA, Centre for Learning Resources, 275 Kennington Lane, London, SE11 5QZ £3 (incl P&P) or £2 within ILEA area.

#### PERIODICALS

##### SPARE RIB monthly 50p

Women's Liberation Magazine.

From newsagents or subscription: 27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1

##### GAY TIMES monthly £1

From newsagents or subscription: 283 Camden High St., London NW1 7BX.

CAPITAL GAY weekly free newspaper distributed in London, otherwise available from: Gay Community

Distribution Services, P.O. Box 44, Welwyn Garden City, Herts AL7 2DE. £5.75 for 13 issues.

##### MANCUNIAN GAY monthly 40p

120 Portland St., Manchester M1 4PS.

##### GAY SCOTLAND monthly 75p

58A Broughton St., Edinburgh EH1 3SA.

##### GAY STAR monthly

P.O. Box 44, Belfast.

##### HALL-CARPENTER ARCHIVES

Invaluable resource for research with tens of thousands of press-cuttings, computer based catalogues of television programmes, campaign groups' papers, oral history bank and much more.

c/o London Lesbian & Gay Centre, 69 Crowcross St., London EC1M 6BP 01 608 1737

#### VIDEO

##### VERONICA 4 ROSE

About young lesbians, talking confidently about themselves. Portrays lesbianism as a legitimate alternative and invites people to examine their attitudes.

Hire: £15 from Concord Film Council, 201 Felixstowe Rd., Ipswich IP3 9B.

##### FRAMED YOUTH

Young gay men and lesbians talking about their personal experiences.

Hire: £12 from Albany Video Project, The Albany Centre, Douglas Way, London SE8.

#### SLIDE-CASSETTE PACKS

##### HOMOSEXUALITY: A FACT OF LIFE

A good introduction to the issues facing lesbians and gays, intended for use with young people.

Available for purchase from: Tyneside CHE, PO Box 1RT, Newcastle upon Tyne NE99 1RT.

##### HOMOSEXUALITY: A MATTER OF FACT

Designed for use with teachers, social workers, youth workers etc. (forthcoming, from TYNESIDE CHE.)

#### BOOKS

##### MEETING GAY FRIENDS

John BANKS & Martina WEITSH (Ed). Friends Homosexual Fellowship, 1982.

The pleasures & problems of 23 lesbians and gays shared in a frank, thoughtful and often amusing way.

##### GAYS AND THE LAW

Paul CRANE. Pluto Press, 1982. Comprehensive survey of the law, mainly related to gays.

##### MAKE IT HAPPY

Jane COUSINS. Penguin, 1980.

An excellent guide to sexuality written for young people.

NOW THAT YOU KNOW: What Every Parent Should Know about Homosexuality.

Betty FAIRCHILD & Nancy HAYWARD. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979. An American book but nonetheless highly relevant for the British reader.

##### PREJUDICE AND PRIDE

Bruce GALLOWAY (Ed). RKP, 1983.

Chronicles legal & social discrimination against lesbians and gays.

##### HOMOSEXUALITY: POWER & POLITICS

GAY LEFT COLLECTIVE. Allison & Busby, 1980.

Overview of the gay and women's movements of the 1970s and an agenda for the 1980s.

##### GAY LIBERATION IN THE EIGHTIES

Jamie GOUGH & Mike MACNAIR. Pluto Press, 1985.

Discusses the forms and origins of homosexual oppression.

##### SO YOU THINK YOU ARE ATTRACTED TO THE SAME

##### SEX?

John HART. Penguin, 1984.

Redable overview of the issues involved in coming out as a lesbian or gay.

##### THE MEN WITH THE PINK TRIANGLE

Heinz HEGER. Gay Men's Press, 1980.

A unique first-hand account of the life and death of homosexuals in the Nazi concentration camps.

##### ONE TEENAGER IN TEN

Ann HERON, (Ed). Alyson Publications Inc., 1983.

Twenty seven American lesbian and gay teenagers writing about themselves.

##### OUT IN THE OPEN

Stephanie NORRIS & Emma REED. Pan, 1985.

People talking about being gay or bisexual.

##### SOMETHING TO TELL YOU) Lorraine TRENCHARD & Hugh WARREN

TALKING ABOUT SCHOOL) Gay Teenage Group, 1984. First title is an overview of

TALKING ABOUT LESBIANS) the feelings and experiences of over 400 London TALKING ABOUT YOUTH WORK) lesbian & gay teenagers; each of the smaller books concentrate on areas indicated by the titles.

##### THE HOMOSEXUAL MATRIX

C.A. TRIPP. Quartet, 1977.

A useful general overview of a number of important issues related to discrimination.

##### COMING OUT

Jeffrey WEEKS. Longman, 1981.

An excellent survey of sexuality since 1800.

##### SEXUALITY AND ITS DISCONTENTS

Jeffrey WEEKS. RKP, 1985.

From his analysis emerges a controversial radical pluralist approach to sexuality built on an acceptance of diversity and choice.

##### SOCIETY AND THE HEALTHY HOMOSEXUAL

George WEINBERG. Colin Smyth, 1975.

#### BOOKSHOPS

LAVENDER MENACE - lesbian and gay community bookshop 11a Forth St, Edinburgh 1.

GAYS THE WORD BOOKSHOP - London's Gay Community Bookshop.

66 Marchmont St, London WC1N 1AB.

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# feature review

BY CHRIS JONES

## A TRICKY PATCH?

R. Hadley, P. Dale, P. Sills

**DECENTRALISING SOCIAL SERVICE:**

A model for change.

Bedford Square Press/NCVO

London 1984

ISBN 07199 11249

£5.95 p.166

P. Beresford

**PATCH IN PERSPECTIVE: Decentralizing &**

**Democratizing Social Services**

Battersea Community Action

27 Winders Road

Battersea

London SW11

ISBN 090 6380 01

£1.50

p.23

Here are two very different publications concerned with what is becoming an increasingly prominent development within the personal social services - patch social work. Throughout Britain, local authorities from both ends of the political spectrum are showing interest or have in fact moved to reorganise their departments along patch lines. The Hadley, Dale and Sills book is an account of East Sussex's move towards a patch system which involves both a major reorganisation of the department into smaller teams located in particular neighbourhoods or communities - the patch - and the development of new working methods which supposedly involve both workers and the local community. In this way, patch is arguably a new departure away from the individualised one to one work which has prevailed for so long in most social service departments.

The Hadley book is both disappointing and disturbing in its implications. Not so the Beresford pamphlet which in twenty three well written pages sets out clearly and precisely the major questions which have to be considered when assessing this new vogue amongst state social work agencies. Unlike Hadley and his East Sussex co-authors, who are undisguised supporters of patch - and we have in Roger Hadley a national advocate of patch - Beresford is far more cautious and circumspect seeing patch as a deeply ambiguous development capable of having both a progressive and oppressive potential.

Beresford's anxieties have no place within **Decentralising Social Services**. In fact where Beresford places the emergence of patch within an historical and political context and sees it as a political phenomenon, Hadley and his co-authors set out to present patch as being solely a technocratic and organisational issue. As a result, they make virtually no reference to the immense strains and problems confront-

ing state social work at this time of unparalleled social stress. Their comment that we live in a period of rapid economic and social change is deeply inadequate for capturing the flavour or tensions of this period and the nature of the political and ideological challenges to state social welfare in general being orchestrated by central government.

For Hadley and his colleagues, their concern with state social services rests in organisational problems and the widely acknowledged deficiencies apparent in most of the post-Seebohm social services departments. The charges made are familiar. Most departments are deemed to be too bureaucratic, centrist, expensive, inflexible and conservative. This is reflected in their tendency to persist with styles of individualised, casualty oriented work which is no longer adequate to the demands being placed on the services. Patch on the other hand is the opposite. It is flexible, innovative, organic (I never found out what Hadley and his colleagues meant by that but it does sound healthy), and capable of sustaining methods of work which are preventive, proactive and allow for greater user and worker participation and direction.

In my view, the book provides no convincing evidence to support most of the claims they make for patch. Clearly much work was put into the presentation of case materials from the many East Sussex patch teams. Some of them are undoubtedly interesting in themselves. Yet all are too small and short term, and above all have no special connection with the patch approach or philosophy to be considered as sufficient support for patch. The various needs analyses were obviously of some value as was the setting up of a volunteer forum. They do not require a patch reorganisation for their possibility, nor does team work for that matter. Moreover, none of the case materials shed any light on how the patch approach affects the controversial statutory aspects of state social work - the children in care; juvenile offenders; mental health and so forth. If this book is supposed to provide some sort of model to other authorities as to how to move towards a patch system then it clearly suffers from some major omissions.

This obvious limitation does not prevent Hadley and his co-authors pressing their case that state social work would be better and more effective (to what ends we are presumed to know) if they were to throw off their conservative and rigid bureaucracies. Social service agencies 'need to be organised in ways that enable them to respond sensitively and speedily to changing patterns of needs and resources...' so they claim, 'the fashioning of more appropriate organisational responses is a **major contemporary challenge** for social administration' (my emphasis). To think that we thought that the contemporary challenges were to do with poverty and inequality, the Thatcherite onslaught on collective and decent social welfare provision and more.

It's not just that the Hadley book assiduously ignores the crucial political context of contemporary social welfare which gives rise to concern. After all, as Beresford points out there is much progressive and radical rhetoric and intention to be found amongst the advocates of patch. **Decentralising Social Services** draws on some of this in its claims that patch allows for closer ties with the ubiquitous community and neighbourhood with more participation and involvement by



both users and workers, and thus allows departments 'to counter the tightening grip of Whitehall'. Yet the book itself reveals that the East Sussex patch initiative has little to do with realising such aims. Instead we find that patch in East Sussex involves a great attention to management structures, management personnel and advanced managerial techniques.

So in East Sussex rather than looking to ways of developing publicly accountable systems to safeguard levels of provision and standards of practice over a more fragmented department, the Hadley book describes how this is to be achieved through 'regular reviews of computerised data on different client groups, the analysis of bed occupancy rates in homes, and of the comparative costs of different units in the system, and the operation of a manpower (sic) planning model by the authority's central personnel section'. One looks in vain for the rhetoric of participation to be made in any meaningful sense, real.

The managerialism of patch according to the Hadley/East Sussex version is further evidenced by the manner in which it was implemented, namely by administrative edict from on top. This is much better, they say, than through discussion or consultation of those most affected. Such 'bottom up' procedures are time consuming and can only bring about 'limited' change, yet again they feel no need to provide evidence for such an assertion. From their brief comments about the impact of this strategy on the workers in the authority - some left and others 'availed themselves' of early retirement opportunities - it seems that there may be another story waiting to be told about the introduction of patch in East Sussex than the one we have here. Whatever else, it makes one wonder what they can possibly mean by participation under such a system.

The problems of this book include its stress on organisational change and managerialism, coupled with its telling silence on such a wide range of issues from community accountability, and the problems around power relations within state social work, to the manner in which patch relates to statutory obligations. It also fails to address seriously any of the wider political and social issues which press so severely on state social service agencies, workers and clients. These criticisms bear out Beresford's point that there is nothing inherently progressive about patch social work. Quite the contrary in fact. **Decentralising Social Services** gives the distinct impression that patch in this case was primarily concerned with extending managerial control, of making social service workers do more work and of attempting to penetrate more deeply into working class neighbourhoods.

**Patch in Perspective** proved to be invaluable as a guide to reading the Hadley book. In its concern to open up the debate about patch it is a most useful starting point. The tone of the pamphlet is questioning and inquiring. It neither condemns patch outright nor gives it an unqualified blessing. Rather it urges caution - as it must, given the capacity of patch to appeal to both progressive authorities concerned to democratise their social services and to conservative authorities seeking ways to reduce their provision. For Hadley and his co authors this may be one of the beauties of patch, whereas for Beresford it demands that patch be considered carefully and thoroughly.

Beresford quite rightly reminds us that many of the crucial issues concerning the operation of state personal social services cannot be resolved by attention to organisational form or geographical location alone. The lack of formal and substantive rights and the nature of power relationships between most users and state agencies go beyond questions of physical location or size of social service teams. As we saw during the recent miners' strike when families in some of the strike areas refused to turn to their local social services departments for much needed assistance, it wasn't the question of physical accessibility which was at issue but more the sense that such agencies were 'not for them'. This perspective was based on various feelings ranging from the view that state social work was too intrusive and interfering, worthless and not least, possibly threatening especially with respect to anxieties over child care practices.

**Patch in Perspective** is sensitive to these concerns and warns that the much heralded localism of patch can be double-edged, providing both a means for a closer relationship between working class need and progressive local authorities or the potential for greatly increased surveillance of and control over a neighbourhood. This paradoxical nature of patch is a major theme throughout the pamphlet. Any idea that patch is inherently progressive is soundly dismissed and the evidence of East Sussex is drawn upon for support. Yet at the same time, Beresford acknowledges that patch has a potential for opening up a much needed debate about the democratisation of the personal social services and the concomitant concern with how to achieve meaningful community control. These are difficult and complex issues which go far beyond anything raised in the Hadley approach to patch for they go to the very heart of the purpose and nature of the personal social services. For socialists this is where we must direct our attention and in this respect **Patch in Perspective** joins the other important publications which have emanated from Battersea Community Action as being valuable tools for clarifying and identifying some of the key issues.

Chris Jones

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# youth work practice - the wasted potential

SUE BLOXHAM

*This article is an attempt to discuss a variety of issues in current youth work practice from a critical standpoint. It is also designed to make a useful contribution to Youth and Policy in not only a readable and non-academic style (following criticisms at the 1984 conference and in a recent edition) but also in a way that connects theory and practice. A tall order perhaps!*

The major aspects of youth work practice that I wish to discuss relate firstly to the nature of the young people we serve. Who are the young people attending youth service facilities? Do we have priority groups of young people? Can those priorities be justified and are we making sufficient effort to make ourselves available to young people within and without, those priority ranges? The second aspect of youth work practice that I wish to discuss will be that of the curriculum (or programme) of youth service provision. I shall argue that these two issues of 'what we do' and 'who we do it with' are intrinsically linked and central to the contemporary development of youth service provision.

Paul Corrigan, in 'Schooling the Smash Street Kids', suggests that the perceived limitations of youth clubs for the boys in his study lead to a new institution being created, that is 'the institution of the youth club's doorway'.<sup>(1)</sup> It is certainly the case that many youth centres are characterised by a proportion, often a substantial minority, of the clientele hanging around outside. It is an important question to ask what is it about sitting together on a wall, or clustering in the cold porch, that is more attractive than being inside a youth club? Or, to turn the question around, what is it about youth clubs that makes staying outside more appealing?

Furthermore, it often happens in visiting a youth centre or youth group that only a disappointingly small proportion of the local young people are to be found there. The CYSA conference<sup>(2)</sup> put the proportion using the service at one in three young people. It could also be argued that the number participating is frequently smaller than even the limited staffing and resources of the youth service could expect. This is of particular concern because, as the same CYSA report indicates, the youth service provides the only access that many young people have to continuing education.

Another characteristic of club membership is that of age. Those that are there often fall into the lowest age range within youth provision. This assertion is supported by others such as Morley who argues that, 'Today probably the vast

majority of members of youth organisations are beneath the statutory school leaving age and a vast proportion are under the minimum age of 14 years prescribed by Albermarle'.<sup>(3)</sup> The low average age of youth club membership is also indicated by a large scale study of young people<sup>(4)</sup> which reported that youth club attendance is associated with age, with 14 to 16 year olds twice as likely to attend as 17 to 19 year olds. **Analysis**<sup>(5)</sup> points out that a survey of research on attachment amongst young people reveals a downward trend in 16+ membership.

The Thompson report<sup>(6)</sup> has lowered the recommended age to 11 and consequently we may have no reservations about the youthfulness of our membership. However, as Morley questions, 'Should the provision of social and recreational facilities for children between 10 and 15 years of age really be the prime function of the Youth Service?'.<sup>(7)</sup>

Other characteristics of youth service consumers that bear attention are the gender and background of the young people. The poor representation of girls<sup>(8)</sup> amongst the members of youth groups and their often passive role within individual clubs is now well recognised (although not well enough). However the other skew in membership, that of family background<sup>(9)</sup> or personal circumstances, is not seen as an unequal bias but as the 'natural' role of youth work in a service of limited resources - working at the 'sharp end' as it is sometimes described.

It could be argued that a large proportion of youth service staff intentionally direct their work at the most disadvantaged end of the adolescent population. This may be based on several reasons, such as the location of the centre, the belief that other young people already have their fair share of privilege or the opinion that the least successful, least sophisticated young people are most in need of the 'social education' offered by the youth service. Hence projects are often aimed specifically at 'disadvantaged' groups such as the young unemployed, young people in 'trouble', poor school attenders and 'low achievers'.

This emphasis in choosing young people to work with may of course, be unintentional on the part of the leadership. Could it be that what is offered to young people is such that only those with least financial independence, maturity and education, and greatest sense of boredom, will have anything to do with youth work? For those who can afford it, the pub appears far more attractive. Furthermore, it may be the case

that youth workers, particularly school based staff are **expected** to cope with the least motivated, most disruptive young people. Whatever the reasons, the evidence<sup>(10)</sup> supports the view that lower class young people and the unemployed make greater use of the service than their more middle class and employed counterparts.

We can therefore identify four major trends in the clientele of youth work. They are predominantly young people in early adolescence. Males are more likely to attend and to participate in activities. They represent only a small proportion of eligible young people and they are more likely to hail from homes of manual workers.

Are such limitations acceptable? The Thompson report<sup>(11)</sup> states as first principal that the youth service has the duty to help all young people who have need of it. Therefore, with reference to the age group involved, is it not reasonable to suggest that at no other time in recent history has the older adolescent (15 to 20 years) been in more need of well delivered support in the transition to a new uncertain world after school? Furthermore, can we be certain that it is the minority of young people at the least privileged end of the spectrum who are the only disadvantaged members of their age group when 65% of this year's school leavers face unemployment? Should not post-school pastoral care and social education be actively extended to at least that proportion of the age group? Moreover does such a policy not deny the possibility the young people from a wide range of experiences and backgrounds have a great deal to learn from each other? Is not the separation of young people from different educational and social backgrounds only likely to strengthen the divisions between them? As John Ewen<sup>(12)</sup> points out, Britain is already almost unique in the world in dividing off, in its administrative system, working youth from student youth and Jeffs argues that the youth service is "In its present form a monument to the social and cultural chasm that exists between our young educational elite and the rest".<sup>(13)</sup> Is the persistence of priority group policy thus likely to reinforce the divisions which lead to stereotyped images of young people and their needs? Furthermore if we are concentrating on the disadvantaged members of the adolescent group, why are girls still largely in visible and uncatered for in mainstream youth provision. Report after report suggests that girls are at a disadvantage in many areas of endeavour, major ones being education and work.<sup>(14)</sup>

It may be that current youth work has got its priorities right when groups are well attended and youth centres are bulging at the seams. But I would suggest that limited resources is not an adequate reason for the poor usage of many centres - they are clearly only meeting the needs, whether they be social or leisure, of a tiny minority of young people. Although some may argue that this minority is an intentionally chosen target group, it may be worth considering whether such projects **could**, if they chose, attract a wider range of young people into their group.

It is at this point that the two questions of 'who we work with' and 'what we do' become linked. Are the young people who attend our youth centres and groups entirely or largely, the result of thoughtful planning of priorities by workers and management? The above discussion has attempted to examine what the priorities are; whether they are justified; who the young people are and whether they reflect those priorities. The answers are not clear, but I would like to

suggest, firstly that the priorities require a review and secondly that the curriculum of much youth work actually erects invisible barriers to attendance by the majority of young people - be they in a 'target' group or not.

Why this assertion that the curriculum erects invisible barriers to participation by the majority of young people? I suggest that the answer falls into several areas. Firstly the programme of much work is associated with childhood and youth - not early adulthood. Secondly much of what goes on inside clubs is uninspiring, unchallenging, repetitious and largely sports orientated. Thirdly much youth work maintains young people in positions of powerlessness and with little responsibility. Fourthly youth clubs may appear to outsiders in such a way that many are desperately difficult for the stranger to enter, particularly a stranger lacking in confidence or on his/her own.

Let us look in a little more detail at these four assertions. Firstly there is the association of youth provision with non-adult status. Jeffs reports that the Latey committee 'found that their witnesses aged 17 and over saw themselves as adults, so that when youth club membership underlines non-adult status, dependence and exclusion from the real world, it is perhaps inevitable that young people allow themselves to suffer comparatively little from this indignity.'<sup>(16)</sup> A survey of the programme of many youth clubs would reinforce the view that it underlines non-adult status. If you can play table tennis, pool and darts at 14, or even 11, is it surprising that it is no longer attractive at 16, 17 and 18 (except in the adult surroundings of a pub)? Frequently buildings also send this non-adult message. Would adults be content to use a pub, leisure centre or sports club which was in the shoddy and illmaintained surroundings that characterise many youth clubs? When one compares them with the facilities and condition of the average student union building in a University, the point is underlined.

The second and perhaps most important barrier is the overt curriculum of youth work. The youth worker who is not offering his or her members more than a regular dose of pool, table tennis and darts, with a record player in the corner, occasional discos and the odd outing to an ice skating rink or five-a-side football competition, should not be surprised when he or she has difficulty attracting young people, particularly in the older age range. Is it acceptable when he/she says 'Yes, it is quiet at the moment but then it always tails off in the summer'? Is it not an indication that many of the young people are paying their 'subs' for the heating and soon disappear onto the street when the warmer weather arrives. Frank Booton<sup>(17)</sup> asks 'what kind of social education curriculum might conceivably attract them?' Well, this discussion suggests that youth provision should offer young people an overt programme of interesting and challenging things to do - things that kids can't do and things that can't be done in the pub or sports centre.

But youth work isn't about activities, it's about social education, isn't it? Are the two incompatible? I suggest not. I suggest that offering an attractive leisure service is a prerequisite for the effective delivery of social education to the majority of young people. Firstly because the service is voluntary, it is necessary to gain young people's consent to participate in whatever the worker has to offer. Therefore it has to appear attractive. Secondly at a very basic level the sharing of activities with other young people and adults is an

essential part of developing social confidence. The Fairburn/Milson report supports this view in saying that many young people need the opportunity to meet and mix in an informal and pleasant atmosphere.<sup>(18)</sup> Booton also emphasises the natural link between recreation and social education when he argues,

'The youth service's purpose is to undertake and super-vice the social development of the adolescent by means of offering facilities for leisure and recreational pursuits, in a social context, and in a manner which encourages the growth to maturity of the individual. This is otherwise called 'social education.'<sup>(19)</sup>

The problem does not end with the provision of exciting and challenging activities which have the ability of bring young people together. The next step is to ensure that the programme enables the young people to gain the maximum from them in terms of personal and social development. In the latter part of this article that task will be discussed. However, what is certain is that without the young people's presence, our ability to foster their social development is largely wasted. The move to detached work is based on the premise that 'unclubbables' 'do not see existing opportunities and agencies as relevant to their needs.'<sup>(20)</sup> Does such an assumption indicate that the failure or peculiarity is in the young people? Should it not be a call for clubs to change the opportunities so that they are relevant to young people's needs? After all, as Jeffs argues, the 'unattached 70% are not isolated from the youth service due to their own innate inadequacies'<sup>(21)</sup> but because they don't like what it has to offer.

The third barrier is that clubs maintain young people in a position of powerlessness and limited responsibility. This assertion is linked to the first barrier of non-adult status which is projected by clubs and groups where participation is limited to a 'token' say in what takes place. The Thompson report emphasised participation as one of its major themes. The young people

'wanted to have an effective say in the running of organisations and in other decisions concerned with their welfare. They did not accept the claim sometimes advanced that giving young people decision making authority did not work, and even that young people themselves did not want it.....'<sup>(22)</sup>

The Consultative Group on Youth Work Training<sup>(23)</sup> suggest that there are various obstacles to young people's participation such as traditional views about adult-young people relationships, myths about young people's ability to cope with responsibility and fear of the implications of greater involvement by young people in decision making. However, if we wish to make the youth service widely available to the older adolescent, it must be seen to respect their young adult status and offer opportunities for responsibility and participation. Holding on to hierarchical leader/member relationships only acts to maintain youth groups as a facility for the young teenager and more importantly, limits the essential chances for social education that are encapsulated in young people's participation. A further consideration of student unions also highlights the patronising nature of much youth work. As John Ewen<sup>(24)</sup> points out they are largely autonomous, self programming and isolated from professional youth workers. Yet the learning involved in actively participating in discussions, elections, events and taking on executive posts cannot easily be dismissed. While many workers con-

tinue to concentrate their resources on the 11-15 year old, it is not surprising that they are wary of increasing members' participation. Perhaps that is not a reason for rejecting participation but for reviewing the age group with whom we are working!

The last barrier to young people's involvement in youth provision is that of actually entering a building. A survey by Bone and Ross<sup>(25)</sup> suggested that young people attached to some youth provision were more likely to be 'socially confident' than unattached young people. However the survey was not longitudinal and therefore it is impossible to throw light on a causal relationship between social confidence and membership. However some evidence suggests it requires considerable social confidence to enter a youth club, particularly on your own. **Young People in the Eighties** stated,

'where individuals had no/few friends attending a youth club and/or they knew no one who was a member, trial was extremely unlikely, since the adolescents, especially at the 'teenage' lifestage, lacked sufficient self confidence for experimentation with the 'unknown' without the support of their (own) peer group; fear of violence in this context could also inhibit trial.'<sup>(26)</sup>

In addition in a recent survey of school leavers, a respondent gave the following reply when asked if he used youth facilities, 'You go to your local youth club, your friendly neighbourhood society meeting place, you walk in, well the people who've been there for ages and ages 'Ugh'... and this lot 'who are you?'... that's what they're all like, I mean I don't know why the, actually I don't think they should, not allow people to go there like that.....'<sup>(27)</sup>

His statement suggests that he did not see youth clubs as welcoming places and it may be that the lack of built-in structures for welcoming new members may prevent young people using clubs. Consequently, even within priority groups (the above statement was made by an unemployed youngster), the nature of youth provision may deter involvement by those who haven't at least a pre-requisite minimum level of social confidence. This may be a good argument for youth groups being attached to continuing pastoral centres at individual schools. In that way, it will be easier to provide a continuity and familiarity for young people particularly as friendship links often disappear once they leave school.<sup>(28)</sup>

The above debate is a rather critical appraisal of barriers that may prevent young people making use of youth provision and reaffirms points that have been put forward by previous writers. However I think it is necessary to reconsider such issues when debating whether youth service provision is satisfactorily meeting the needs of young people, whether or not they fall into priority groups. If the curriculum (hidden or overt) of the provision they are offered is such that the majority of young people reject it, then we need to urgently review our practice. It is certainly the case that the nature and number of young people that use our provision rests on the reassessment of the programme.

The final section of this article is an attempt to put forward practical solutions to some of the inadequacies I have tried to identify in the programme of youth groups on the basis that good curricula practice will encourage the participation of more young people across the age range and will improve the quality of their experience. Yet again, it is largely a repeat of the ideas of others but I make no apology for such repetition until we see a dramatic change to the face of youth

work.

Jeffs points out that, 'little has been written on the programmes of youth clubs, an individual might read almost all that has been written on youth work in Britain during the last twenty years and be no wiser as to what happens in them.'<sup>(29)</sup> This is unfortunate because we desperately need more workers to write in detail about 'good practice', to relate to the rest of the profession projects that were successful, what they involved and how 'social' learning was drawn from the activity or event. There is no doubt that such practice does exist. One excellent example is the use of drama. This ranges from large scale youth theatres involving young people in devising and producing plays to the leader who motivates young people to explore situations and express their views via the use of video equipment. Working towards making a film or producing a play can offer unlimited opportunities for young people to take on responsibilities and work interdependently. It can also be used to advise the group, put forward the young people's point of view about something to people in authority or a range of other ideas.

Which youngster isn't fascinated and absorbed to use a camera and watch the developing prints emerge in the chemical tray? It doesn't take much imagination to consider how photography might involve working together with others, e.g. taking responsibility for the dark room. A nearby youth group used photography to create a calendar, each month illustrated by an innovative picture, devised and photographed by the members. The end product was then sold to raise funds for the project.

Self defence, yoga and dance can also supplement the more traditional sports activities with less emphasis on competition. One project has twelve to fifteen young people who are particularly interested in outdoor pursuits. The leader doesn't 'lay it on a plate' for them but they use their fortnightly meetings to plan their weekend activities. The young people arrange their activities, sort out fundraising and book slides or a film on the subject to view while they are at home. The leader provides them with instructional expertise that they need when they get to the rock face. Thus they are not merely extending their outdoor skills but their ability to deal with bureaucracy, form filling, advance planning, taking on responsibility, decision making and working as group. They have a good time too!

Other projects have involved young people for example in textile design and printing, woodwork, jewellery making, murals, cooking and sharing food, organising their neighbourhood bonfire night, household and electrical repairs and producing a newspaper. Even the ubiquitous disco offers a variety of opportunities for the club curriculum. Which disco will be booked? Who will make the booking? How much will the entrance be? Will that just cover the costs or will it be used to raise funds? How will it be publicised and who will the publicity be aimed at? Who will design, print and distribute the posters? What else do we need to organise - clearing up, refreshments, age groups invited to attend? How many leaders respond to requests for a disco by taking on all those decisions and jobs themselves? How much does such action deny members obvious opportunities to take control of their own lives, make mistakes and experience success?

It is frequently said that the young people were asked what

else they would like added to the club programme and all they wanted was more of their present diet. Alternatively members were asked if they'd like to participate in an activity and they turned their noses up at it. Responses of this kind may well result from young people's lack of experience. How can they suggest alternatives for the programme when possibly they have no repertoire of alternative activities to choose from? Perhaps it is the youth worker's responsibility to introduce them to new programme ideas so that they have a 'real' choice. Fulham Girls' Project make the sensible suggestion of arranging 'taster sessions':

'If your group is planning a new activity, it's a good idea to start with a taster or single session so that young women can try it first and then decide if they want to do more. Sometimes workers arrange for a tutor to do a series of sessions and then find that the girls start to lose interest and stop coming.

This is understandable because it is hard to know if you will enjoy something new, or find it boring until you've tried it. And it is sometimes just the novelty of a new activity that is fun. It is easier to find a tutor for one or two sample sessions rather than a whole course. And if any individual girls want to learn more, you can encourage them and help them find out where to go, e.g. leisure centres, resource centres etc.'<sup>(30)</sup>

Moreover, giving young people a real choice about whether they would like to try something new means enabling them to discover what it actually involves - in other words arranging that the activity should take place in a corner of the room and letting members watch, ignore it or participate as they wish. I think many workers would be surprised at the level of involvement that takes place.

It may be that the latter section of this article has stated the obvious. We all know about the different programmes that could be organised. However, I suggest that the obvious needs stating for the very reasons of membership participation discussed in earlier sections of the article. When our clubs and groups are overrun with young people actively involved in an exciting and challenging programme (this may be equally well discussion as physical participation in activities), then we can stop putting forward suggestions for the improvement and development of the youth work curriculum.

This discussion has been critical and perhaps has not given sufficient recognition to those members of the service who are making serious attempts to evaluate their work. However I trust that those people know who they are and will support this effort to pump some more fresh air into contemporary youth work practice.

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*Continued on P55.*

# rotten to the very core: leisure & youth 1830 - 1914

JOHN SPRINGHALL

*In this, the first of a two part article continued in the next issue, the author examines the nature of adolescent leisure in the 19th century.*

Historians of leisure have, in general, devoted much more attention to social class differences in recreation than to the wide variations in out-of-work activities between the generations. This determination on the part of social historians to explore what different classes in society have understood by leisure, while the distinctive recreations of different age groups in British society have received very little scholarly notice, was basically a result of the highly worthwhile attempt to place the theme of leisure in the historical context of social structure. Hence the leisure activities of the young have almost been overlooked because their explicit contribution to evolving class relationships in the new urban-industrial society of the nineteenth century has appeared, perhaps misleadingly, rather remote. Yet this is a surprising omission since - with certain prominent exceptions - the most noticeable feature of such activities was the degree to which the generations of the past were fragmented in their leisure pursuits. Thus working class children played with their brothers and sisters or their peer group, usually in the street, and adolescents also belonged to peer groups, apart from those who were courting. There were also a wide range of commercial leisure agencies touched on here which deliberately set out to appeal to children and adolescents, such as the 'penny dreadfuls' and the penny theatres, while in the second half of the nineteenth century adult-organized youth movements, such as boys' clubs and cadets, were also becoming more common. Older age groups, like adult males, tended to go to public houses or sporting events with other men of the same age, while married women, who had the least leisure time, spent what little they had sewing or knitting in the home, talking to neighbours or, more unusually, in attending some church organization.<sup>(1)</sup>

Thus it is a considerable over-simplification to place the history of leisure solely in the context of class preferences, for an equally important factor in determining choice of recreation in the past has been the position of the individual in the life-cycle. It will become apparent from the following discussion that this was not something that was overlooked by contemporaries. Thus the early Victorian middle class evangelical reformer was keenly aware of the age-specific nature of leisure, an awareness that formed an important component of many provincial campaigns directed against blood sports.

A letter to the *Derby Reporter* in 1835, for example, suggested the urgent setting up of a Youth's Guardian Society to check the spread of adolescent immorality, 'of midnight orgies, beastly and barbarous' and of 'intoxicating liquours (which) wither away the last vestige of moral restraint and virtuous control'. The Guardians would endeavour 'to break unlawful pleasures, such as dog-fighting, prize-fighting, cock-fighting, etc.'. In the Hanoverian era drink was widespread in its use among boys and young men because it was generally so easy to obtain. There were no effective controls over drinking by children and adolescents and those who worked in factories had enough money and independence to drink as much as their adult workmates. On New Year's Eve 1829 a *Bolton Chronicle* reporter 'observed many groups of boys in a state of intoxication' and commented: 'This is one of the bad effects of our factory system. Confined as they are, when they are let loose they run into excess'. From 1830 any householder assessed for the poor rates could obtain from the excise, for the sum of two guineas a year, a licence to sell beer on or off the premises. Bolton had nearly two hundred of these beerhouses ten years later, over which the magistrates had little control, and they were blamed for allowing betting, Sunday drinking, juvenile drinking - one was called 'Youths Tavern' - crime and prostitution. The beerhouses also provided cover for illegal forms of leisure such as cock-fighting, ratting and other blood sports.<sup>(2)</sup>

Blood sports were a much more common leisure resource of the young before the campaigns of bodies such as the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (1824) began to make themselves felt but it would be sanguine to believe that they disappeared altogether with the industrial revolution and its consequent urbanization. Henry Mayhew provides examples of the popularity of ratting in mid-nineteenth century London public houses, while cock-fighting and dog-fighting are rumoured to have survived well into the present-day in isolated rural areas. Other traditional pre-industrial forms of recreation, such as the often physically dangerous Shrove Tuesday or Ash Wednesday (for boys) games of football played between opposing parishes, also came under attack from the revival of evangelical puritanism among the new Victorian business and professional middle classes. Many of these rural sports and games were also made redundant, it has to be acknowledged, because of the migration of agricultural workers to adjacent industrial towns and cities in search of higher wages. In the 1840s and 1850s the 'respectable' middle class hoped to

counteract the pub-based recreations of the young through the provision of alternative 'rational' temperance recreations: tea meetings, field sports, and railway excursions. Thomas Cook, a Temperance reformer, first got his travel business off the ground by organizing a railway excursion in 1841 to remove working class children from the temptations of Leicester race week. It is unlikely, however, that such alternatives reached other than the already-converted Sunday School and church congregation rather than the so-called 'rough' working class adolescents. William Kent, in his much-neglected autobiography, *The Testament of a Victorian Youth* (1938), gives a full and gossipy account, based upon his early diaries, of his Methodist experiences in this Junior Christian Endeavour, Sunday School and Bible Class subculture, unlike his Mark Rutherford-style deliverance turned him into an agnostic then freethinker.<sup>(3)</sup>

In rural Wiltshire, the Nonconformist Church also supplied a range of leisure occupations for the lower middle class Spackman family - evenings with the Good Templars, choir outings, missionary meetings and penny readings. On leaving school, Herbert Spackman, one of four brothers, went to work in his father's grocery and drapery store in Corsham, keeping diaries which brim over with a wide range of juvenile recreations, despite his family's evident financial difficulties and constant bereavements. The Spackman family often broke the rural monotony of village life in the late 1870s and 1880s by visits to and from relatives on foot, by train or with horse and trap. They also took part in games such as cricket, croquet, bagatelle, and whist; while the boys learnt to swim at Weavern - usually before breakfast if the shop was busy - or to skate on Corsham Lake in the winter and make toy fire-balloons or boats to sail on the river at nearby Lacock. Herbert's diaries present an eventful adolescence outside of work, enlivened by a wide circle of friends and close relatives, Non Conformist church attendance and a great deal of self-made Victorian musical entertainment. In the cities, leisure as a major consumer industry came of age from the 1860s onwards, exemplified by the appearance of the commercial music hall, the prototype for so much of what followed in the history of mass entertainment. The most noisy customers for the new forms of the leisure industry, such as football and the early cinema, were among those young unmarried men who, without family responsibilities, were becoming independent of their own parents and had sufficient wages to lead an active social life until they settled down and got married. Large numbers of urban adolescents were recruited into short-term but well paid unskilled jobs, such as running errands, in this period. Adolescents, in other words, were marginally better off than their fathers or grandfathers before them at the same age and could afford to spend what was left from their wages after deducting money for bed and board, on music halls, the picture palace, football matches or games of pitch and toss.<sup>(4)</sup>

#### Middle Class Forms of Adolescent Leisure

It is undeniable that whatever one's actual age, the choice of leisure activities available in the past was predominantly defined and circumscribed by social class. The recreations available to the upper and middle classes, therefore, need to be carefully distinguished from those of the classes below them on the social ladder. In 1864 *The Saturday Review* remarked on how rapidly the 'habit of enjoyment' had spread among the middle class young, for 'it is an axiom with many young people that they have a right to be always

amused, or to be always going to be amused'. Certainly the middle class young enjoyed more free time than their elders had done and more of them were surviving into early adulthood to enjoy it. The increasing emphasis upon public school and, to a lesser extent, university education, as necessary requirements for middle class gentility meant - as Peter Bailey has pointed out - a freedom from the immediate social pressures to earn a living. The long-running debate on 'The Young Man of the Present Day' in the 1869 correspondence columns of *The Daily Telegraph* testifies to middle class parental concern with young men in commercial houses who spent more of their time at music halls, billiard rooms and gambling casinos than at the family business or working in the City of London. The 'habit of enjoyment' may have been most conspicuous to the leader-writers of the metropolis yet in varying degrees the expansion of leisure from the 1860s onwards appears to have enlivened middle class society right across the country. Diaries and autobiographies of the period - which are almost by definition more prolific for this section of the community - reveal a poignant contrast between the greater diversity of choice in forms of relaxation available to the sons and daughters of the better-off classes in relation to the much more limited opportunities open to their poorer coevals.<sup>(5)</sup>

A common denominator of many of the diaries kept by middle and upper class children and adolescents with some access to London is the frequency of references to the Crystal Palace as a leisure resource. This was, of course, the famous building of iron and glass designed by Joseph Paxton for the Great Exhibition of 1851, then re-erected at Sydenham in south east London, where it was re-opened in 1854 and sadly destroyed in a memorable fire eighty two years later. Crystal Palace was almost inexhaustible as a leisure centre for the young middle class to visit on chaperoned outings because of its cornucopia of suitably 'bourgeois' improving exhibits and innocent pleasures. John Neville Keynes certainly visited it several times with his father and in 1869, when he was sixteen, drew at a game of chess with the 'Automation' housed there. A self-conscious account of a visit to the Crystal Palace can be found in the diary entry for 12 January 1873 of Hastings Rashdall, a Harrow schoolboy:

Spent a delightful day with Uncle Reggie at the Crystal Palace. Most wonderful acrobatic entertainment. Then a very amusing true pantomime i.e. characters not speaking - Roli's wonderful performance on the trapeze, the nearest approach to flying - then a pantomime, 'Puss in Boots', beautifully got up. I don't know how it is I did not appreciate the Palace fully, when I was here before - the Courts, exact models of various buildings, parts of buildings, illustrating various styles of architecture, are beautiful as well as interesting and the whole place is full of plaster models of all the finest statues in Europe; they look much better by gaslight - the Aquarium is very interesting. It is curious to see the fish, flat fish especially, mingling in the water - they seem quite accustomed to strangers. There are some octopus in one of the tanks, but I don't think there can be any very large or rare collections (of) fish there.

Ten years later, an upper class young girl confined to a boarding school in Upper Norwood, south east London, wrote to her parents in India revealing frequent visits to the nearby Crystal Palace:

We have dancing this afternoon and I like it very much. On Saturday week we went to the Crystal Palace to a

flower show, there were the most beautiful flower (sic) you ever saw there we stay till seven o'clock.... On Good Friday we all went to the Crystal Palace to the Sacred Concert it was so nice. The people who sung were Madam Paley, Anna Williams, Frederick king and Mr. Lloyd.... May I learn swimming because I want to learn very much indeed, in the deepest part of the bath it is nine feet deep, and railing all round to hold on to.<sup>(6)</sup>

It is often said that the mid-Victorian public schools acted as an effective instrument of social integration for the sons of the growing industrial or commercial middle class and the landed gentry or aristocracy. Historians have come to see the schools as a mechanism for the maintenance of social stability because they helped to produce a common ruling class identity for the social elite of nineteenth century England. Thus the gradual introduction of compulsory games playing into the public school system between 1860 and 1880 must be seen as a significant development in the history of leisure with regards to the middle and upper class young. To play games virtually every day had, by the end of the nineteenth century, become the norm and schoolboys who protested became rebels in the eyes of the sporting majority. For the public school product of this era, success at games was often a passport to worldly success and parents did much to encourage a system in which being captain of the house side was more important than passing entrance exams to Oxford or Cambridge. How did this era of games regimentation emerge and what were the most common non-work activities of public schoolboys before so many began to spend their daytime 'leisure' in supervised athletics on the playing field?

Conditions in the early Victorian public schools, notably at Winchester and Westminster, were little better than a naval hell-ship's but they were certainly uniquely efficient at equipping their inmates for the rigours of a tribal, competitive society. At Harrow, amusements before the imposition of compulsory games included bird-shooting, duck-hunting and even, for a while, beagling, in addition to cricket, racquets and hares and hounds, but the most popular form of entertainment was 'toozling' or chasing and killing birds in the hedgerows. At Lancing there were, in fact, no organized games for some considerable time and small boys amused themselves with marbles or in climbing trees and the older ones passed their hours of leisure in various haphazard ways, sometimes wandering over the unspoilt countryside with no attempt made to monitor their whereabouts. On 20 August 1843, the opening day of Marlborough College, the pupils, who were mainly the sons of clergymen, indulged in a brutal frog hunt in the school grounds, beat the creatures to death and 'piled the bodies high'. This leisure activity typified their recreational habits for the following decade of the school's history, since they were much given to poaching, trespassing and nesting. A content analysis made by J.A. Mangan of the daytime leisure entries in the diary of Boscawen Somerset, a Marlborough schoolboy in the mid-Victorian years, gives a clear picture of the everyday amusements of the time. From February to June 1851 there are forty two references to country excursions and only four to games, including two occasions when he was confined to the school grounds and played cricket, and a third occasion - a whole holiday - when he played cricket, was out first ball and went nesting. He apparently felt free to devote more energy to games from September to December and shared his time equally between football (23) and rural forays (28), includ-

ing seven afternoons spent skating on local ponds in late November. His miscellaneous entries include such forms of leisure as: chess, music practice, egg blowing, watching bathing, high jumping, kickabout, 'laid up in field', packing eggs and general packing. The diaries kept by John Neville Keynes in the 1860s, while a schoolboy at Amersham Hall School, document many visits during the school holidays with his father to see glamorous forms of entertainment in London: Blondin at the Agricultural Hall in Islington, Anderson's World of Magic, penny readings by Charles Dickens, the Crystal Palace for Wombwell's Menagerie and Franconi's 'cirque imperital' at the Royal Alhambra Palace. He also took part in picnics to the New Forest, games of croquet, blind man's buff and bagatelle or chess played either with relatives of his well-off Salisbury family or with friends of his own age. These diaries, although of an exceptional schoolboy, offer many examples of a wide variety of leisure occupations in contrast to the working class boy whose recreational pursuits were limited, in large measures, to the streets.<sup>(7)</sup>

Until C.J. Vaughan became the headmaster of Harrow in 1845, stone-throwing was the principal leisure occupation of the boys. Vaughan saw the potential of organized games as a means of controlling and supervising his more unruly pupils. Thus on 22 February 1853 certain members of the fifth and sixth forms at Harrow held a meeting, under his tutelage, to establish the Harrow Philathletic Club, 'with the view of promoting among the members of the school an increased interest in games and other manly exercises'. This encouragement of organized games at Harrow predates developments at the newer nineteenth century public schools, which can no longer be regarded as the exclusive seedbeds of the athleticism movement. Games were seen as one method by which a reforming headmaster could attempt to gain control over a large body of undisciplined pupils who had previously upset the neighbourhood and bullied the staff with their poaching, trespassing and general lawlessness. Similarly, the new headmaster of Marlborough, G.E.L. Cotton, issued a famous 'Circular to Parents' in June 1853 which marks a turning point in the development of public school education because it promised to include games as part of the formal curriculum. Cotton's principal motive for introducing games was also to be found in the disciplinary problems that met him on his arrival as headmaster. Thus, 'a civilised, out-of-door life in the form of cricket, football and wholesome sports took the place of poaching, rat hunting and poultry stealing'. The conviction that Dr. Thomas Arnold, the early Victorian headmaster of Rugby, was solely responsible for the 'athletic sports system' of the public schools is, therefore, no longer taken seriously by the growing band of school historians. Arnold appears to have been largely indifferent to the preaching of Christian manliness through the instrument of team games. It was headmasters like Vaughan at Harrow, Thring at Uppingham, Cotton at Marlborough, and Almond at Loretto, rather than Arnold, who encouraged their pupils and staff to consider games as part of the formal curriculum. Until their advent, staff were not considered responsible for the boys outside the classroom and were indifferent to the ways in which they spent their leisure.<sup>(8)</sup>

From 1853 onwards, then, games were deliberately incorporated into the formal curriculum of the English public schools to replace the desultory schoolboy leisure activities of the first half of the nineteenth century. By 1898 a major



public school like Eton had developed a comprehensive system of athletics:

There are fifty fives courts where before there was one; twenty games or thereabouts of cricket as against three; compulsory football for every house four or five times a week; to say nothing of beagles and athletic sports in the Easter Term, and rowing and bathing daily through the summer. There are house colours for football and school colours for football, cricket, rowing, racquets; there are challenge cups, senior and junior....

The public schools had come to provide playing fields, fives and squash courts, gymnasia and sports coaches, subscribed to the moral ethos of 'playing the game' and had produced in most of their pupils an obsession with football or cricket which was indoctrinated by school-magazine worship of athletic prowess. Along with these symbols and rituals of a spartan culture came the systematic spread of games playing through the regular recording of match fixtures, championships and events in speech day ceremonies and assemblies. Middle class parents also played a highly significant part in the rise to pre-eminence of athleticism in the schools through their support of the games ethos and general indifference to the classical curriculum. The idea that compulsory games was the innovation of the boys themselves will not stand up to the evidence of schools like Marlborough, Harrow and Uppingham, whose headmasters were already manipulating the boys in this direction, or Loretto, Stoneyhurst and Lancing, where control from above was more explicit. By 1900 generations of boys were growing up for whom compulsory games were a commonplace school tradition rather than a radical break with the past. That there was now a considerable group loyalty to the widespread appeal of muscular Christianity, exemplified in G. A. Henty's public schoolboy heroes, can be seen in the image of school life presented by the staff, pupils, observers and school magazines of the period. In the wake of the introduction of organized games into the public schools, the traditional university recreations of gambling, drinking and horses also declines.<sup>(9)</sup>

The remainder of this paper is devoted to the leisure pursuits of the urban working class adolescent and child during the Victorian and Edwardian periods in British history. Thus, in the case-studies that follow, an attempt is made to explore both how working class youths behaved in their free time and to elucidate the main thrust of middle class commentary on their behaviour - since this often provides the only surviving evidence. Firstly, an account will be given of the commercial forms of entertainment or leisure provision which young people and children could only enjoy by purchase, illustrated by the penny theatre, popular boys' literature and the early cinema. Secondly, some consideration will be given to 'unstructured' leisure or the street activities created by the young themselves, including street football, pitch and toss and the 'monkey parade' of courting teenagers. Thirdly, organized youth organizations run by adults with some juvenile participation will be discussed: with the emphasis on the emergence of the boys' club movement and related working class cadet companies in London. In other words, the three categories chosen here deal with what the working class adolescent could afford to buy as a leisure commodity, what he or she could create in the way of amusement and what others from outside this class and age group thought would be good for him or her. There is plentiful scope for further historical research on adolescence and leisure and

there is an obvious case for filling gaps, such as the near absence of detailed studies of teenage girls' leisure both in the present and in the past. Their absence from the street corners and clubs where boys congregate, and their under-representation in the criminal statistics, are not excuses for continuing to ignore females but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that much female leisure has been concealed simply because it took place either in the privacy of the home or only when accompanied by the opposite sex.<sup>(10)</sup>

#### **The Penny Theatre in Victorian London<sup>(11)</sup>**

That there was a considerable working class audience for theatre of some kind in the metropolis, whether pantomimes, music halls or penny theatres, is historically undeniable. Working class theatre represented a mass popular entertainment market of considerable proportions which, until recently, has been little acknowledged by the theatre historian. Our attention here is focused upon penny theatres or 'gaffs' which were places of cheap, staged entertainment for youths and children of both sexes aged from about eight to twenty. In London 'flash' or criminal company any place of public amusement was likely to be called the 'gaff' in Cockney or coster slang. These cheap theatres flourished in large urban centres, particularly London, from the early 1830s until the early 1880s but lingered on for much longer in attenuated form in the East End. Thus for at least fifty years and probably longer, the penny gaff offered cheap commercial entertainment to the urban working class young: those who could not afford the twopence or threepence for a gallery seat at the local theatre or music hall; were too young for admission to the much grander, more 'respectable' establishments or who preferred the less straightlaced 'sensational' mimed dramas which the gaffs could provide. Penny theatres not only have a great deal to tell us about childhood, adolescence and recreation in the Victorian period, but the vehement middle class moral opposition to them also helps illuminate the different strategies of social control, however ineffective, available to the authorities. For such entertainments were antipathetic both to 'rational' temperance pursuits and to the public school ethos of Christian manliness which came to dominate so much of voluntary youth work during the second half of the nineteenth century. The major charges made against the gaffs were that obscene songs and dances formed a major part of their repertoire and that they were popular meeting places for juvenile criminals. They were also clearly unlikely to provide the proper moral and religious framework that the 'respectable' of all classes felt was necessary for the ordinary adolescent's socialisation into the prevailing urban-industrial order.

In 1838 it was estimated by the journalist James Grant that there were between eighty to a hundred gaffs in London. They were especially abundant in the East End of London: the Commercial Road, Whitechapel Road and the Mile End Road. James Greenwood claimed in 1869 that within a five-mile circuit of St. Paul's at least twenty of these 'dangerous dens of amusement' might be found. Gaffs were also to be found in the streets south of the Thames, leading off the wide thoroughfares making for Lambeth, Waterloo, Blackfriars, Southwalk and London bridges. Penny theatres were improvised from almost any available building space, including empty shops, small stables, sheds, abandoned warehouses or even holes in the ground. Most often, a former shop would serve as an entry-way or waiting room, the warehouse behind it as the playhouse itself and the first

floor as a gallery. Gaffs found in abandoned shops, the most familiar location in London, were crammed with rough forms or wooden benches rising in amphi-theatrical fashion up to the ceiling to supply a cheap gallery, often reached by a clumsy ladder with light supplied from penny candles. Henry Mayhew's much-quoted description of the mid-Victorian penny gaff he visited near Smithfield may be taken as fairly representative:

To form the theatre, the first floor had been removed; the white-washed beams however still stretched from wall to wall. The lower room had evidently been the warehouse, while the upper apartment had been the sitting room for the paper was still on the walls. A gallery, with canvas front, had been hurriedly built up, and it was so fragile that the boards bent under the weight of those above. The bricks in the warehouse were smeared over with red paint, and had a few black curtains daubed upon them. The coster-youths require no very great scenic embellishment, and indeed the stage - which was about eight feet square - could admit of none. Two jets of gas, like those outside a butcher's shop, were placed on each side of the proscenium, and proved very handy for the gentlemen whose pipes required lighting.

The small gaff stage and the lower seats of the gallery were often on the same level, an arrangement that could occasion fights between actors and audience. In many gaffs, the boys and adolescents sat on one side of the gallery and the girls and young women on the other, allowing the former to smoke their 'pickwicks' or long-stemmed clay pipes. The only musical accompaniment was usually provided by a couple of fiddlers, with the occasional <sup>(12)</sup>clarinet, flute or ancient piano.

One of the few observations upon which all those who inflicted their often unwelcome attentions upon the poor of East London in the wake of Mayhew were agreed, is that the audiences for the penny gaffs were drawn almost exclusively from among the young working class. James Greenwood defined those who supported the gaffs as costermonger boys and girls, from eight or nine to sixteen years of age, and errand boys or girls employed at small local factories. George Godwin, the radical editor of *The Builder*, saw few in the gaff audience over twenty, many youths of from sixteen to twenty, plus a few very young girls and young mothers with infant children in their arms. Mayhew noted from his visit to a mid-century penny gaff that the patrons, with few exceptions, were all adolescents or children whose ages ranged from eight to twenty but he also noted a majority of women and girls pouring out through the lobby after the first house was over. It is difficult to reconcile Mayhew's observation with that of other middle class commentators for whom teenage boys, 'the great patrons of such places', were preponderant over a small number of girls in the audience. It seems likely that the penny theatres in London had their most passionate following among poor, out-of-work boys, young labourers, apprentices and the ubiquitous costers. Godwin observed that the young men at the gaff of the late 1850s were all dressed in short velveteen coats, cord trousers, caps and showy neck-ties - traditional coster wear. Outside the theatre, waiting to gain entrance between performances, they smoked short pipes and laughed at each other's anecdotes or whistled an accompaniment to a small band playing current dance tunes in order to lure customers inside. Their female companions were dressed in showy cotton-velvet 'polkas', a fashionable woman's jacket, and wore

dowdy feathers in their crushed bonnets, normally reserved for Saturday nights out. The average attendance in London ranged from 150 to 200 at each 'house' and few gaffs held more than 400 patrons. At the outset of the Victorian era, James Grant estimated an average attendance per night for all the penny gaffs in London to be around 24,000 - a likely underestimate.<sup>(13)</sup>

The enterprising gaff proprietor, such as Hector Simpson - the proprietor of cheap theatres in Tooley Street, near London Bridge, and in Queen Square, Westminster - seldom missed the chance to exploit a passing trend. Hence penny theatres showed quite a remarkable taste for 'horrible murders' and as soon as a newspaper account of a criminal death came out, it was not long before the most melodramatic incidents were 'got up' as a sensational murder play for the gaff stage. For it was to please the youthful clientele of the penny gaffs that the popular Victorian taste for dramatized murder was allowed to assume one of its crudest, most colourful forms. Such pieces were typically advertised by a hand-lettered placard outside the improvised theatre, since printed handbills were usually considered too expensive: 'FOR THE BENEFIT OF MR. TWIG, on Tuesday next will be performed the Grand National Dramar (sic) of GREENACRE, or a THE MURDER OF CARPENTER'S BUILDINGS'. The expanding mid-century audience for the 'penny dreadful', which coincided with the peak period for the gaffs, supplied another juvenile consumer demand to be satisfied in theatrical form. 'The Groans from the Gallows, or The Hangman's Career' was typical of such productions based on a penny work and Mayhew reports it as being staged at a gaff in Whitechapel, 'for everything about a hanging was always a hit'. The actor who played the role of the hangman told Mayhew:

The boys used to run after me in the streets and called me Calcraft (the public hangman), so great was the hit I made in the part. On one occasion a woman was to be hung, and I was going along Newgate, past the prison, on the Sunday evening. There was a quantity of people congregated, and some of the lads then recognised me from seeing me act in the 'Groans from the Gallows', and they sung out 'Here comes Calcraft!' Every eye turned towards me. Some said, 'No, no; that ain't him'; but the boys replied, 'Oh, yes it is; that's the man that played it at the gaff'. Of course I mizzled, for fear of a stone or two.

The severity of the theatrical licensing laws - spoken plays could not be performed in the gaffs - contributed to the prominent place of ballet in the repertoire of the penny theatre, although its continuing popularity also owed a great deal to the insertion of comic parts in almost every ballet piece. Gaffs managed to avoid the illegal use of dialogue and to perform 'ballet d'action' in which there was a story, as distinct from 'ballet divertisement' in which there was none, by getting the stage manager to hold up explanatory placards.<sup>(14)</sup>

The staple fare of the penny theatres was singing and dancing of one kind or another, although they also staged 'harlequinades' and bellets, pantomimes and melodramas in dumb show. A customer at a mid-century gaff would generally be treated, agreed most commentators, to popular songs done 'in character, dancing and a short dramatic piece or, in season, a sort of pantomime. The constant variety of the pieces offered cannot be exaggerated, since the appetite

of the juvenile audience for fresh attractions was not easily met. In the gaffs run by Hector Simpson, for example, from ten to twelve new pieces were sometimes produced in a week; which often left actors and writers with little choice but to improvise. It was reported that *Othello* could be abridged to twenty minutes ('The time is up. Commit the murder, and down with the curtain!') and at the Bower Saloon in Strangate, Westminster, the leading role in *Hamlet* was once taken by a girl. When spoken stage plays were banned in the gaffs, the proprietors were reduced to providing popular street songs and negro melodies in character costumes to amuse their young audiences. Godwin mentions that the other mainstays of the penny gaff in mid-century were: conjuring, feats of strength, tight-rope walking, and chemical experiments with 'laughing-gas'. Galvanism, or the use of electric current to produce spasmodic shock effects in a member of the audience, was popular. Some actors and actresses would certainly have appeared in the gaffs for not more than a few shillings a week, despite earlier West End appearances, owing to the precarious nature of their profession, excessive drinking or plain economic misfortune. yet it does not seem probable, as many accounts suggest, that all gaff performers were worn out by old age or drink and a few rising stars of the cheap theatres would later progress to the music halls, like George Leybourne alias 'Champagne Charlie'. Yet there was little room for good acting when there were three or four houses a night, each lasting from an hour to an hour and three quarters and with no extra pay for additional performances.<sup>151</sup>

'It was the penny gaff that led to most of the forms of mischief with which we formerly had to deal', declaimed the ageing Lord Shaftesbury - whose own son had died after two and a half hours of fisticuffs at Eton - to the Ragged School Union in 1881:

I well remember that in the early history of the Ragged Schools we found that in nine cases out of ten the first act of dishonesty which a child committed was the stealing of a penny to go to a penny gaff, and I hope that that kind of evil is not going to be renewed.

James Grant was equally convinced that, 'a very large majority of those who afterwards find their way to the bar of the Old Bailey, may trace their career in crime to their attendance in Penny Theatres'. This is fairly representative of the apparent moral consensus among Victorian middle class opinion as to the corrupting effects of such cheap entertainment. 'Many people consider them very objectionable, inasmuch as they induce boys and girls to steal the entrance money', explained Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police Force, Sir Richard Mayne, to the 1866 Select Committee on Theatrical Licenses - adding that the gaffs were really beyond police jurisdiction. He had, 'very seldom found that there was anything that the police could interfere with... No doubt there are thieves there and young girls who are prostitutes, but their conduct is unobjectionable in the place itself'. It was also difficult for the police to prove Lord Shaftesbury's stealing charge and, in any case, children were only too ready to proffer any excuse that might secure for them more lenient treatment when brought before the 'beak'. The Chief Commissioner's pragmatic interpretation of the law seemed to be that the gaffs were best left alone to provide harmless amusement for the juvenile poor:

I may be a little lax, but I am rather for allowing performances than restraining them; I see places at the East End where they have two performances in the evening, beginning at six o'clock, coming out at eight, and immediately a fresh audience comes in, showing a great demand for these amusements, and I think the people behave very properly.

This more tolerant attitude was in marked contrast to the police suppression of the gaffs in London only a decade ear-

lier.<sup>161</sup> The salacious implications and 'double entendres' present in many of the popular street songs put on in the gaffs - often nominated by members of the audience - were the chief offenders against Victorian middle class susceptibilities, including those of reporter Henry Mayhew. Why should gaff performances have excited so much adverse comment from observers who were conspicuously outside the class and age range for which they were intended? It is difficult to find historical corroboration for the 'obscene' content of dances and songs performed in the penny gaffs and their notoriety may be more a reflection of the mid-Victorian revival of evangelical puritanism among the middle class than of any likely impurities in popular forms of entertainment. The following testimony, disappointing from a middle class standpoint, was given in 1839 by a seventeen-year old interviewed inside Westminster's notorious Bridewell prison:

He has been to a penny theatre in Short's-gardens; saw the drunken combat as an interlude, between the Dumb Maid of Genoa and the merry Playactor; the company of performers were about nine; one of them beats the drum, and dances at shows and fairs; he does not think them to be cross coves *thieves*; they know flash *criminal argot* very well. Boys, girls, and all sorts of thieves and w(*hore*)s, all go to them; there is bad language before the curtain draws up; **but he has never seen or heard anything bawdy on the stage**: the most so was a drunken soldier, who put the candle out, and run after the Maid, saying: 'Now, my dear, now is the time', when the other characters come in with candles. (My italics).

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# reviews

Bates A. W. (Ed.)

## THE ROLE OF TECHNOLOGY IN DISTANCE TEACHING

Croom Helm 1984

ISBN 0 7099 3224 3

£19.95

pp.231

In my Sunday paper yesterday there was a special supplement on information technology in the office. It was boring, blank and took four pages to say that new technology could do a lot but that its applications needed to be carefully considered. At the other extreme the computer magazine that I occasionally read generally lose me during paragraph two. This book very successfully avoids these pitfalls. It discusses a wide variety of technical systems and appraises their educational relevance. It is sceptical of the flamboyant claims made for new technology and its discussion of technical details is clear.

My criticism of the book would be with its title which is misleading. What it says about technology is relevant to many educational institutions not only those formally running distance or open learning programmes. Secondly it is not the role of technology that is considered but rather the tasks that technical devices can perform. It is however excellent at the job it really sets out to do i.e. to provide answers to the question 'Can technology solve this particular teaching/learning problem'.

The book covers a very wide range of technology and I will discuss it in terms of the levels of technology rather than the structure the book uses. **Basic Tech** is the first level. Here there are chapters on the telephone, audio cassettes, media resource centres and home study kits. These are resources which are cheap, readily available and relatively easy to use to good educational effect. If the section on the uses of the telephone, especially telephone conferencing, were taken to heart, the youth service could save thousands of hours of time spent in travelling to meetings.

**Big Tech** and under this heading I would include the chapters on satellite and cable transmission, radio and broadcast television. These chapters point to the issues that the book does not tackle. Those on radio and broadcast television carefully analyse what is known about the educational effectiveness and the economics of them. The chapter on satellite and cable television describes a pilot educational satellite channel, the Knowledge Network in British Columbia. It is euphoric and ignores the social and political questions that arise from the development of this technology. For example, who has access, at what cost, where does editorial control lie?

**High Tech** and here I include the chapters on video cassettes, computer assisted learning, computer managed learning, teletext and word processing. This chapter is the best brief introduction I have read. There are some excellent points made about the generally poor use made of the educational potential of video cassettes. The general message is that these devices are more powerful and much more prevalent than many in the youth and community work field are aware.

Looking at the future I have put together a number of aspects in the book which one could call High Tech around the corner. Here I include Viewdata, Interactive Video and Cyclops. Viewdata by the way is the generic name of the British Telecom's Prestel service. It has not much educational use at the moment but there is a lot of information, including 30 commercial databases avail-

able for the price of a local telephone call. Interactive video is a system of computer assisted learning in which the computer controls access to visual information stored on a laser read disc and also provides text and instruction stored on a laser read disc and also provides text and instructions. It is potentially very useful but very complex and extremely expensive. Cyclops is the cheapest and least glamorous and therefore potentially the most accessible. Developed by the Open University it is a means of transmitting sound and simple visuals down a phone line to a television monitor linked to a computer. The great advantage is that each party can talk and send images to the other. No more preparation is required than would be needed to use an overhead projector.

The relevance of distance learning and the new technology to youth and community work is twofold, to train and to practice. All open learning systems, of which distance learning is a form, start from the premise that it is not necessary for one person, in the role of student, to be physically present with another person, in the role of teacher, for learning to take place. This premise is one which professional qualifying courses in youth work have acted on from the beginning, for example, through placements, project work and students designed and implemented syllabi. However this has been seen rather as an expression of experiential learning and student autonomy rather than a form of open learning. Recently however, more programmes of training have emerged which have broken from the traditional pattern of education where courses are provided by institutions which students physically attend. In professional training the YMCA National College's distance learning course enables students to study at their own pace while in full-time employment. Distance learning schemes for training part-time workers are in operation in Norfolk and Devon. Also encouraging is the breaking away from the assumption that training needs have to be met by courses. Instances of this are the emphasis given to unit based training in the recent report "Starting from Strengths" and the National Youth Bureau's training package "What is Y.T.S.?"

All these modes of provision place a heavy reliance on print as an instructional medium and this is a significant omission from the book. Print is a powerful medium but one which is often abused, by poor layout, by poor structuring of the content, by being over-loaded with information and often by plain bad writing. Books such as James Hartley's 'Designing Instructional Text' (Kogan Page 1982) can help solve all the problems except the last. As regards the use of new technologies in youth and community work practice, the obvious use is to teach about the new technologies and this seems to be happening in a piece-meal fashion already. There is not however much sign that they are being used as a regular tool in practice. Yet the potential is there. Computers to run a database of local information, e.g. solicitors advice services, educational opportunities which could be readily updated and accessed by young people themselves, links between youth clubs and projects via Cyclops; word-processing facilities so that all members could prepare a well laid out letter of application or take minutes of meetings. The danger is that any new hardware would go the way of so much of the video equipment bought in the seventies, used twice by young people to make a film about themselves and then locked in a cupboard until stolen. You may however take a more optimistic view, that new technology and patterns of education are coming and that they have relevance to youth and community work practice. In that case read this book and influence the way they are used.

Tony Kirwan.

David I. Macleod

## BUILDING CHARACTER IN THE AMERICAN BOY

The Boy Scouts, YMCA and Their Forerunners, 1870 - 1920

The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983

ISBN 0-299-09400-6

£27.55

pp.404

This important new history, which focuses primarily upon the institutionalization of boyhood and adolescence in America, merits the recognition which it has yet to achieve on this side of the Atlantic, perhaps owing to its excessive cost with the strong dollar. It goes well beyond its immediate subject matter, the Scouts and the YMCA, to illustrate a variety of changes in middle class values, male sex roles and turn of the century American Progressivism. What Macleod has successfully set out to do is to place the Scouts and the YMCA in the historical perspective of their multifarious relations with other aspects of American society and culture, thus demonstrating that close analysis of particular and often neglected movements can help to illuminate much about the wider social fabric of the past. The book's central thesis is that American character-building agencies - although in origin British - arose in response to middle class men's concern about teenage boys of their own social class and that those which prospered were not only the most efficient but also the most faithful expressions of middle class values and concerns. In addition, **Building Characters** stresses the importance of small age differences among adolescents and the evolution of narrowly stratified age grading in shaping adult strategies for controlling boys and in determining the boys' response to what was on offer. Much confusion concerning adolescence and its history can be created by labelling as 'adolescent' youth organisation such as Scouting that recruited primarily among the preadolescent or worse still, by attaching the broad label 'youth' over everything from the Boy Scouts to the Students for a Democratic Society.

In an important chapter on group experience, membership turnover and age stratification, the author demonstrates that for middle class boys of the early twentieth century and by extension beyond, age grading was already more finely calculated than catchall terms such as 'adolescence' imply. Incidentally, the term itself received wide recognition only after the publication in 1904 of American educational psychologist G. Stanley Hall's two volumes on **Adolescence: Its Psychology and its relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education**. If the book under review had served merely to draw the attention of historians to the subtleties of age gradations in determining historical change it would have served a major purpose.

Macleod argues strongly that American youth organizations or character-building agencies developed in response to historical developments which led professional bureaucrats and church workers to seek to strengthen and control sheltered small town middle class schoolboys. The Protestant churches were looking for ways of holding boys beyond the Sunday School and turned towards either muscular Christianity - YMCA and Boys' Brigade - or to prolonging boyhood through the centralized administration of Scouting under its American executive secretary James E. West (1876-1948). We are told that West took over the American Scouts in 1911, combined driving energy with nagging insecurity and inflexibility, for he had grown up in an unloving orphanage. He soon got rid of his more charismatic rival, Ernest Thompson Seton (1860-1946), Chief Scout of the Boys of America, who had grown up in

Toronto, son of an unloving English father, famous as a writer of animal stories which are still read today. Seton was critical of West's leadership for moving Scouting away from Woodcraft and Red Indians towards a less imaginative, centrally-determined programme.

There is much convincing and well-supported information in this book on the social background of leaders and led in American youth organisation which confirms much of what we know about their British equivalents, although in this country their social catchment area was probably much wider. In general, American Scoutmasters were young men of modest but respectable social status, middle to lower middle class, clerks, businessmen, professionals, semiprofessionals, clergy and students account for 75% of all Scoutmasters in 1921. Skilled workers in America were less likely than in Britain to become Scoutmasters or Brigade Captains. A number of youth leaders were probably looking for a more vigorous, masculine and socially prestigious alternative to Sunday School teaching, finding in Scouting and YMCA work a method of affirming their social respectability and middle class status. The BSA's Americanism and the YMCA's Protestantism discouraged poor immigrant youth from joining as members, while the adolescent's work was needed to supplement family income, leaving little time for organized leisure. Scouts, that is, belonged to the 'better class' of boys, for the higher a father's vocational status, the more likely a boy was to be a Scout in America. It is noteworthy that sons of skilled workers belonged to the Scouts or YMCA much more frequently than sons of semiskilled and unskilled workers. The BSA had trouble reaching people who were poor, fundamentalist or farm dwellers, whereas the organisation recruited well among the middle and upper middle class. YMCA juniors also tended to be disproportionately middle class. The American statistics hence do not support the theory that lower middle class marginality, as was the case in Britain, was a primary incentive for parents to enrol their sons, since fathers higher in the ranks of the middle class were in fact more likely to have boys in Scouting or to engage in fund raising and to sit on the Scout councils.

Macleod also sets out to question many of the previously held 'myths' about the American Scouts and the YMCA, some of which are equally relevant to the British experience of organised youth. For example, while these adult-led movements presented themselves as the solution to juvenile delinquency on the streets in much of their literature, the evidence shows that most Scout troops and YMCA branches avoided troublesome or immigrant urban boys like the plague. These were left to the boys' clubs to deal with. Scouting also fostered the 'myth' that it was once very successful at retaining the older teenager, yet neither in America nor Britain has it ever held many boys beyond fourteen or fifteen whereas the YMCA has a much better record in this respect. Another self-proclaimed aim of the American Scouts and Brigades was to restore masculinity to boys suffering under the presumed effeminate influences of evangelical religion and extended schooling. On the other hand, as Macleod demonstrates, the uniforms of these youth organizations were seen as 'sissy' by most self-respecting working class adolescents and their expense precluded proletarian membership.

The evidence also suggests that while boys may have initially joined the BSA from a desire for adventure and woodcraft in the open air, it was not long before boredom and dissatisfaction set in after too many weekly meetings held indoors in damp church basements, hence, as late as 1927, over 44% of Boy Scouts in America dropped out

in their first year. The book also argues that as agencies of social control these youth organisations were partial failures from the start. Their inability to recruit boys beyond the white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant ideal until the 1920s and their middle class Progressive, character-building ideologies, imply that if there was control, it was by one generation and section of the middle class over another. Finally, Macleod suggests that the relative lack of radical political potential in America itself rather than social control helps explain some of the features that distinguished character-building agencies in this vast continent from the more highly politicized youth groups in many twentieth century European nations.

On the whole, **Buiding Character** gives us the best and most sophisticated account yet of the American middle class youth organizations, Macleod's closely argued book sets new standards for the study of American youth, paralleled only by Joseph Kett's standard 1977 work on adolescence in America since 1790, **Rites of Passage**, which is also little known in this country. What still remains to be properly researched are the post-1920 developments hinted at in the last chapter of Macleod and the so-far overlooked history of organizations directed at working class immigrant boys and the female sex such as boys' clubs, Camp Fire Girls, Girl Guides or Scouts, YWCA, etc. This book will, nonetheless, prove invaluable for our understanding of the history of organized youth in America, the concept of masculinity, the management of 'adolescence' and the impact of 'Americanization' on middle class young men. Some British readers may be deterred by the book's over-analytical style, inordinate length (some 300 pages of text plus another 100 of notes and index) and profusion of statistics on almost everything under the sun. Evidence of the American fetish for collecting data even in the period dealt with here. These minor blemishes are reflection not of the book's 1973 PhD. origins or lengthy gestation period, more of the fact that American social scientists and historians, the two are almost indistinguishable, are light years ahead of their British counterparts in the academic study of youth adolescence. It is perhaps, a comment on the book's high level of interest that your review editor confessed real pangs of regret that she had to pass on this book for review.

John Springhall

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**Len Barton and Sally Tomlinson (editors.)**  
**SPECIAL EDUCATION AND SOCIAL INTERESTS**  
**Croom Helm, 1984**  
**ISBN 0 7099 3252 9**  
**£8.95 pbk.**  
**pp. 259**

This volume is a collection of articles which set out to examine educational practice towards disabled young people from a critical perspective. Drawing particularly on **Weberian** and **Labelling Theory** approaches, authors develop arguments intended to counter established views which regard 'disability' as being an attribute of individuals. Rather than concentrating on the discovery and 'diagnosis' of handicapping conditions, it is argued, practitioners should be concerned to regard the designation of disability as a problematic social act. The process of being defined as disabled should itself be analysed with the focus of analysis shifting to include those who are involved in the construction of category of disability.

The book is divided into two parts, the first dealing with present practice in special education and including descriptions and analysis of the issue in Sweden, the U.S.A. and England. The second

half of the book is composed of four accounts of research in special education from an interactionist perspective.

I must confess at this point a good deal of ambivalence when initially approaching this volume, which did not diminish as my reading progressed. I find the arguments for a more qualitative approach to sociological issues to be very persuasive, however, I also have reservations about the adequacy of labelling perspectives for understanding social phenomena. The problems of explanation inherent to labelling theory are illustrated in some of the articles included in this book.

A central question for the authors is 'Who benefits?' (from the labelling of disabled young people) in order to move away from assumptions of benevolent humanitarianism as the motivation for changes in special education which have occurred over the past hundred years. The authors do on occasion warn against the simplistic practice of blaming teachers, psychologists and other occupational groups for 'creating' disability through labelling procedures and they also argue for the consideration of structural factors in any analysis of the social position of young people categorised as disabled. However the raising of the question 'Who benefits?' leads inevitably to the pointing of fingers at those occupational groups involved in social caretaking. Despite warnings to contrary a distinctly accusatory tone enters several of the writings. Whilst we may enjoy this as good knock-about fun (most teachers and psychologists are old enough to look after themselves) what we are left with is an explanation of the disadvantages of disabled young people which borders on conspiracy theory.

The analysis which is presented looks on the activities of the defining groups (i.e. teachers, psychologists) as being explicable in terms of 'occupational interests'. These 'interests' are identified by an examination of the belief systems and attitudes of the groups concerned. The implied homogeneity of 'occupational interests' is I feel extremely problematic as indeed is the reduction of a system of social relations to the motivation and attitudes of the individuals involved. To be fair, an article by Söder does attempt to go some way towards relating ideologies of care in Sweden in relation to disabled people to the structure of employment. It is difficult to do justice here to his argument but briefly he sees the position of disabled people in terms of their market position as 'consumers of care' and as a surplus labour population and relates this to official resource allocation. The weakness of the analysis for me lies with the theorisation of the structure of employment as a labour market with employment seeming to depend of the possession of marketable skills.

Despite the foregoing criticisms, the book is well worth reading, if only for the last article by Goode which demonstrates the strengths of the perspective which regards disability as a social construct. This is an account of qualitative research which attempts to understand the position of mentally handicapped people through naturalistic participant observation. He argues that the practice of clinical assessment of those people identified as disabled can seriously distort accounts of the abilities of the 'client'. The ability to communicate for example is seen by clinicians as an attribute of the individual rather than as a social act dependent on relationships and context as it really is. It is good to see alternative perspectives on the concept of disability raising themselves over the parapet, and this volume is to be recommended on that count but a more adequate structural account of the position of disabled young people remains to be written.

Don Blackburn.

**Eileen Gambrill and Theodore J. Stein**  
**SUPERVISION: A Decision Making Approach**  
Sage Publications, 1983  
Library of Congress Catalogue No: HV95.633  
1983 361.3068 83-17727  
pp. 187

This book is No. 35 in the Sage Human Services Guides Series. As a single volume, divorced from the rest of the series but firmly embedded in a U.S. background, it may come as something of a jolt to British practitioner readers. The purpose of the book is to add to the repertoire of supervisory skills of team leaders in social work agencies - i.e., it focuses on one aspect of this complex role, but a vital one. The approach is indicated in the title decision making and how the quality of it might be enhanced.

The content of the book seems to fall into three sections. The first examines how the supervisor could help his staff come to more effective decisions in specific cases. Separate chapters look at intake, initial case planning and workload management, the setting up of outcome goals and making contracts, making assessments, the selection of the methods of intervention and co-ordination with others contributing to the change-effort. It is a pity the authors did not carry matters explicitly through to termination decisions, as these can be as crucial as any others. The second section explores ways in which the supervisor might assist the development of staff more generally to improve their practice, defining effective staff behaviour and how this might be increased either by the supervisor directly or through training programmes. The third section focusses on how a team leader might evaluate her/his own effectiveness as a supervisor and maintain, through sources of self-reinforcement, her/his supervisory role in the agency.

The book is what it says it is, a guide book and essentially practical. It clearly identifies the tasks to be achieved throughout the various stages and provides a wealth of examples of means by which they can be achieved. There are exercises, forms, questionnaires and check lists. Most of the practice examples are drawn from the child care sphere and reflect the authors' backgrounds. Although mainly pre-supposing an individual case work approach, their material could be fairly readily adapted for use with other client groups or methods of intervention. It is this task oriented, systematised approach that may seem alien to a social work ethos of caring, with a tendency to be rather diffuse about ends and means. In turn this may partly account for the endemic antipathy of grass roots practitioners towards managers and why managerial functions are ambivalently assumed and only half-heartedly embraced by practitioners. With this book, the social work reader will need to hang on to the idea that the aims behind the means are a better service to clients and the job satisfaction of staff. It is also important to remember that however kind the intention, poor management will not help either.

The study of management issues in human services organisations has been carried infinitely further in the United States. By comparison we have hardly begun in this country. In the appointment of senior managers or the newly promoted team leader, we seem to leave them to learn from experience, precedent or the adaptation of what knowledge and skills they already possess, rather than systematically equip them with the new skills they require to manage their sphere of responsibility effectively. The American literature often presents us with a culture shock of language, style and context and this book is such an example. Additionally the hard pressed team leader in Britain may recoil at the implications of the time it is

going to take to do this aspect of the job properly. I would commend the book as salutary reading, if only to promote reflection on what is being done, or not being done by supervisors. It could prompt a resolve to do it better, for guidance on the how to do it, there are plenty of ideas here.

Effectiveness in service delivery is an issue these days for a whole variety of reasons from demonstrating to ourselves and others that social work has something to offer, to making the most of what limited resources are allocated to us. Whether the methodology of this book is used or not, it has something to say, within its particular orbit, which merits reading.

Derek Tilbury

**Diana E.H. Russell**  
**SEXUAL EXPLOITATION: Rape, Child Abuse and Workplace Harassment**  
Sage Library of Social Research,  
I.S.B.N. 08039-2355-4 (Soft back)  
0-8039-2354-6 (Hardback)  
Sage Publications

Diana E.H. Russell's study on sexual exploitation is an ambitious attempt to link together three major areas of sexual abuse and violence with an extensive array of statistical evidence, some of which she has personally collected and processed. Her own data gathering arose from two studies, within the last decade, undertaken for two agencies, the National Institute of Mental Health and the National Centre of Child Abuse and Neglect, both located in San Francisco.

This is an impressive reference book for students new to the subject area of sexual exploitation and its prevalence and incidence. It explodes many of the myths about the incidence of sexual abuse in society e.g. that rape only happens to a certain 'type' of woman, by its painstaking statistical documentation of sexual offences. Her own data from open-ended questions on violence and crime relies on the victim to 'self-report' sexual abuse. The resulting evidence confirms previous findings that sexual abuse is more common and yet more 'hidden' than experts have previously supposed. Self-reporting studies of crime generally suggest higher incidence of criminal activity experienced both by perpetrators and victims alike, this study proves no exception to the rule. Russell concludes that the majority of women experience one, if not more, of the three sexual abuses covered in her investigation, and that the majority (90%) of crimes linked with sexual exploitation are committed by men. She also suggests that perpetrators who are sexually abused as children are more likely to commit sexual abuse as adults. In doing so linking together areas of sexual exploitation in an attempt to explain why such exploitation occurs.

It is at this point in the analysis that I think the book falls short. To be fair to the writer I do not think that she intended to attempt a structural analysis of sexual exploitation but to pave the way for such an analysis. The danger is however that the book will be seen to 'individualise' sexual abuse by concentrating on variables between the perpetrator and the crime, for example, alcohol abuse, social class, race etc. Russell does make the point that as most sexual exploitation is committed by men there must be an element of power and domination over women deeply rooted in such crimes but her explanation stops there.

There is alarming evidence in the book to support the hypothesis she began with, that sexual exploitation is so widespread it is almost unrecognised as such. Russell refers to a study by Briere,

Malamuth and Centi, which indicates that out of three hundred and sixty five male students questioned sixty per cent of the sample stated "that under the right circumstances there was some likelihood they would use force or rape or both in sexual relationships with women if they could be assured they would not be punished". All of Russell's conclusions on the scale of the problem including, abuse and sexual harassment in the workplace will come as no surprise to feminists. They have been stressing the frequency of occurrences of sexual exploitation for years.

I applaud Russell's masterly handling of statistical data but I would have preferred such a battery of 'hard' evidence to be the starting point of her investigation rather than its main thrust. The problem with statistical analyses is that they generate counter statistical analyses so that the debate is lifted out of the main public forum in which it should rightfully belong instead it becomes 'restricted' to the world of academic theory from where it seldom filters to a wider audience. Sexual exploitation needs to be investigated because it so clearly affects so many women's lives. The danger of couching it within a statistical framework is that it ceases to be a social phenomenon other than as determined by experts becoming an academic springboard for attack and counter attack. Diana Russell's book is important. It provides a basis from which I hope, others will start to analyse the links between sexual exploitation and patriarchal attitudes in our society. In the process many of the myths surrounding sexual exploitation may be shattered once and for all.

Helen Cairns

**Elizabeth Roberts**  
**A WOMAN'S PLACE**  
**An Oral History of Working-Class Women**  
1890-1940, Blackwell Publications, 1984  
ISBN 0631135723  
£14.95  
pp. 246

Over the last decade or so feminist historians have begun to rescue the lives of women from the oblivion in which they had been confined for so long. Elizabeth Roberts using the popular oral interview technique, has produced a book which clarifies further much of what is already known but with an interpretative emphasis which may not please all her readers. There is little doubt however, that this will stand as a stimulating and provocative addition to the essential texts on the history of women, the family and working-class life. While the author writes as a feminist, her book she says, is not 'obviously feminist' in so far as she argues that 'it is not sufficient to indict the injustices of the past, nor allow one's concern for women's causes of today to obstruct the understanding of women's roles and status yesterday'. Consequently she does not specifically investigate patriarchy nor 'male oppression of women'. During her research it became clear that for the majority of women interviewed, their exploitation was interpreted in terms of class conflict. To have concentrated on the patriarchal model claims the author, would have overlooked 'the power and achievement of women'. This perspective, free as it is of a rigid feminist determinism, offers the opportunity for a flexible analysis of the interplay between class and patriarch and as far as this regional study is concerned (Barrow, Lancaster and Preston), it would appear that the relationship defies easy categorisation.

**A Woman's Place** bears the publisher's blurb which protests that the 'common myth' of female subservience to husbands is questioned. As the

interviews unfold through five chapters - growing up, youth, work and leisure, marriage, women as housewives and managers and families and neighbours - the woman as wife and mother is shown to have been central in what was for the working-class family a 'struggle for survival'. Not only did she structure the economic course of their lives but also frequently the behaviour of her husband and always that of her children. None of this means that the distribution of power between men and women was in any way equal, although the author argues that it depended 'on a complex variety of factors, including individual personalities, drinking habits and the nature of employment of both partners'. In the majority of marriages however, 'it would appear to be misleading and inaccurate to see the wife as downtrodden, bullied and dependent'. Instead, she was 'much more likely to be respected and highly regarded, financial and household manager, and the arbiter of familial and indeed neighbourhood standards'.

Perhaps her independence was less in evidence where sexual practice was concerned for a combination of long established ignorance together with the physical strength of men often left women in a vulnerable position. It is not clear whether men were better informed sexually but the interviews indicate that they determined the frequency of intercourse. As one respondent replied to the question would her mother have liked a larger family, 'No! My dad wasn't a lustful man'. The author comments that this expressed 'a widespread, if usually unspoken, attitude to sex and sexuality in marriage'. It is also a verdict on the sexual relationship.

Throughout the book the tone is one of positive affirmation of women's endurance, abilities, strength and sense of commitment. All these qualities were characteristics of personalities which, as the author concludes, were 'disciplined, inhibited and conforming'. Furthermore, these were women who placed 'perceived familial and social needs before those of the individuals'; they saw 'little distinction between their own good and that of their families', therefore, it appears they made no sustained attempt to fulfill themselves.

If this was so, is it correct to infer that they exhibited 'a very low level of self-awareness?' The implication seems to be that there was a necessary connection between knowing their 'place' and not seeking 'self-fulfillment'. However, perhaps their self-awareness was expressed in terms of the family because as far as wives were concerned the solidarity of kin made this the strongest defence against class exploitation. Maybe even more relevant is the possibility that although the family was the site of 'domination' by the husband, it was also the only environment in which the woman could make anything like full use of her initiative, imagination and intelligence.

There is another perspective from which *A Woman's Place* can be observed. The display of loyalty, as well as the discipline, the inhibition and the conformism of the women may well have stemmed from the socialisation they received in their own childhood and youth. In his *A Child's World*, James Walvin perceptively suggested that Victorian society 'worked remarkably well...because of the respect for authority displayed by successive generations of all social classes'. He advised historians to cease to look for the origins of obedience in the adult world, 'particularly in the relationships between work and employer', but to remember that 'the formative exposure to the concept of obedience began at a much earlier age, in childhood and within the family'.

On the basis of the evidence presented in the book under review, there is little doubt that the inculca-

tion of 'obedience' was the single most important feature of child-rearing. As the author comments 'working class children learned the habit of obedience from a very early age. Their own wills and desires had to be subordinated to those of their parents; they were expected to do as they were told, and the overwhelming evidence from both before and after the first world war is that they did exactly that'. It seems that the authority of parents commanded obedience and as face-to-face defiance was rare, systematic corporal punishment was not very extensive, though slaps and cuffs were more regularly administered. Nor was much allowance made for the age of the child, even babies and small children 'were expected to know at a very young age the difference between right and wrong'. If disobedience was one cardinal sin, another was being 'cheeky' or 'answering back'. Similarly children were not always allowed to speak freely in the presence of adults, such interventions were seen as 'signs of too much independence'. On pain of punishment children were expected to be honest, respectable, clean and tidy. Furthermore it is not without significance that 'very few respondents' either stressed or even mentioned physical affection and tenderness. This may indicate that they were either absent or that 'self-control' prohibited their expression. In Paul Thompson's oral history *The Edwardians*, one of his respondents confessed 'None of us wears his heart on our sleeves. We was brought up to keep us moans and groans to ourselves'.

Such child-rearing practices might have been expected to produce a generation more sensitive to the vulnerable and the powerless but this was not the case. Instead, the children 'were brought by, and developed into, a conforming and conformist generation'. The obsession of parents with obedience, respect and authority, inhibited a critical awareness and prevented the flowering of the imagination necessary to construct alternatives. And yet, despite the lack of physical affection, girls do appear to have felt bound to their mothers, and this probably deepened their loyalty to the family and ensured that they emulated the matriarchal model.

The process of socialisation which treated children's feelings as of little account continued well into youth. In her chapter 'Youth, Work and Leisure', the author provides a vivid description of this stage of growing up. Girls continued to be closely involved with their parents though as full-time wage-earners and therefore, critically important to the family economy, their status underwent subtle changes. For example, they might expect a better diet and be allowed to stay out later. Failure on the part of parents to make these concessions, in particular regarding coming home time, sometimes provoked minor rebellions but truly independent working-class youth was a rarity. Other historians have tended to make too much of the young workers' new economic powers, arguing that parents felt 'dependent upon, or beholden to, their offspring'. In reality parents never lost their 'immense moral authority' which when coupled with the respect children continued to show them well into their own middle age, helps to explain the voluntary abdication of almost all independence on the part of sons and daughters.

*A Woman's Place* touches on many themes currently being discussed among historians, sociologists and feminists. In common with so many other oral histories of the working class, the book is richly illustrative of its humour, perseverance, 'neighbourliness', resilience, loyalty and achievement. But it is also testimony to narrow-mindedness, harshness, authoritarianism, intolerance and insensitivity in family relationships. As the author is scrupulous in sifting her evidence, she is continually caught between the two worlds.

The oral material is indeed 'complex' and it is true that there are 'a mass of individual differences'. Perhaps because of this, and despite the author's claim that women were not subservient, the woman's 'place' remains uncomfortably ambivalent. However, unless I am grossly mistaken, this book is meant to be celebratory; it is about the struggle for survival with dignity. I wonder if this is sufficient?

Harry Hendrick

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### 'KIDS MOVING ON'

T.H.A.C.

33, Groatmarket, Newcastle upon Tyne NE1 1UG  
£2.00 plus postage

The KIDS MOVING ON resource pack is a very valuable publication for a number of reasons. First, it provides essential information for workers with young people in difficult circumstances whether leaving care, becoming homeless or leaving their own home for the first time. Its comprehensive coverage includes: housing and homelessness, work and benefits, local government and statutory agencies, health care, young people and the law, education and leisure, and how workers can help in emergencies. The material is easy to read, well presented and skilfully combines legal and practical advice with local resource information.

Second, it is an important publication because of the way it came about. Following a joint initiative by Tyneside Housing Aid Centre and the Bridges Project, the KIDS MOVING ON group was set up with workers from a wide range of local voluntary and statutory agencies "to highlight key issues surrounding the difficult transition period often experienced when young people first move into independent accommodation". This booklet represents the fruits of nine months collective work by this group and indeed, they are continuing to meet developing links with a local theatre group, as well as hoping to set up leaving care support groups for young people.

Third, it is important in that the funding by Newcastle City Council shows some recognition of their responsibility in this key area. Finally the pack is very helpful as a guide or model for other authorities and organisations. But clearly there is a danger here, for it is not simply a question of 'KIDS MOVING ON' being reproduced by a single 'professional' on the 8th floor of City Hall. The real strength of this resource pack is in the hours of collective work and increased consciousness of the group. Having said that, here then is an ideal opportunity for those areas who have done nothing, to send off for the pack and set up a group of interested workers and young people to produce their own resource booklet. One last point, resource packs for young people themselves are very helpful and perhaps future initiatives could involve local NAYPIC groups who have some experience in this area.

Mike Stein

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**Joanne Foakes**  
**FAMILY VIOLENCE LAW AND PRACTICE**  
**Hemstal Press Ltd., 1984**  
**ISBN 0 94755 810 7**  
**£12.50**

The publisher's claims for this book are that 'it is the first book devoted entirely to the law of family violence', including legislation that covers children and their rights. They also claim that 'a thoroughly practical approach is taken throughout' and although 'primarily written for the prac-

tising lawyer... it will also be a valuable addition to libraries of local authorities, Citizens Advice Bureaus and Womens Aid Centres.' In claiming that the author has aimed her work at lay practitioners as well as lawyers, Ms Foakes is suggesting two key points from the outset. First that the law by itself has limitations with regard to remedies for domestic violence, second, despite legislation, society in general has failed to grasp the importance and widespread nature of the violence. Also that those who have done most to counter it, by helping women in practical ways and by raising awareness, are not lawyers or the police, but advice workers and the Women's Aid Movement in general.

Given that the author's overall perspective will perhaps be more sympathetic to the lay practitioner's experience of domestic violence and the law, it is important to assess the book with a critical eye to the legal information, both theoretical and practical, the general advice and help it provides. Whether the claims of usefulness to Citizens Advice Bureaus and Womens Aid groups and lawyers is true is open to question.

The book is set out clearly, starting with tables of statutes, cases and remedies and ending with practice directions which explain the practical steps to be taken on each remedy. They also explain the layout and content of any legal document that accompanies the remedy. Each chapter takes one specific issue or remedy, and explores it under headings such as:

Forum:- ie where does remedy occur, High Court etc.

Parties:- who can apply for this remedy.

Remedies:- what powers the court has to decide matters.

At the end of each chapter are comprehensive notes with references and further examples. Therefore, having established a pattern, the reader should then presumably be able to turn to any chapter and recognise the sequence of procedure. For this book to be useful to the lay practitioner however, it would have been helpful to include a glossary of legal terms. There also seem to be a number of assumptions made about the lay reader's familiarity with court practice. The author's use of a term like 'battered wives' also reveals a lack of knowledge of Women's Aid thought and practice. The term is exclusive of cohabitantes who experience violence. It tends to suggest and reinforce the idea that there are some women who are the 'battered wives' type, that somehow they ask for it, therefore putting the blame on women for their own sufferings.

The procedures as laid down are clear and thorough but it is not clear who they are for. Solicitors know how to draft injunctions and advice workers don't need to. The author includes a table of remedies, which is unusual for a standard law book, the remedies tend to be presented in isolation from the 'real world'. For example, any woman who has fled violence and is seeking a non-molestation/exclusion type injunction, will also be facing massive problems in addition to the legal ones. She will more than likely, be faced with having to find new accommodation, deal with the DHSS and Housing Benefit, sort out new schools for the children and how to establish a whole new set of household goods and furniture. All of these problems interrelate, and any remedy cannot be assessed effectively without taking into account the other circumstances of the case. Another example is that the author refers to The Housing (Homeless Persons) Act 1977 rather briefly at the end of the book and offers it as a help to women made homeless due to violence. This piece of legislation has to be seen in relation to the relevant local authorities' attitude to housing as well as to the Act. Knowledge of the effects of the legisla-

tion on local authority practice will have a bearing on how one would advise a woman yet, the author ignores this important point.

The author includes a chapter on remedies within criminal law as well as civil law but a welcome addition to the straight legal information is the author's own assessment of the effectiveness of the different remedies. Ms Foakes indicates some of the failures, contradictions and inadequacies of existing legislation and hints at the underlying political and social conflicts in approaches to domestic violence. She quotes from the Report of the Select Committee on Violence in Marriage, HMSO (1975): 'assaults in the home are just as serious as assaults in other places and that citizens who call the police to their aid at a time when they are being assaulted are entitled to the full protection of the law'.

As any woman who has suffered violence would testify however, the police are all too reluctant to intervene in a 'domestic'. Ms Foakes also quotes from the police memorandum to the Select Committee that: 'To add the wide sphere of injunctions issued under Matrimonial Jurisdiction to their (the police's) diverse responsibilities would place an intolerable strain on manpower resources and be to the detriment of safeguarding other members of the public'. One is forced to ask who 'The Law' thinks it is defending? The largest single category of murders - 24% - are of spouse or cohabitee, of these, 80% of the victims are women. The only time the Home Office has kept detailed figures on domestic violence, in 1979, the cases reported to the Police (not by any means the total occurring) showed that 91.5% of them involved wounding and serious assault and were committed by men on wives or cohabitantes. The author's position is clearly in support of the Select Committee's line, namely that the police should intervene more on behalf of women suffering violence. In our opinion, as advice worker's her criticism of the law is too mildly stated.

The book includes a proposed checklist of addresses that Ms Foakes says would be useful to any practitioner for their own use. It is a useful list yet there are notable omissions such as the Women's Aid Federation, English address. The author also fails to give any information about legal aid, it's uses and how to get it. This is a serious omission, given that any legal help is so dependant on receiving financial aid. To sum up, the author has tried to make the book serve a number of purposes, yet has failed to draw all its different elements into a really useful whole. As a practical book for advice workers it does not give enough practical detail and the inclusion of technical case law is unnecessary. For the academic or lawyer, the case law is too incomplete. As often happens with legal guides, some of the information is already out of date and new legislation has superseded some of the examples the author included. Ultimately therefore, this book's usefulness is limited, and at £12.50 for a paperback, it would not be the most obvious guide to recommend to workers in the domestic violence field.

Ellen Phethean  
Jill Welch

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**TRAINING FOR VERSATILITY**  
**Longman Group Ltd and the Careers and**  
**Occupational Information Centre 1984**  
**ISBN 0 582 172545 4**  
**Video 25mins and Working Papers**

**You Got the Power (Video)**

The central part of the package centres on a 25 minute video about four unemployed teenagers who form a pop group and try to get to the audi-

tion that will get them launched. Overcoming obstacles they get there in the nick of time thanks to their adaptability and resourcefulness. The message intended is that everyone has valuable abilities which can be developed to cope with new situations. The general presentation of the video is intended to appeal to a group of mixed ability young people. It is fun, glossy, lively, with imaginative use made of music, lights, songs and the inclusion of pop stars. On a lighter note one would question the wisdom of using pop stars as a means of attracting interest, in view of the rapidly moving pop world. The comment from young people who viewed the film was "Cor - they went out years ago"!

From the practitioners point of view and bearing in mind the purpose of the film is to encourage an awareness of versatility, there are some real weaknesses. The introduction is poor and negative, introducing four young people, three of whom have either failed to turn up for job interviews or who have given up jobs through boredom. This in itself is in conflict with the visual message the film imparts which seems to be "make the best of everything - life isn't easy". There is also a question about the appropriateness of the educational background of the young people concerned. All four of them had academic qualifications. Bearing in mind that a large proportion of the intended audience will have no qualifications, this immediately presents barriers.

One would assume that the film is not centred towards any particular academic ability. The superior, blasé manner in which one particular arithmetical situation is portrayed by the actor, would leave many of the potential audience feeling inferior and unable to relate. The whole challenge and purpose of the film could be quickly lost on some people in such a situation.

The story content is unrealistic and far-fetched. The content behind the story however could with skilful practitioner support highlight and promote an awareness of transferable skills and versatility. There is one major criticism, the script provides an easy and immediate solution to each of the problems faced by the four young actors. The answers were provided on the basis of an instant referral by the actor to previous experience thereby highlighting versatility! The reality in the field is that problems are seldom overcome by immediate solutions. Problems have to be worked through, questions asked and answered. The film made no attempt to analyse the solving of problems, thereby neglecting a significant learning opportunity. The answers just appeared, rather like a comic with one frame giving 'the problem' and the next frame 'the answer' without any working-through process shown. The film because of this lost a lot of impact. The instant production of ideal solutions to problems is not only in conflict with reality but also once again contradicts the visual portrayal of the film of "make the best of everything - life isn't easy"! It is enlightening to note that the publishers have no preconceived ideas regarding the timing of presentation within a one year traineeship nor indeed the actual number of times it may be shown to a young person.

As a means to assist with the promotion and encouragement of versatility amongst young people involved in YTS, the video and accompanying users notes are a useful aid providing the video is used as part of a main resource unit. To use this video to its full advantage, requires a very skilled practitioner. It is well known that many practitioners within the YTS are not professionally qualified. It is therefore essential that not only should the necessary foundation work on basic and transferable skills have been undertaken with the young person before the introduction of the



film, an aspect which is barely mentioned in the Users Notes. It is also important that practitioners themselves should have received a firm foundation on the strengths and weaknesses of this film.

All material is only as good as the practitioners but is especially true in this case. The material requires a tremendous amount of support from the practitioner. Without a strong input from a skilled practitioner there is a possibility that this film could appeal to young people purely as entertainment thereby completing missing the purpose for which it is intended. In addition the main problem areas of the film, as already defined, are such that they could cause confusion, frustration and consequent disinterest.

#### Training for Versatility (4 Books)

There is a lack of appropriate material for both trainees and practitioners concerning the main elements of YTS, in particular written material that does not have to be re-written in laymans terms. It is both refreshing and stimulating to study the four books concerned in Training for Versatility - Improve Your Number Skills, Improve Your Learning, Improve Your Writing and Improve Your Reading.

The three books, Number Skills, Writing and Reading are specifically designed for learners who need help, people with low confidence and those with moderate skills who need to improve. The books do not set out to suggest that they can replace a teacher, but rather they should encourage the user to increase their confidence and willingness to seek professional help and/or those with moderately good skills who need to improve. The style of these books encourages the young person to respond, to know what is expected of them, why they are undertaking a task and what they can expect to get out of it. They encourage the ability to think about and understand in a logical way. These books assist and encourage the practitioner to tackle together with the young person a complex programme/subject in a very positive and clear manner.

The books are filled with practical ideas, based on helping young people not only to adapt to change but also to develop their awareness of learning. The young person can work at their own rate, thereby accepting challenges without fear of ridicule or failure whilst at the same time developing an awareness of the skills they already possess and how widely they can be used. The design of the books is such that there are no scores or league tables and with the right support can be used sensitively and sympathetically in even the most difficult/complex areas. They can also be used as a guide from which the other tasks can be set.

The fourth Book Improve Your Learning focuses on learning techniques and strategies. It provides ideas about how to adapt activities to make them more relevant to the individual young person's needs. It encourages practitioners to evaluate learning tasks, break them down to discrete units and determine appropriate learning techniques. Learners are encouraged to take control and be responsible for what they learn and how they learn it.

These books obviously do not provide the complete methods or answers to coping with encouraging versatility but they do provide a stimulating and flexible method with which to approach the subject.

Barbara Sowerby

**East Leeds Women's Workshop  
WOMEN AND WORK VIDEO  
includes comprehensive information booklet.  
Available from Clare Segal, 4th Floor,  
18-20 Dean Street, Newcastle upon Tyne NE1 1PG.  
Connexions, 1985  
To hire £15 + p & p  
To buy £20 + p & p**

When I was asked to review this video, I immediately became concerned about my own abilities to tackle such a task. I asked myself, why is it that as a fairly confident person, I still doubt my own abilities? Is it because I am a woman? It was therefore with more than a professional interest that I began to review the 'Women and Work' video. I intend to describe briefly the East Leeds Women's Workshop project, its background and aims as well as analysing the video's presentation and issues raised. In conclusion, it will be necessary to look at the video's potential as a teaching tool from my own experience of working as a Community Worker in the North East over the past 3 years.

The 'Women and Work' video illustrates a project set up in 1982 by a group of women living and working in East Leeds. The **East Leeds Women's Workshop** is the first of its kind in the country and aims to increase educational and training opportunities for women of the area. East Leeds is typical of depressed, inner-city areas, with densely populated working class and large Afro/Caribbean and Asian communities. The workshop attempts to address these inequalities by providing free training in skilled trades for women only. The courses provided are both full and part-time and consist of carpentry, joinery, electronics and microcomputing. In general, these are not recognised as traditional trades for women - they therefore challenge the stereotype of adult education usually offered. The project positively discriminates in favour of specific disadvantaged groups, such as women over 25, single parents, black and Asian women and generally women who have no further education.

The 13 minute video is presented in an interesting manner. The content almost entirely consists of the women trainees recalling their own experiences. They recount what they were doing before their course, why and how they enrolled with the workshop and what their particular courses consist of. Throughout emphasis is put on how the trainees feel about what is provided and how their need for confidence is shared and gained. Visually, I found the presentation a little disconcerting. It consists of the use of still photographs of the trainees at home and in the centre with flashes of other information. Often it was difficult to match what was being said with what was shown on the screen. I would have preferred to see the women in the flesh as it were, as moving, talking images. The dubbed soundtrack of approximately 8 women talking in turn more than compensated however for the visual inadequacies. The soundtrack also included the fading in and out of that haunting Peggy Seeger song 'I want to be an engineer'. It continually reminds the viewer of the constraints women face through all their stereotyped roles and how difficult it is to break away from them.

It is fair to say that many women still have virtually sole responsibility for childcare. The Workshop recognises this as a central issue and deals with it in the form of constructive, practical help. They employ two childcare workers who find nursery placements and run out-of-school playschemes and pick-up services. Also, cash help seems to be available for both childcare and travelling expenses as well as advice on welfare benefits. It is clear from the recollections of the trainees that

these services relieve the fears which can prevent many women from attending educational institutions. On the subject of childcare, the video did not adequately reflect the real difficulties most working mothers face - how to manage the home, bring up the family and still have energy for work and play. Even if one organises things carefully and has equal support from one's partner, disasters do arise. Children fall ill, schools have all sorts of holidays, work and education can demand unsocial hours and babysitters can let one down. More importantly children deserve time set aside with their mothers, and this is not always possible. It would have been encouraging if the video could have struggled with this issue - how does one encourage women to embark on a life outside the home, knowing the dilemmas and conflicts which require superhuman qualities to resolve?

Another important issue which came to the fore, related to the different atmosphere and values one can experience in an all-female setting. An awareness was shown of how important this was for the learning process. For example, one woman related the shared understanding of arriving late and looking a mess. She reflected how it was not a problem, but if men were around, she would feel threatened for fear of intimidation. It is clear that without these sex-role barriers, assertiveness and learning both become easier and acceptable. What the trainees were saying was that without the risk of sexual harassment and influences, one could get on with the job in hand. Also, often when women become aware of this phenomenon, their passivity is challenged.

The most important feeling I got from listening to the trainees related to the new-found confidence they felt, not only in learning and acquiring new skills, but an enthusiasm and optimism for future plans. For example, one woman intended to start up a joinery business and another wanted to go to building college. A further trainee saw her course as a way into the profession of a TV electrician, to which she had previously been denied access. The video however did not show whether the women felt confident enough to adequately compete in a hostile male world. It is clear that their chosen paths are male-dominated and that they will need to excel over men to be accredited with success. General self-esteem and confidence and a broader outlook on life are not necessarily enough. If confidence is the key, then the workshop more than adequately redresses the balance. As a trainee concludes at the end of the film "I can now say I have done that all on my own".

From the issues above, it is evident that the video is a useful tool to be used in a variety of educational settings. I can however foresee some difficulties which could arise if, for example, I use it with a women's group with which I am currently working. I believe they may well ask why such a workshop only includes 'masculine' courses, particularly when some of their husbands are skilled and unemployed. Their motivation is more likely to relate to acquiring broader skills. Also, I felt the film did not give enough information about the qualifications gained. Many people need to see a tangible conclusion to any education process before they embark upon it. Despite these criticisms, the video does not over-emphasize feminist ideas which in my experience often alienate working class women.

At a national level, the current recession is creating an environment where the rights of women to have equal access to the labour market are being continually questioned and threatened. The pressure is to find jobs for men, because men are now experiencing some of the problems that women have always faced in relation to paid work. In fact, they are also facing the demoralisation of

continual rejection. A project such as the East Leeds Women's Workshop is often viewed as somewhat threatening. Even though female unemployment is rising much faster than male unemployment, the publicly-expressed anxiety is about what is happening to men.

In conclusion, I think the East Leeds Women's Workshop fundamentally tackles the issues of women and work in a very productive way. Its use as a teaching tool is a must for educators concerned about women's issues. A measure of this is that I would like the opportunity to visit the project to gain more knowledge for my practice as a community worker.

Eileen Meek

**Shirley Cusack and Jo Roll**  
**FAMILIES RENT APART**  
**Child Poverty Action Group, 1 Macklin Street,**  
**London WC2B 5NH**  
**and Youthaid, 9 Poland Street, London W1**  
**ISBN 0 903063 85 X**  
**£1.95**  
**pp.34**

In the absence of a formal youth policy in this country, government attitudes and intentions towards young people often become apparent as aspects of broader policy developments. This is at its clearest with regard to employment and training policies but it can also be witnessed in recent manipulations of young people's position in society via changes in welfare benefit regulations. Some of these changes have affected young people directly. A specific case is the withdrawal of the £3.10 weekly 'housing addition' from the supplementary benefit of the young people living in their parents' homes. This cut has been progressive from 1981, on the basis that new claimants will not miss what they have never had. In 1983, however, the 'housing addition' was also withdrawn from 19 and 20 year olds who had previously received it. The policy background to this cut was a government view that parents should be responsible for young people for whom employment is not available.

Since this cut was concluded in 1983, board and lodgings payments to unemployed claimants doubled in twelve months to £400 million. With its Costa Dole propaganda and its recent proposals to deny board and lodgings payments to 16 and 17 year olds, the government implicitly acknowledged that its own policies have been responsible for driving unemployed young people from their parents' homes. Here again the government is declaring its view that, with very limited exceptions, unemployed young people should expect to live at home, at the expense of their parents and not be a burden on the welfare state.

Young people are also affected by changes in their parents' benefits. More than one third of UK households receive housing benefits in Scotland this is almost half of all households and over 60% of public sector tenants. It has long been accepted that working occupants of such households should contribute to the families' housing costs and this 'non-dependant deduction' from housing benefit has traditionally been calculated at a flat rate. Since April 1984 however, this deduction has almost doubled.

Since November 1984 working 16-17 year olds, who previously had not been included, are now assumed to be paying £3.30 per week towards rents and rates. For an 18-20 year old in work this assumed contribution to the household's rent and rates went up from £4.45 in April 1983 to £8.80 in November last year. The reason for these dramatic increases was not the government's sudden dis-

covery of a young person's duty to their parents as chief tenant but the realisation that this move could save the government £100 million per year. A loophole, which allowed young people to avoid this imposition by claiming housing benefits in their own right, has since been closed.

Campaigners have pointed to these policies as a cause of increased friction in families, with a consequent increase in youth homelessness and young people's use of board and lodgings accommodation but hard information to support these claims is not readily available. The DHSS made it clear that it does not intend to study the impact on young people of these changes in benefit regulations. 'Families Rent Apart' is an attempt to put some flesh on the bones of the campaigners' case against the government.

This brief study, from CPAG and Youthaid, analyses the response of one hundred and eleven families to a letter in the Daily Star asking for experiences of the non-dependant deduction from housing benefit. The study begins with the question posed in the highly critical report from the government's own Social Security. The government's case for these deductions rested, partly, on figures of average earnings of £95.00 per week for men and £78.20 for women. Dr. Rhodes Boyson claimed at the time that such well-paid young people could afford to pay more. He asked, "are they to be freeloaders ever more?" Apparently ignoring the 75% of the young people who in this study earn less than £60.00 per week. In addition many of them are forced to work short or part time as a result of the recession. It is clear from this study that average earnings are not a fair guide. The children of housing benefit claimants may well earn less than the average and young people who earn more are most likely to move out of the parental home and claim housing benefit in their own right.

The study also shows that parents with two working children can become dependant on them for all their rent and rates. This role reversal is consistent with another view expressed by Dr. Boyson at the time that 'those in work should not complain about supporting those out of work'. It again ignores the fact that such a situation is not acceptable to parents. As one parent is quoted in this report, "I do not charge my children anything, they give me their keep. They are not my lodgers, they are my sons." In some cases they are also the main carers for elderly or disabled parents whose care is threatened by this additional imposition on their child's goodwill. The effect of this deduction has been felt in families and felt inequitably, since a similar deduction does not affect mortgage interest tax relief but has affected local authorities. The Association of Metropolitan Authorities, amongst others, has identified, "mounting arrears problems...which are directly attributable to the house holder, which the scheme demands."

The scheme, therefore, has few friends and can only be defended on the grounds of saving to the Exchequer. The government has so far resisted any pressure for change or abolition. New tactics are required to bring home to the public and politicians the effects on young people and their families of government assumptions and practices affecting the status of young people and their rights for access to welfare benefits. Small scale studies, such as 'Families Rent Apart', perform a valuable function in the absence of comprehensive research.

Damian Killeen



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## THE POLICE & CRIMINAL EVIDENCE ACT

*This feature consists of an in-depth analysis written specifically with relevance to youth and community work. It is a commentary and guide to an important piece of legislation.*

The current approach to social issues seems consistently to contain the view that whatever the problem young people will be included as part, but whatever the solution normally they will be given no role - except perhaps as targets or victims. This pattern reveals itself particularly clearly in the stages of policy development on police practice which culminated in the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984.

The Act received the Royal Assent on 31 October 1984, but the majority of its provisions, including all of those which relate to police powers and treatment of suspects, will not come into effect until January 1986. Accompanying the Act are four Codes of Practice<sup>(1)</sup> which set out how the police are to exercise many of their powers and what protection should be afforded to members of the public. Throughout the prolonged parliamentary stages of the bill (effectively covering a period of two years) the Government was repeatedly urged to incorporate into the primary legislation important sections of the codes which, if they had the force of law, would provide important safeguards for individual suspects. Steadfastly the Government refused to do so. Thus the basic structure of what will govern the relationship between the police and the public for many years into the future is a statute which confirms and extends police powers with limited protection for individuals creating fresh areas for conflict or abuse, and codes of practice, which have no greater force than the Highway Code yet contain most of the safeguards.

Most sections of the Act are not, in themselves, ominous harbingers of a police state. The real threat to civil liberties lies in the possibilities for abuse reinforced by the clear examples of abuse of police powers in the past. In the following brief description of the major provisions of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act there are suggested ways in which it is feared the police will be able to deny or restrict basic rights; of course these need never occur but the point which must be made is that there is nothing in the Act which will prevent or discourage such action. The justification for many of the increased police powers was to equip them to deal with the wily professional criminal. That the impact is most likely to be felt by those who have most frequent contact with the police, often those with the least experience and cunning - in particular young people - did not alter the Government's determination.

Looking back 10 years to the *Confait* case<sup>(2)</sup>, where by ignoring the Judges' Rules the police obtained false confessions from three youths, one of whom was mentally handicapped, on which the three were convicted and imprisoned, the first question must be, could such a miscarriage of justice happen under the provision of the new Act. And the answer is undoubtedly yes. Not only do the codes of practice lack statutory force (a breach may give rise to police disciplinary action) but even those rights set out in the Act are not enforceable in any real and immediate way. What was needed but rejected by the Government is a clear statutory rule which would exclude confessions and other evidence if they were obtained illegally or contrary to the codes of practice.

It is now too late to prevent the coming into operation of unjustified new police powers. The task in the immediate future is three-fold: to increase people's knowledge of their rights, to protect the interests of those who are brought into contact with the police and to monitor how the new powers are used and the nature and frequency of excesses or abuse.

### Stop and Search

Until the Act comes into force the police in all parts of England and Wales have power to stop and search people to look for firearms, controlled drugs, items connected with terrorism, eggs of protected birds and evidence of offences relating to protected wild animals or plants. In London, Liverpool, Birmingham, Hertfordshire, Rochdale and certain other areas local acts empower the police to stop and search to look for stolen goods.

The Act augments these powers in two ways:-

- (a) The power to stop and search for stolen goods will apply throughout England and Wales, and
- (b) There will be a new power to stop and search for a 'prohibited article' which includes an offensive weapon or an article made or adapted for use by someone to commit theft, burglary, taking and driving away a vehicle or obtaining property by deception.

Offensive weapons are defined as not only articles which are made or adapted to be offensive weapons, eg. a gun or a bottle deliberately broken but also articles intended to be used by someone to cause injury eg. a hammer or a baseball bat.

The police are required to have 'reasonable grounds for suspecting' that the person has what they are looking for before they carry out the search. Research documenting past performance by the police in relation to their stop and search powers makes clear that the requirement of 'reasonable suspicion' has not been effective as a constraint on police officers in deciding whether or when to exercise these powers which, as a result, have been applied in arbitrary and discriminatory ways. Academic and Government research upholds and reinforces what youth and community workers and black community leaders have said over many years, namely that young people, and especially young black men are disproportionately more likely to be stopped and searched than any other group.

The Home Office Research and Planning Unit<sup>(3)</sup> looking at 4 police stations found that young males (16-24) were between 4 and 8 times more likely to be stopped than the population as a whole and that young black males (16-24) were between 10 and 30 times more likely to be stopped than the population as a whole.

The Policy Studies Institute examination of policing in London found that "there was no specific reason to make the stop in 34 per cent of the cases".<sup>(4)</sup> If reasonable suspicion does not require a specific reason but is taken to be only that there was a higher than average possibility that the person had committed an offence then the police "could be said to 'reasonably suspect' any young man who was out on the streets in an area where burglary or theft was relatively common. Since young black people are mostly to be found in such areas, this would effectively mean that the police would be justified in stopping and searching most young black people that they encountered..."<sup>(5)</sup>

The PSI researchers further commented, "it is clear from the way that police officers talk about stops that the question of what their legal powers may be does not enter into their decision making..."<sup>(6)</sup>

The PSI findings forced the Government to introduce a code of practice which in its notes for guidance states "Statistics on the use to date of powers to stop and search indicate that in most cases no such article was found, and there is strong evidence that on many occasions these powers have been used where reasonable grounds to suspect the individual concerned of having the article in question on him did not in fact exist. There is also strong evidence that such misuse has played an important part in mistrust of the police among some sections of the community".<sup>(7)</sup>

Further Notes for Guidance in the Code specifically advise the police that "young blacks should not be stopped and searched on the basis that statistics show that they have a higher than average chance of being involved in arrests for certain types of offence".<sup>(8)</sup>

It is not surprising that the fact that they have been particularly targeted by the police to be stopped and searched has shaped young people's perception of the police and their willingness to cooperate with them.

Recent research based on a sample of 295 juveniles aged 14-16 in the London Borough of Hillingdon, found that 52% of their sample has been stopped and questioned or searched by the police and that in all cases the

attitudes expressed by those who had been stopped were hostile to the police when compared with those who had not been stopped.<sup>(9)</sup>

The Act requires that before carrying out a search a police officer who is not in uniform must identify him/herself by showing a warrant card and in every case must tell the person about to be searched:-

1. his/her name and police station;
2. the object of the search;
3. the grounds for undertaking the search and
4. the person's right to be given a copy of the record of the search.

The power to detain someone for the purposes of a search is not a power to detain him/her to ask questions or to find grounds for a search. Answering police questions may help clarify a misunderstanding or remove suspicion but there is no obligation to reply to any questions nor even to provide your name and address.

In public the police can only require a person to remove his/her jacket, gloves and outer coat - not hats, shoes etc. If the police want to look further for the object of their search they can ask the person to go to a nearby van or police station to remove other items of clothing "out of public view". If more than outer clothing, hats and shoes are to be removed then a search may only be carried out by a police officer of the same sex - with no one of the opposite sex present.

The person must not be detained longer than is necessary to carry out the search, at the end of which he/she must be allowed to go free or formally arrested.

After the search the officer must (unless it is not practicable) make a written record which gives the object and grounds for the search, the date, time and place of the search, what, if anything was found and what injury or damage, if any, resulted from the search.

The courts will undoubtedly be called upon to determine when it is "not practicable" to make a written record - perhaps football fans who are searched en masse. Once a record has been made the person searched is entitled to receive a copy if he/she requests it within 12 months.

The Act gives a similar power to stop and search vehicles, including unattended vehicles when a notice must be left.

The new stop and search powers apply:-

- (a) in any place where the public has access, on payment or otherwise. This includes not only streets and parks, but also football grounds, cinemas, shops, discos, sport centres etc; and
- (b) in any garden or yard of a house if the police believe that the person to be searched or the person in charge of the vehicle to be searched neither lives there nor has permission to be there.

#### Road Checks

The policing of the miners' strike brought clearly to the public attention the possibility that the police could and would prevent large numbers of people from travelling freely along our highways. The use of road blocks to prevent striking miners from travelling to picket lines, and to deter CND protesters at RAF Molesworth, is relevant to the new Act primarily as a warning of the willingness of the police to use their powers and to do so selectively.

The Police and Criminal Evidence Act sets out how the Road Traffic Act power to stop vehicles is to be used to discover:-

- (a) whether a vehicle is carrying prohibited goods;
- (b) whether an escaped prisoner is in the vehicle;
- (c) in connection with a serious arrestable offence whether a person whom the police have reasonable grounds to believe:- (i) has committed such an offence; (ii) is intending to commit such an offence, or (iii) is a witness to such an offence and is in the vehicle.

All vehicles, or only certain types of vehicles, may be stopped. A road check under the 1984 Act requires the authority of a police superintendent, except that in an emergency any officer can set up a road check and obtain approval later. Road checks can be maintained for seven days, renewable for further periods of seven days each.

Because there is a high frequency in most inner city areas of offences which could be "serious arrestable offences", there is the possibility that road blocks sanctioned under the Act could become a regular part of life in Brixton, Toxteth or Handsworth.

#### Search of Premises

The Act codifies the existing powers of the police to enter and search premises, both with and without a warrant, and it lays down the procedure to be followed when they obtain and use a search warrant, including requirements that a copy of the warrant is to be given to the occupier of the pre-

misses, that a warrant is to be used only once and that following the search the results are to be endorsed on the warrant which is returned to the issuing court and available for inspection by the occupier for 12 months.

The question which sparked an explosive controversy when the first Police and Criminal Evidence Bill was introduced in 1982, bringing the doctors and all the rest of the 'caring' community into direct conflict with the Government, was what powers the police should be given to search the premises of people who are not suspected of any offence. Not only would the proposal have given the police access to eg. a garden where a murder weapon was buried, but it also encompassed the possible seizing of eg. blood or tissue samples, medical and social work records. The first Bill fell due to the General Election in 1983. The Government came forward with a new scheme. The Act now provides two types of procedure and five different categories of material.

- (a) In most cases the police need only apply to a magistrate who will issue a warrant if s/he is satisfied:-
  - (i) a serious arrestable offence has been committed, and
  - (ii) what is being sought is likely to be relevant evidence and of substantial value to the investigation
  - (iii) the police officer could not communicate with the person entitled to give access to the evidence or the person had unreasonably refused access or the evidence is likely to be lost if access is not immediate, and
  - (iv) the evidence does not fall under one of the exceptions

Exceptions:-

\*Items subject to legal privilege - (for example letters between a solicitor and client). No warrant may be sought under this or any other statute, nor may such materials be seized if the police find it by chance.

\*Excluded material - personal records held in confidence from which an individual in the course of a business, trade or profession or paid or unpaid office can be identified which relate to:-

- (i) his/her physical or mental health;
- (ii) spiritual counselling or assistance;
- (iii) counselling or assistance for his/her personal welfare by a voluntary or statutory agency, including supervision under a court order;
- (iv) journalistic material held in confidence, and
- (v) human tissue or tissue fluid taken for diagnosis or medical treatment and held in confidence.

No access may be sought to excluded material, but if it happens to be material to which access might have been sought under other, earlier legislation eg. if the personal records were stolen property - the police may seek access under the special procedure (see below).

\*Special Procedure material - items other than personal records held in confidence in the course of any trade, profession or paid or unpaid office, and journalistic material not held in confidence. The police may seek access by following the special procedure.

- (b) Under the **Special procedure** the police must apply to a circuit judge .

In most instances the judge will be asked to order the person who has the material to produce it to the police or to allow the police access to it. The person will be notified of the hearing and may attend to oppose the police application. Before making any order for access the judge must be satisfied:-

- (i) a serious arrestable offence has been committed;
- (ii) that there is special procedure material (but not excluded material) on the premises;
- (iii) the material being sought is likely to be relevant evidence and of substantial value to the investigation;
- (iv) that either the police have tried to obtain the material and failed or did not try because failure was certain in all the circumstances; and
- (v) it is in the public interest that the police should be given access to the material.

If a person fails to comply with an order to give the police access to the material, or if the judge is satisfied that either it is not possible to communicate with the person entitled to give access or that the investigation will be seriously prejudiced by an open hearing and the making of a production order, the judge may (in a hearing where the person is **not** present) issue a search warrant.

Once the police are lawfully on any premises, eg without a warrant when making an arrest, or under a warrant or with the owner's or occupier's consent, they can seize any evidence of any offence if they think it may be concealed, lost or destroyed. This power applies whether or not any arrest is made or the occupier is not suspected of any offence.

The code of practice<sup>(10)</sup> specifies procedures the police will be expected to

follow. Under the code if a search is carried out with the occupier's consent this consent should be given in writing after the police have stated the purpose of the search and have informed the occupier that he/she is not obliged to consent and that anything seized may be produced in evidence.

The code states that searches should normally be made at reasonable times and that an occupier should be allowed to ask someone else to witness the search unless the officer in charge has reasonable grounds to believe that this would seriously hinder the search.

If the police seize property they can retain it if they want to use it as evidence at a trial, or examine it in connection with an offence or where the police believe that it has been obtained illegally. The owner will normally be allowed access to it or to a copy or description of what has been seized.

Even before these new provisions come into force problems are foreseen. An extremely onerous burden will fall to the magistrates who may be asked at any time of day or night to determine difficult questions of law and fact. The lack of careful scrutiny by magistrates in connection with police requests for search warrants in the past was identified in 1983 by the Police Complaints Board.<sup>(11)</sup>

The categories of material are also problematical. During parliamentary debates Government spokespersons confirmed that school records came within 'excluded material' and the Bill was amended to include probation records; but the status of some records is far less clear, eg. attendance sheets at a youth club, names and addresses of the members of a club or group, a community worker's diary or records made in connection with social research.

If the police do seize confidential records, although there are the requirements that the owner be allowed access, neither this Act nor any other restricts the use which the police may make of such material!

#### Arrest

Arrest means the loss of liberty, the loss of freedom to go about as we please. In *Christie v Leachinsky* (1947), the case which, until this Act, defined police powers of arrest, Lord Simonds warned, "The liberty of the subject and the convenience of the police...are not to be weighed in the scales against each other". Regrettably the provisions in Part III of the Act do precisely that.

The Government undertook its reform of the law with a background of consensus amongst police, lawyers, academics and campaigners for civil liberties that the existing law on arrest is highly unsatisfactory. There are powers to arrest without warrant under common law to prevent a breach of the peace, for 'arrestable offences' and under more than 100 different statutes for particular offences provided certain conditions are satisfied. Additionally a person may be arrested with a warrant issued by a magistrate or a person suspected of an offence may be brought to court by means of a summons. The Police and Criminal Evidence Act does not alter these last procedures.

The 1984 Act gives the police power to arrest without a warrant in four different circumstances, the sum total of which leaves neither the police constable on the street nor a member of the public with any clearer notion of what sorts of conduct will or will not justify arrest.

Police have powers of arrest:-

1. If they suspect an arrestable offence has been/is being/is about to be committed.

An 'arrestable offence' is one which:-

(a) carries a sentence of at least five years imprisonment, eg. murder, treason, kidnapping, theft, burglary, criminal damage, most offences of violence or;

(b) is designated in the Act as 'arrestable' (although the sentence is less than 5 years), including indecent assault on a woman, taking and driving away a vehicle, going equipped for theft, lesser offences under the Official Secrets Act;

(c) any attempt, or conspiracy or aiding and abetting an arrestable offence.

(NOTE: Any 'arrestable offence' may be treated as 'serious arrestable offence' - see below).

2. If they have a statutory power of arrest.

Most statutory powers of arrest are repealed by the Act but some are retained, including offences under the Public Order Act 1936, driving whilst unfit or disqualified, offences of trespass under Criminal Law Act 1977, trespass on military land where byelaws apply, offences under the Prevention of Terrorism Act etc.

3. If the offence does not come within 1 or 2 above but the police believe one of the general arrest conditions applies.

The Government's stated intention is to reduce the reliance by the

police on arrest and to encourage the use of summonses instead. The general arrest conditions, which apply to offences which are not automatically arrestable, are meant to be a guide as to the circumstances in which the police cannot or should not use a summons. If any of the general arrest conditions is satisfied then the Act gives the police the power to arrest.

The conditions relate not to the gravity of the crime but to the circumstances of the suspect and thus, like stop and search, are subject to the bias, prejudice and stereotyping of the police. So long as the police see young people as major perpetrators of crime, albeit most often minor offences, young people can expect to be targets of police action and the new general power of arrest clears the path for the police to do so within the law.

If the police suspect someone of committing or attempting to commit any offence, however trivial, eg. dropping litter, parking illegally or collecting for charity without a permit, they may arrest him/her if any of the following applies:-

(a) the police do not know and cannot readily find out the suspect's name;

(b) the police believe the name given is false;

(c) the suspect has failed to give an address which the police believe he/she will be at long enough to be served with a summons or someone else (social worker, probation officer etc) who could receive the summons;

(d) the police believe that arrest is necessary to prevent the person - causing injury to him/herself or someone else suffering injury

causing loss or damage to property

committing an offence against public decency

causing an unlawful obstruction of the highway

(e) the police believe that arrest is necessary to protect a child or other vulnerable person.

4. If the police require the fingerprints of a convicted person.

Whatever the age of the person, if he/she has been convicted of a 'recordable offence' (on a list prepared by the Home Secretary) but had never been kept in custody and had never been fingerprinted and if he/she failed to go to a police station for fingerprinting after being requested to do so then the police may arrest the person and take him/her to a police station so fingerprints can be taken.

The Act's definition of a lawful arrest requires the police officer who makes the arrest to inform the suspect that he/she is under arrest and to state the grounds for the arrest, even if these appear obvious.

#### 'Helping the Police with Enquiries'

Although the Act states that anyone attending a police station voluntarily is free to leave unless placed under arrest there is no obligation on the police to give this information until the person is cautioned.

#### 'Serious Arrestable Offences'

The Act introduces the concept of a 'serious arrestable offence' and then relies on it as the main criterion for distinguishing when it is appropriate for the police to assume greater powers and for suspects to have fewer rights.

A 'serious arrestable offence' triggers off powers:-

to set up road blocks

to search for evidence

to detain a suspect for 96 hours before charge

to hold a suspect incommunicado and to deny access to a solicitor for 36 hours

to take intimate and non-intimate samples

Some arrestable offences are declared always to be 'serious' including murder, rape, manslaughter, incest with a girl under 13, buggery without consent or with a boy under 16, intercourse with a girl under 13, causing death by reckless driving.

But any other arrestable offence may be treated as 'serious' if it is likely to lead to one of several consequences, including:-

serious harm to national-security or public order

serious interference with the investigation of an offence or with the administration of justice

death, serious injury or serious financial loss to any person

receipt by any person of substantial financial gain

The Act defines 'serious financial loss' if it is 'serious for the person who suffers it' (S.116(7)) thereby opening the door for all burglaries or thefts in poverty neighbourhoods and most thefts committed against pensioners - many of which are likely to be committed by young people - to carry the 'serious' tag and to be dealt with accordingly.

### Detention of suspects in police custody

The experience of being arrested and taken to a police station is in itself so distressing and demoralising that it can be described as a form of summary punishment which is imposed on people, many of whom will never be charged with any offence. The Police Complaints Board commented in its First Triennial Review Report (1980) "We think that the police service is so involved with the process of arrest and detention that it fails at times to comprehend the sense of utter dismay felt by an innocent person who suffers such treatment".<sup>(12)</sup>

The PSI researchers formed a similar view:-

"...in many cases the experience of being arrested is a more unpleasant and disturbing thing than the penalty exacted by the courts in the case of a conviction...primarily because it comes as a shock to most people to be deprived of their liberty for any appreciable length of time (where the sentence of the courts will often be at worst a fine rather than imprisonment), because the process of being arrested and questioned is at best deeply humiliating and because police stations are at best an unpleasant environment for those at the receiving end".<sup>(13)</sup>

Even without breaking any rules the police make effective use of the oppressive nature of detention to extract 'confessions'. The sense of isolation and alienation felt by people in police custody is often sufficient to make them extremely vulnerable to police suggestion, however properly it may be put.

The provision in the Act which most directly shocked or alarmed the hearts of those who believe in traditional British justice is that which allows the police to detain certain suspects for more than four days. By establishing a legal framework for the authorising of long periods of detention the Government has made the **habeas corpus** procedure redundant. And as the main reason for sanctioning extended detention is to obtain evidence from the suspect by questioning him/her, there are grave doubts too about the real survival of a right to silence.

The period of a person's detention in police custody begins at the time of arrival at the police station where he/she will be questioned. This could be up to 24 hours after the time of arrest, to allow for travelling from one police area to another (during which time the suspect is supposed not to be questioned).

When a suspect is brought to the police station an officer designated as the custody officer must determine whether there is sufficient evidence to charge him/her with an offence or whether there are grounds to detain him/her without charge.

If there is sufficient evidence to charge a person with an offence he/she must be charged and released with or without bail to appear in court (or the police may decide that a caution in respect of the offence is more appropriate - if the person admits the offence). After charge however a person can be kept in custody if the custody officer:-

- (a) does not know his/her name and address or believes the name and address given are false;
- (b) has reasonable grounds to believe that detention is necessary for the person's own protection or to prevent injury to another or loss or damage to property; or
- (c) has reasonable grounds to believe that the person will, if released, fail to appear in court or interfere with the investigation of offences.

Additionally if the person is a juvenile then he/she can be kept in custody after charge if the custody officer believes he/she "ought to be detained in his (her) own interests" (S.38(1)(b)) a carry-over from existing legislation which the Government could not really explain.

When a juvenile is kept in custody after charge unless the custody officer certifies that it is not practicable to do so, arrangements will be made for him/her to be taken into local authority care and detained by the local authority.

If a person is not to be charged he/she should be released unless the custody officer believes that detention is necessary "to secure or preserve evidence in relation to an offence for which he is under arrest or to obtain such evidence by questioning him (S.37(2))".

For any suspect over the age of 10 arrested for any offence, the basic period of detention before charge, is 24 hours. If someone is suspected of committing a 'serious arrestable offence' then a police superintendent can extend this period to 36 hours if he/she is satisfied that one of the grounds for detention continues to exist (see above) and that the investigation is being conducted "diligently and expeditiously" (S.42(1)). The suspect (or his/her solicitor) can make representations. In classic Alice in Wonderland style, if the suspect has not yet consulted a solicitor or had someone informed of his/her arrest then the superintendent must tell him/her of these rights and then decide whether he/she should be permitted to exercise them. The grounds

for continued detention must be entered in the custody record and the suspect must be informed of the grounds.

Beyond 36 hours a person can only be detained without charge on the authority of a magistrates' court. A magistrates' court should only issue a warrant of further detention, enabling the police to hold a suspect for up to a further 36 hours (72 hours in total) if it is satisfied that the suspect was arrested for a 'serious arrestable offence', that detention is necessary to secure or preserve evidence relating to an offence for which he/she is under arrest or to obtain such evidence by questioning him/her and that the investigation is being conducted diligently and expeditiously.

The suspect must be given a copy of the police officer's statement supporting the application for further detention and must be present while the court considers it. At this point there is an unequivocal right to consult a solicitor and to be represented although an adjournment may be necessary to find and instruct a solicitor (and the suspect would remain in custody during the adjournment).

A magistrates' court can extend the initial warrant of further detention up to an overall maximum period of 96 hours if it is satisfied that there are reasonable grounds for believing that further detention is justified. Again the suspect is entitled to be legally represented and must be told of the grounds on which the police want him/her to be kept in custody without charge.

In defending their scheme of detention the Government have argued that under the existing law there is no effective limit to the period in which a person can be held without charge. Whilst this is true for adults it is not the case for juveniles for whom for the most serious offences there is a maximum period of 72 hours detention which is allowed between the time of arrest and appearance before a magistrates' court.<sup>(14)</sup> Under the 1984 Act juveniles arrested in connection with a 'serious arrestable offence' could face more than twice this period in custody, depending on where and when they were arrested (eg. arrested on Monday afternoon, 24 hours travelling to reach the appropriate police station when the clock starts to run, detention for questioning for 96 hours or possibly more to accommodate adjournments etc, then charged on Saturday afternoon, kept in custody until first magistrates' appearance on Monday morning).

If the police notify a parent (see below) and he/she comes to the police station to be with the juvenile it is unlikely that the parent would be able to stay for the whole of the 96 hours which might be involved. Further few parents would themselves be able to withstand the oppressive experience of police custody and their ability to give support to the arrested juvenile could easily be eroded over time.

The Act provides for regular reviews of detention, after the first six hours and then every nine hours when the person in custody (or his/her lawyer could make representations concerning further detention). However the reviews may be postponed if it is not practicable to carry it out, if no officer of at least the rank of Inspector is available or if the police are satisfied that the review would hinder questioning then in progress. It is probably unrealistic to expect these reviews to be more than perfunctory and very brief and it is extremely unlikely that one police officer will overturn another officer's decision to hold someone for questioning.

The aspect of the Act which the police see as possibly the most onerous is the duty to record in a custody record every decision or action which is taken concerning a suspect in custody, normally with the grounds for such decision or action. The Act further requires that in most cases the suspect must be told what is to happen and the reasons for this; however in several sections (Ss.37, 38) the Act states that duty to inform the suspect will not apply where the person is "incapable of understanding what is said to him, violent or likely to become violent or in urgent need of medical attention". No guidance is provided regarding the way the police should decide whether a person is 'incapable of understanding'. Is it intended to refer to the effects of drugs or alcohol or does it remove a duty to inform when the suspect is mentally handicapped, very distraught, young and non-English speaking?

### Search at the Police Station

The standard compulsory search of suspects upon arrival at the police station is, in the Act, couched in terms of the custody officer's duty to make a complete record of everything the person has with him/her (section 54). The police can seize and retain anything, except that clothing or personal effects can only be seized if the police believe they are evidence of an offence or that the person might use them to injure him/herself or others, damage property, interfere with evidence or escape.

A strip search, where anything more than outer clothing is removed, is only permitted if the custody officer believes it will produce an item which the person would not be allowed to keep. A search must be carried out by a

police officer of the same sex.

The setting out in statutory form of police powers to search will not necessarily alter police practice, which, particularly in relation to strip-searching, has been criticised by the Police Complaints Board who note the humiliation which is a result and comment, "We are left with the impression that the procedure is sometimes followed with an element of vindictiveness...." (15)

#### Intimate Search

An intimate search is a search of the body orifices, ie. mouth, nose, anus, vagina, etc. A police superintendent can authorise an intimate search if he/she believes this is necessary to find concealed:-

- (i) an item which the person might use to injure him/herself or others whilst in custody, or
- (ii) a Class A drug which the person has intended to supply it or export it unlawfully

An intimate search for drugs must be carried out by a doctor or registered nurse at a hospital, surgery or other medical premises. An intimate search for a dangerous item can be carried out at a police station and, if a superintendent considers that it is not practicable for a doctor or nurse to carry out the search, regardless of the age of the person to be searched, it can be carried out by a non-medically trained police officer of the same sex.

The intimate search powers can be used in relation to any suspect over the age of 10. If a child or young person, or someone who is mentally ill or mentally handicapped is to be searched then a parent, guardian or social worker of the same sex should be present. The child or young person will have no say as to which adult is present, despite the extreme humiliation which he/she could feel to be intimately searched in front of a social worker for example.

#### Notification of parents and others

The Act acknowledges the importance when a juvenile is arrested of providing information about the arrest and the juvenile's whereabouts to the adult responsible for his/her welfare (including, if there is supervision order the person responsible for supervision) (S.57). The child or young person in custody will not necessarily be consulted and cannot request that an adult other than his/her parent or guardian be notified instead. In view of the huge gulf which exists between some teenagers and their parents, the involvement of a young person's parents while he/she is at a police station may have an effect opposite from that which was intended, especially if, in compliance with the Code, the police ask the parent or guardian to come to the police station to see the juvenile in detention. On the other hand, if the parent is not able to come to the police station there is no obligation on the police to ask a different adult to be present.

#### Notification of arrest generally

Any suspect in custody, whether juvenile or adult, is entitled to have a friend or relative or some other person known to him/her or likely to be interested in his/her welfare informed of his/her arrest as soon as practicable. Each time a suspect is moved to another police station this right applies afresh. If the named person cannot be contacted then the suspect should be allowed to propose up to two alternatives.

This notification (but **not** that which is particular to parents of arrested juveniles) can be delayed for up to 36 hours if the person is detained in connection with a 'serious arrestable offence' and if a police superintendent believes that to inform the named person:-

- (i) will lead to interference with evidence of a 'serious arrestable offence'
- (ii) will lead to harm to others
- (iii) will lead to the alerting of accomplices, or
- (iv) will hinder the recovery of stolen property

If such delay is authorised the suspect must be told the reasons and the reasons noted in the custody record. If the arrest and detention are under the Prevention of Terrorism Act the delay can be authorised for up to 48 hours. The Code provides that if the suspect consents, then information about his/her whereabouts should be given to a friend, relative or other person interested in his/her welfare if they contact the police.

#### Access to legal advice

The Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure commissioned its own research into police interrogation which found, in line with other research and the experience of NCCL and others, that nearly all suspects replied to police questioning and that at least 60% made a confession or an admission. (16) Amongst the research findings of Baldwin and McConville was that a large proportion of their sample of Crown Court defendants hadn't known and weren't told of their right to consult a solicitor. Of those who had asked to do so, 77% were refused. Fewer than one in 10 defendants had a solicitor present during police questioning. (17)

The Royal Commission accepted that 75% of all suspects are not held for more than six hours before charge, (18) quite clearly confessions and admissions are normally made within that period.

With the combination of research evidence and the accumulated evidence of cases of wrongful conviction based on false confessions, the Government was still not convinced that access to a solicitor should be unconditional. Although providing for a duty solicitor scheme at police stations (which at the time of writing has still not been agreed between the Law Society and the Lord Chancellor's Department) the Act creates a potentially large group of suspects who will not be able to consult a solicitor during the first 36 hours of their detention, namely those who have been arrested for a 'serious arrestable offence' (who are most at risk if they are convicted on the basis of a false confession).

The Act for the first time gives suspects in custody a statutory right to "consult a solicitor privately at any time". There is not, however, a legal duty on the police to inform suspects of this right, and thus there is likely still to be a large number of people who will reply to police questions or make or sign a written statement without essential legal advice.

Access to a solicitor for anyone who is in custody for a 'serious arrestable offence', will be delayed for up to 36 hours if a police superintendent believes that such access will:-

- (i) lead to interference with evidence of a 'serious arrestable offence'
- (ii) lead to harm to others
- (iii) lead to the alerting of accomplices, or
- (iv) hinder the recovery of stolen property

If delay is authorised the police must give a reason and record the reason on the custody record.

The code of practice sets out in further detail how the right to legal advice ought to operate in practice. According to the code, if a person (or in the case of an arrested juvenile, if the parent or guardian) asks for legal advice the police should not begin or continue interviewing until after such advice is received unless:-

- (i) the person consents in writing or on tape to the interview going ahead (the code is not clear to whether in the case of a juvenile this must be consent by the parent/guardian), or
- (ii) a police superintendent believes that delay in awaiting a solicitor will involve an immediate risk of harm to persons or serious loss or damage to property or would unreasonably delay the investigation.

The Code further provides that in addition to advice if the suspect so wishes his/her solicitor may present during any interviews.

The importance of legal advice at any stage is all the greater because of the further possibilities for self-incrimination built into the other processes which the Act authorises. Although the Act gives the police greater coercive powers there is strong likelihood that under the Act as at the present time most suspects will, without adequate advice as to the implications, submit to these processes voluntarily.

#### Giving Consent

The Act (S.65) sets out, based on the age of the suspect, the person whose consent is sufficient in relation to the processes which the police are likely to carry out at the police station:-

- (i) for a person aged 17 or above - that person's consent
- (ii) for a person aged 14 or more but under 17 - that person and his/her parent or guardian
- (iii) for a person under 14 - the consent of his/her parent or guardian only.

There is not, however, any requirement that consent be 'informed consent' in the sense that legal advice should be allowed before consent is sought. And young people, who are old enough to take on a part-time job may be subjected to fingerprinting or the taking of intimate body samples without themselves agreeing to be the object of such humiliating procedures.

The code of practice concerning identification states that if information is to be given to a juvenile suspect then it must be given in the presence of the 'appropriate adult'; and any procedure involving the participation of a juvenile, including fingerprinting, photographing, taking of samples, identification etc, must take place in the presence of the appropriate adult.

#### Police Questioning

Throughout its passage, both in the House of Commons and in the Lords, strenuous efforts were made to incorporate into the bill the provisions which require that a juvenile should not be questioned by the police except in the presence of a parent or guardian or another responsible adult who is not a police officer. Despite the convincing argument contained in the gross

injustice of the Confait case, in which confession statements were made when the juvenile suspects were questioned on their own, and abundant other evidence that the Judges' Rules, which require that 'so far as practicable' children should only be interviewed in the presence of a parent or another adult, were frequently ignored, the Government refused to provide this important statutory protection. It remains in the non-statutory code only.

The code of practice adopts the concept (para 1.5) of an 'appropriate adult' which in the case of a juvenile is defined as "(i) his parent or guardian (or, if he is in care, the care authority or organisation), or (ii) a social worker or (iii) failing either of the above, another responsible adult who is not a police officer or employed by the police". (para 1.5)

The code then provides (para 13.1) "a juvenile...whether suspected of crime or not, must not be interviewed or asked to provide or sign a written statement in the absence of the appropriate adult" unless there is need for an urgent interview (see below). If the juvenile is cautioned, the caution is to be repeated in the adult's presence.

The code also states that juveniles may not be interviewed at school times unless this is unavoidable when a head teacher or his/her nominee must consent and be present. There is no requirement that a parent or solicitor be present, thus leaving the young person facing two figures of authority: the head teacher and the police!

The code (Annex C) states that an arrested juvenile **may** be interviewed on his or her own "if and only if an officer of the rank of superintendent or above considers that delay will involve an immediate risk of harm to persons or serious loss of or damage to property". Questioning should not continue once the information necessary to avert the immediate risk is obtained.

Similar provisions apply to those who are mentally ill or mentally handicapped.

The following extract from the Policy Studies Institute Report gives little reassurance that by replacing the Judges' Rules with a different but equally toothless and unenforceable rule about the questioning of the most vulnerable suspects any real protection will be provided.

"Our observations show that this direction (questioning of children) is frequently ignored. In all, or nearly all, cases where a child has been arrested, police officers do succeed in getting a parent, guardian or other responsible adult to come to the police station...However, the children are often questioned before the responsible adult arrives or separately from the adult when the adult is at the police station. Lengthy questioning may well take place beforehand and if so it is normally during these earlier sessions that efforts are made (to which the responsible adult might object) to make the child 'come across'. In that case, by the time that the formal questioning takes place...what the child is going to say has already essentially been settled. In most of the cases we are talking about it would be quite 'practicable' for all of the questioning to happen while the adult is there".<sup>(19)</sup>

#### **Fingerprints**

At present the police can take a person's fingerprints only with his/her consent or, if the person is age 14 or more, with a magistrates' order. Although the Act specifies consent in writing, if the person (or parent/guardian) does not consent, a police superintendent can authorise that fingerprints should be taken before charge if he believes they "will tend to confirm or disprove the person's involvement" in an offence.

After charge or after conviction for a 'recordable offence' fingerprints may also be taken without consent. 'Reasonable force' may be used.

The age for forcible fingerprinting is reduced to 10 under the Act.

If fingerprints are taken in the course of investigating an offence and the person is

- (i) cleared of the offence
- (ii) not prosecuted or cautioned, or
- (iii) not in fact suspected of that offence

then the fingerprints must be destroyed; if the person asks to witness their destruction he/she has a right to do so.

#### **Photographs**

The taking of photographs by the police is a matter which quite rightly causes people considerable anxiety. There is no statutory regulation at present and none is included in the Police and Criminal Evidence Act. The legal position is that the police have no special authority to take photographs but that unless they apply physical force they are not acting unlawfully if they do so, even if the subject strongly objects.

The code of practice states that written consent is required, but then sets out, in line with current police practice, when photographs may be taken without consent:-

- (i) if a person was arrested at the same time as others and the police need a record of who was arrested, where and when (already a regular practice after arrests at large demonstrations), or
- (ii) if the person has been charged or reported for a recordable offence or after conviction for such an offence if no photograph had been taken.

Force may not be used to take photographs.

The rules for destruction of photographs is the same as for fingerprints (see above).

#### **Body samples**

The Act provides for the taking of various body samples for the purpose of proving or disproving a suspect's involvement in a 'serious arrestable offence'.

In the case of 'intimate body samples', ie. samples of blood, semen, urine, saliva, pubic hair or a swab taken from a body orifice, written consent is always required. Undermining the traditional protection against self-incrimination the Act provides that a court can treat the fact that a person refuses 'without good cause' to allow an intimate sample to be taken, as corroborating other evidence against that person. Only a doctor may take intimate samples other than samples of urine or saliva.

Non-intimate samples include samples of hair (other than pubic hair), samples taken from nails or under nails, swabs (not from body orifices), footprints and body impressions. Non-intimate samples normally require written consent but may be taken without consent on the authority of a police superintendent. 'Reasonable force' may be used.

The rules for the destruction of body samples is the same as for fingerprints (see above).

#### **Police complaints**

The Act introduced a revised scheme for the processing of complaints against the police from members of the public which came into operation on 29 April 1985. The structures and procedures are complex but consistent with the previous scheme the investigation of complaints remains in the hands of the police. The most significant changes are the introduction of a procedure for the 'informal resolution' of less serious complaints and the supervision of the investigation of serious complaints by the Police Complaints Authority (which replaced the Police Complaints Board). The regulations governing these new procedures leave considerable scope for discretion, so how they will work in practice and how effective they will be in terms of complainants' satisfaction cannot be predicted.

The Act enables a complainant to authorise someone else (eg. a citizens' advice bureau, a social worker, youth worker, trade union official, solicitor) to make the complaint on his/her behalf.

The police discipline code has also been redrafted; 'racially discriminatory behaviour' has been added as a disciplinary offence and other offences have been expanded so that failure to follow the codes of practice becomes a specific offence as does conducting a search without good cause, improperly threatening violence and inciting a breach of discipline.

The Police and Criminal Evidence Act also makes changes in the law relating to evidence in criminal proceedings but fails to provide a clear rule which would exclude evidence obtained illegally as exists in the United States. Additionally there is a requirement (S.106) that police authorities (or the Commissioner of Police in London) should make arrangements for local consultation.

In 1981 the Department of Education and Science Youth Service Review Group commissioned a survey of the views of young people aged 14 to 19. The sample of 635 was drawn from all parts of the country and included substantial proportions of black and Asian young people. Nearly 70% believed that the police often (wrongly) suspect young people of wrong doing and 43% included as one of their main anxieties that they might get into trouble with the police.<sup>(20)</sup> These data were collected at the beginning of 1982, when the Government was still digesting the Royal Commission's recommendations as well as Lord Scarman's report on the urban riots in 1981.

If the levels of distrust of the police and fear of involvement were so alarmingly high in 1982, how would these young people respond in 1986 when the police are equipped with greater powers many of which will inevitably be used against them and their friends? There can be no basis for future optimism on the question of the relationship of young people and the police: in the situations where young people are likely to come into contact with the police - on the streets and in other public places - police powers are up and individual safeguards remain weak and ineffective.



For those who know and work with young people and community groups the task ahead may be a difficult one. First there is an urgent immediate need to ensure that accurate information is spread as widely as possible concerning police powers and the rights, however few of individuals. Second there is the real prospect of young people being caught up in these procedures and thus the need to be able to provide quickly and efficiently whatever advice, support and help is required. Additionally there is the need to monitor how the Act is being used, to record the short-term and long-term effects of the police use (and abuse) of their powers on individuals and on groups and communities to which they belong. With well documented evidence it may be that the necessary reforms, which will provide genuine protection for the citizen and effectively prevent abuse can be brought about without waiting for another round of riots to demonstrate the alienation and suspicion which exists between young people and the police - which oppressive laws and insensitive practice only serve to reinforce.

#### REFERENCES & NOTES

1. At the time of writing none of the codes was available in the form which is to be laid before Parliament. Reference is made in this article to the following, all of which were published in January 1985:-  
Code Of Practice For The Detention, Treatment And Questioning Of Persons By The Police (Fifth Draft);  
Code Of Practice For The Identification Of Persons Suspected Of Crime (Fifth Draft);  
Code Of Practice For The Searching Of Premises By Police Officers And The Seizure Of Property Found By Police Officers On Persons Or Premises (Third Draft); Code Of Practice For The Exercise By Police Officers Of Powers Of Stop And Search (Second Draft).

2. Fisher, Hon. Sir H., The Confait, HMSO, 1977
3. Willis, C.F., The Use, Effectiveness and Impact of Police Stop and Search Powers. Research and Planning Unit Paper 15, Home Office, 1983.
4. Smith, D.S. and Gray, J., Police and People in London, Vol.IV, Police in Action, Policy Institute p.232
5. Ibid. p.231
6. Ibid. p.233
7. Code of Practice for Exercise by Police Officers of Statutory Powers of Stop and Search (Second Draft). Paragraph 1B
8. Ibid. Annex B
9. Vorhaus, G., The Stop and Search Effect. Juveniles and the Law Research Project. Undated by prepared 1983.
10. Code of Practice for the Searching of Premises by Police Officers and the Seizure of Property Found by Police Officers on Persons or Premises (Third Draft).
11. Police Complaints Board, Triennial Review Report, 1983. para 4.9 - 4.12
12. Ibid. 1980
13. Smith, D.S. and Gray, J. op. cit. p.191
14. Children and Young Persons Act 1969. Section 29
15. Police complaints Board, Triennial Review Report 1980. para 4.8
16. Softley, P., Police Interrogation:- An observational Study in Four Police Stations. Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure, Reports 3 & 4. Table 6.1 p.85
17. Baldwin, J. and McConville, M., Police Interrogation and the Right to see a Solicitor in Criminal Law Review, 1979. p.145
18. Report of the Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure, Jan 1981
19. Smith, D.S. and Gray, J. op. cit. p.209
20. Young People in the '80's, D.E.S., HMSO 1983. Tables 1.146, p.64 and 1.29 p.67

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# analysis

## 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.

### UPDATE ON THE BOARD AND LODGING LAWS (See Law column, Youth & Policy 13)

In a recent High Court case (*Regina v Secretary of State for Social Services, Ex parte Cotton*, as reported in *The Times Law Reports*, 5 August 1985) certain parts of the Supplementary Benefit (Requirements and Resources) Miscellaneous Provision Regulations 1985 (see Youth and Policy No. 13, Summer 1985) were found to be illegal and therefore null and void. In practice this means that the time limits of 2, 4 and 8 weeks for payment as a boarder imposed on unemployed people under 26 no longer apply. New boarders will not be told that there is a limit to the amount of time that they will be paid as a boarder; people who are currently in lodgings will not have their money reduced; those whose money has been reduced will have their claims reassessed and those who left board and lodgings because of the rules and were, for example, sleeping rough, can return to lodgings if they want to without fear of eviction.

After much indecision on the part of the DHSS and a threat of being held in contempt of court, arrears of benefit will be paid to those young people who can show that they continued to be liable for board and lodging charges. However, although it is the young people who suffered the effects of these inhumane rules, it will, in the main, be the landlords who will benefit from the changes. Compensation to young people for stress, inconvenience, and so on will ultimately be a matter for the Courts to decide in individual cases.

Because of the Regulations, some Local Authorities developed sympathetic emergency and permanent rehousing policies. It remains to be seen if these same authorities will now take on the other issues relating to this type of accommodation, for example its sometimes appalling condition, and will carry on and improve their housing allocation policies in relation to young people.

Incidentally, although the board and lodging price limits are probably also illegal, there was no ruling on this, and we will therefore have to await a further Court case. It is clear also, that the Government has no intention of dropping the matter and will probably re-introduce rules in the next session of parliament.

#### The Criminalisation of "Disorderly Conduct"

In May this year the government published its long awaited review of Public Order in the form of a White Paper.<sup>(1)</sup> The review was initiated by the then Home Secretary in April 1979 following the Southall disturbances which resulted in the death of Blair Peach. In the intervening period there have been many further instances of public disorder - for example Brixton in 1981, various occasions in the Miners' dispute of 1984/85, and most recently at Stonehenge, to name just a few. Both their occurrence and the manner in which the police have not only dealt with them but also played a significant role in their development, has more than justified the original decision to set up the review. One proposal contained in the White Paper, is that which creates a new criminal offence of "disorderly conduct". This proposal has not received the same condemnation that others have attracted. In fact the Shadow Home Secretary, Gerald Kaufman, in the debate following the White Paper's publication went so far as to welcome the proposal - "It will bring relief to people on housing estates who are threatened by louts and hooligans".<sup>(2)</sup> If implemented - and with the main opposition party trumpeting its support it is hard to envisage that it won't be - it will have particular significance for young people. Youth workers and others who work with young people should have some knowledge of the proposal and of the context in which it is made.

#### "Disorderly Conduct"

The main elements of the new offences are to be as follows:

- a) threatening, abusive, insulting or disorderly words or behaviour in or within view of a public place;
- b) which causes substantial alarm, harassment or distress.<sup>(3)</sup>

It is to carry no specific power of arrest and have a maximum penalty of £100. Having outlined the main elements, the White Paper does admit that it is not easy to "define the offence in a manner which conforms with the normally precise definitions of the criminal law, but which at the same time is sufficiently general to catch the variety of the conduct aimed at".<sup>(4)</sup> An earlier paragraph gives example of the conduct to be caught:

"Hooligans on housing estates causing disturbances in the common parts of blocks of flats, blocking entrances, throwing things down the stairs, banging on doors, peering in at windows, and knocking over dustbins;

Groups of youths persistently shouting abuse and obscenities or pestering people waiting to catch public transport or to enter a hall or cinema;

Someone turning out the lights in a crowded dance hall, in a way likely to cause pain;

Rowdy behaviour in the streets late at night which alarms local residents".<sup>(5)</sup>

The White Paper continues: "Concern over hooliganism of this kind has frequently been expressed at meetings held under the new police consultative machinery. The government believes that the police should have adequate powers to control this sort of behaviour."<sup>(6)</sup> The government feels particular concern about victims of such behaviour who are elderly or members of ethnic minority communities.

No one (other than the perpetrators) approves of the sort of behaviour listed above. But is it really necessary to create an entirely new offence to counteract it? In any event does not the existing criminal law give the police sufficient power to protect those who are the victims of such socially undesirable behaviour?

#### The Existing Law

Anyone who threatens the peace can be brought before the Courts who have the power to bind him/her over to be of good behaviour. In theory binding-over is not a punishment or a conviction. Its sole intention is to prevent a future breach of the peace. The most important statutory provision is that set out in section 5 of the Public Order Act 1936. As amended by the Race Relations Act 1965, the section provides as follows:

"Any person who in any public place or any public meeting-

- a) uses threatening, abusive or insulting words or behaviour, or
  - b) distributes or displays any writing, signs or visible representation which is threatening, abusive or insulting,
- with intent to provoke a breach of the peace or whereby a breach of the peace is likely to be occasioned shall be guilty of an offence".

The offence carries a power of arrest without warrant, and it carries a maximum penalty of six months imprisonment and/or a £2,000 fine. In the words of the White Paper, "the section makes an important

'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.

contribution in England and Wales to the ability of the police to preserve order; it has been used to catch behaviour as varied as taking part in a "die-in" during the Cenotaph ceremony on Remembrance Day, and running onto a football pitch to threaten the players".<sup>(7)</sup>

The White Paper acknowledges,<sup>(8)</sup> there are other more specific statutory offences upon which the police are able to rely. For example it is an offence to obstruct the highway (section 137 Highways Act 1980), to obstruct a police constable in the execution of his duty (section 51(3) Police Act 1964) - to assault a police constable (section 51(1) Police Act 1964) and to commit criminal damage (section 1(1) Criminal Damage Act 1971). Where the anti-social behaviour is linked with drunkenness, the police have a choice between charging the offender with being drunk in a public place, being drunk and incapable in a public place, or with being drunk and guilty of disorderly behaviour in a public place. (Licensing Act 1872, Licensing Act 1902, and Criminal Justice Act 1967 respectively). Finally some local legislation provides for some forms anti-social behaviour short of a breach of the peace, to be dealt with under the criminal law. Much of such legislation is 19th century in origin, but in theory could be relied upon today.

#### The Rationale Behind the Proposal

Despite the above, the government believes that the police do not have sufficient powers to deal with the type of behaviour referred to above. Its stated reasons can be summarised as follows:

- 1) A bind over is not a conviction, and no immediate penalty can be imposed. The government are clearly sceptical about the deterrent effect of a bind over.
- 2) According to the White Paper, the police have been reluctant to use section 5 of the 1936 Act to deal with minor acts of hooliganism. "They do not wish to over-react to such incidents by charging too serious an offence with a disproportionately high maximum penalty".
- 3) Although the offensive behaviour may be threatening, abusive or insulting as required by section 5, it may not be intended or likely to cause a breach of the peace, which the prosecution must prove of course for a section 5 conviction to be achieved. It would appear that conduct which is "annoying but which involves neither menace, violence, the threat of violence or an element of incitement to violence does not constitute a breach of the peace. Shouting loudly in the street or blowing a horn in the street do not constitute breaches of the peace at common law, though they may be arrestable under local legislation. Mere domestic disturbances are not breaches of the peace".
- 4) The White Paper proposes to amend section 5 of the 1936 Act so that it reads as follows: "Any person who whether in a public or private place, uses threatening, abusive or insulting words or behaviour which is intended or likely -  
a) to cause another person to fear unlawful violence, or  
b) to provoke the use of unlawful violence by another shall be guilty of an offence".<sup>(10)</sup>

If the offensive behaviour is treating, abusive or insulting but not intended or likely to cause a fear of, or provocation of, violence it will not be possible to charge under section 5.

- 5) Much of the local legislation in force is antiquated or to be repealed.

#### Comment

The major reason behind the government's decision to introduce this new offence is not stated in the White Paper. It is hinted at in the sentence quoted above in which it is stated that concern over "hooliganism of this kind" has been frequently expressed at meetings of consultation between the police and communities. The government believes that the public in general wants a "no nonsense" approach taken against all those who disturb the peaceful lives of others. Law and Order is a vote winner and presumably the government believes it cannot go wrong in being seen to strengthen the powers of the police in dealing with all anti-social elements, be they football hooligans, violent pickets, dustbin kickers or bus queue abusers. Presumably Mr. Kaufman felt he had no option to support this proposal and that to oppose it would be political naivety. However the proposal cannot be supported for two main reasons:

- 1) The police already have sufficient powers to deal with anti-social behaviour if they should so wish. Admittedly section 5 as amended would be unavailable to them in the absence of any fear or provocation of violence, but both common law and statute provide then with more than sufficient authority to deal with most situations. In addition their arrival at the scene of a disturbance is likely to prevent its recurrence.
- 2) Even where the criminal law is deficient in dealing with anti-social behaviour, is it really in the interest of the community to criminalise that behaviour by the creation of a new offence? It is hard to disagree with Rosalind Malcolm, the director of the Legal Action Group, who has been quoted as describing the proposal as creating "a 'sus' offence which Parliament has already said it does not want".

It is inner city adolescents who perhaps could be best advised that the only way they will avoid convictions for this offence will be if they "keep quiet, keep off the streets, and stay out of sight".<sup>(11)</sup> The proposal if implemented will cause further alienation of the police from the young and the black. It is a classic example of what the GLC Police Committee Support Unit call "policing by coercion" rather than "policing by consent". This sort of behaviour in other words should be controlled by the community in which it occurs, not by Panda car bobbies relying on text books rather than common sense.

To the government's credit, the White Paper acknowledges that there would be "justifiable objections to a wide extension of the criminal law which might catch conduct not deserving of criminal sanctions".<sup>(12)</sup> It therefore seeks comments on the proposal, one of only three proposals (out of a total of 41) on which it would particularly welcome comments, but alas having taken six years to complete the review it only allowed six weeks for interested parties to respond. As the Guardian editorial of the 24th of June 1985 stated "to draft any law against hooliganism that does not also penalise all lively and noisy behaviour is a tricky task.... to get it right requires far more debate that is allowed in the current timetable".<sup>(13)</sup>

- |                              |               |
|------------------------------|---------------|
| (1) Cmnd 9510 May 1985       | (6) para 3.23 |
| (2) House of Commons 16/5/85 | (7) para 2.11 |
| (3) para 3.26                | (8) para 2.14 |
| (4) para 3.26                | (9) para 3.24 |
| (5) para 3.22                | (10) para 3.7 |

- (11) "LEGAL ACTION" July 1985
- (12) "Policing London" No. 18 June/July 1985
- (13) "Policing by Coercion" Christian GLC Police Committee Support Unit.
- (14) para 3.26
- (15) The Guardian 24/6/85

**'Monitor for' this issue:**

Sunderland Community Resource Centre

R. Jenks

K. Gill

S. Morgan

S. Phillips

M. Rough

**Code**

All sources are Official Report (Hansard).

Headings are as published

The following code describes the references used.

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

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**Child Benefit OA**

Mr. Yeo asked the Sec State Social Services what representations he has received about the current year's uprating of child benefit.

Mr. Tony Newton We have received representations from the Child Poverty Action Group, the Family Forum, the All-Party Parliamentary Group for Children and the Trade Union Congress.

Mr. Yeo: Does my hon. Friend agree that although increasing tax thresholds is one way of tackling the poverty trap, a more cost-effective way would be to increase child benefit? Accordingly, will he bring as much pressure to bear as possible on the Chancellor of the Exchequer to ensure that child benefit is increased this year by a percentage not less than the increase in tax thresholds?

Mr. Newton: I am sure that the Chancellor will take note of what my hon. Friend said. The only basis on which increases in child benefit can reduce the poverty trap is if existing means-tested benefits are comparably reduced, that is, if dependence on means-testing is reduced. There is a conflict between tackling poverty and tackling the poverty trap.

**Secondary Schools (Statistics) WA**

Mr. Deakins asked the Sec State for Education what information he has as to the correlation between (a) average class size, (b) pupil-teacher ratios and (c) examination attainment in maintained secondary schools.

Mr. Dunn: Many attempts have been made by various researchers to examine the relationships between average class size, pupil-teacher ratios and education attainment, but the results have been divergent and inconsistent, and no clear relationships have emerged. The assessment of performance unit reports have found that higher levels of attainment in national monitoring surveys have often been associated with, surprisingly, higher whole-school ratios of pupils to teachers, but this may be at least partly explained by the greater provision made in areas with higher education needs and low attainments.

An analysis recently published by the Department in Statistical Bulletin 16/83 indicates a strong relationship between the social composition of the resident population and examination results at the local education authority level. The analysis also found that average expenditure per pupil, which is closely associated with the pupil-teacher ratio, does not appear to be a significant factor. Additional work is being undertaken within the Department which will inter alia relate pupil-teacher ratios to examination attainments. A pilot study is also in hand which will enable my right hon. Friend to assess the potential value of further research in this field at the level of the individual school.

**V63 N186**

**Youth Training Scheme WA**

Mr. Nicholas Winterton asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether any of those working in his Department are young people on the youth training scheme.

Mr. Brittan: There are no young people on the youth training scheme in my Department at present, though consultations are in hand about the scope for a limited number of placements.

**V63 N187**

**Cigarette Sales (Children) WA**

Mr. Lofthouse asked the Secretary of State for Social Services what action he is taking to discourage the sale of cigarettes to children under 16 years of age.

Mr. John Patten: Following very useful discussions with retail associations, we are drawing up guidelines to discourage illegal sale of cigarettes to children. Details of these will be available soon. The Government are also taking a number of more general initiatives to dissuade young people from purchasing cigarettes. A leaflet drawing attention to recent research facts has been sent to schools throughout the country. We are sponsoring research, using market research methods, aimed at providing a better understanding of what influences young people to smoke. The results should help in developing further effective policies against smoking. A further Government survey of children's smoking habits will be carried out later this year. The Health Education Council undertakes a significant amount of work to discourage children from smoking.

**V63 N192**

**Youth Employment WA**

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett asked the Sec State Employment, for each region of Great Britain, what are the estimates produced by the careers service for the MSC of the number and proportion of (a) 16-year-olds and (b) 17-year-olds who will: (i) stay on in school or further education and (ii) leave school and join the labour market and of those (1) get work and (2) remain unemployed, for 1982-83 figures.

Mr. Peter Morrison: The information is as follows. The figures represent the careers service's best estimates of the destinations of 16 and 17-year-olds who were eligible to leave school in the academic year 1982-83. They are based on the information available to the service in November 1983 when the destination of many school leavers was still known.

Region	(a) Total (b+c)	(b) School/FE	(c) Labour Market (d+c)	(d) Employed outside YTS	(e) Unemployed/ YTS
<b>16-year-olds*</b>					
Northern	42,222	14,292	27,930	6,651	21,279
Percentage	—	34	66	24	76
Yorks. & Humb.	78,685	30,583	48,102	16,618	31,484
Percentage	—	39	61	34	66
North West	109,904	44,430	65,474	21,780	43,694
Percentage	—	40	60	33	67
Midlands	145,062	58,579	86,483	28,958	57,525
Percentage	—	40	60	33	67
South West	63,067	26,975	36,092	16,177	19,915
Percentage	—	43	57	45	55
South East	175,501	87,570	87,931	43,035	44,896
Percentage	—	50	50	49	51
London	88,704	45,324	43,380	20,715	22,665
Percentage	—	51	49	48	52
Wales	43,267	20,402	22,865	6,534	16,331
Percentage	—	47	53	29	71
Scotland	67,787	38,719	29,068	8,731	20,337
Percentage	—	57	43	30	70
<b>17-year-olds*</b>					
Northern	10,567	7,854	2,713	838	1,875
Percentage	—	74	26	31	69
Yorks. & Humb.	22,125	15,348	6,777	3,736	3,041
Percentage	—	69	31	55	45
North West	28,485	21,671	6,814	2,581	4,233
Percentage	—	76	24	38	62
Midlands	36,253	27,384	8,869	4,007	4,862
Percentage	—	76	24	45	55
South West	17,022	12,453	4,569	2,687	1,882
Percentage	—	73	27	59	41
South East	61,827	44,048	17,779	10,163	7,616
Percentage	—	71	29	57	43
London	35,713	23,793	11,920	6,536	5,384
Percentage	—	67	33	55	45
Wales	14,545	10,595	3,950	1,676	2,274
Percentage	—	73	27	42	58
Scotland	49,119	28,255	20,864	7,853	13,011
Percentage	—	58	42	38	62

\*1982-83.

**Juveniles (Remand) WA**

Mr. Gareth Wardell asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will publish in the Official Report for each county in England and Wales (a) the number of secure units for juveniles on remand, (b) the average length of stay in such units, (c) the number of juveniles aged 15 and 16 years who have been remanded to adult prisons during the last complete year that figures are available and (d) the average length of time that juveniles aged 15 and 16 years on remand spend in adult prisons.

Mr. Hurd: The readily available information on receptions of juveniles on remand into adult prisons is given in the attached table. It is normal for young male prisoners to be kept apart from adult prisoners whereas in establishments for females women and girls may mix. Information on the average time juveniles spend on remand in adult prisons is not available centrally and could be obtained only at disproportionate cost. Questions on juveniles held on remand in local authority secure units should be addressed to my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Social Services.

*Untried and convicted unsentenced juveniles aged 15 or 16 received initially into an adult prison department establishment in England and Wales, 1982*

	Estimated number*
Adult prisons with remand units/wings for prisoners aged under 21†	330
Remand centres taking remand prisoners of all ages‡	760
Other adult prisons	80

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

† Cardiff, Dorchester, Exeter, Liverpool, Manchester, Norwich, Swansea and Winchester.

‡ Ashford, Low Newton, Manchester, Pucklechurch and Risley.



activities should continue, taking into account amongst other things the additional cost incurred, are proceeding locally.

#### Student Housing

**Mr. Simon Hughes** asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science what assessment he has made of the effect of the new arrangements for meeting student travel costs upon student housing choices.

**Sir Keith Joseph:** None. It will be for individual students to decide how best to deploy the resources available to them within the overall grant.

#### Solvent Misuse WA

**Mr. Greenway** asked the Sec State Social Services what action is being taken to deal with the problem of solvent misuse in England and Wales; and if he will make a statement.

**Mr. John Patten:** Extensive consultation with statutory, voluntary, professional and trade organisations in 1983 strongly supported the Government's policy on solvent misuse. They agreed the policy to help parents and the relevant services use existing skills, resources and powers to co-operate more effectively to discourage the practice of solvent misuse through education and persuasion.

The problem remains with us. More people died from solvent misuse last year than the previous year. The Government are taking a wide range of measures to tackle the problem and try to reduce the number of people who misuse solvents.

The measures are:

Facilitating agreement by retailers and manufacturers on guidelines for voluntary restraint on retail sales. The guidelines have been distributed widely with a poster.

Health Education Council producing publicity leaflets to give advice to parents of children who misuse solvents.

A training film/video "Illusions" produced to train professionals has been widely seen. Over 100 copies have been sold and it has been loaned out nearly 1,400 times.

Research into the effects of teenager's activities on health and education performance has started and is due to be finished by the end of 1986. Other outline research proposals are being studied.

The Health Education Council has published a training manual for professionals on solvent abuse.

The National Children's Bureau will promote local and regional seminars as well as collating and disseminating good practice on solvent misuse. A post is funded by the DHSS.

A book for professionals is due to be published by Macmillans early in 1985.

A circular was issued by the Home Office to chief police officers on 8 June setting out the various options and facilities open to the police on solvent misuse.

The Home Office has consulted the police and representatives of manufacturers and retailers on proposals to create an offence of selling substances to under 16s, knowing or having reasonable grounds for believing that they are likely to be inhaled to achieve intoxication. The reports indicate widespread support for such legislation. The Government will be prepared to support the introduction of a suitable bill in the next parliamentary session.

In June the Department of Education and Science issued a safety in education bulletin which included advice about solvent misuse. Copies of the bulletin have been sent to local education authorities for distribution to schools and colleges.

This range of initiatives across a number of Government Departments shows our determination to tackle solvent misuse. I am certain that the way forward must be through education and persuasion and the steps outlined above show what we are doing to improve local co-operation, training for professional people who come into contact with solvent misuse and to give help to parents. In addition to these measures, which will also be of benefit in Wales, the Department of my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Wales, who instituted similar consultations in 1983, has under active consideration arrangements for convening local seminars to spread good practice, and will produce in the Welsh language an edition of the leaflet for parents to which I have already referred.

#### Youth Training (Fatal Accidents) WA

**Mr. Nellist** asked the Secretary of State for Employment if he will list the date, and cause of death, of each fatal accident on the youth opportunities programme and the youth training scheme from their inception to the present time.

**Mr. Peter Morrison:** The following is a list of fatalities on the youth opportunities programme and youth training scheme since 1 April 1979.

* Date of fatality	† Cause of fatality
<b>Youth Opportunities Programme</b>	
6th June 1979	Road traffic accident
27th September 1979	Road traffic accident
24th October 1980	Road traffic accident
27th November 1980	Clothing caught fire
27th January 1981	Electrocution involving overhead crane
13th March 1981	Hit by falling gas cylinder
16th June 1981	Trapped between vehicles
1st October 1981	Road traffic accident
2nd October 1981	Hit by falling wood planks
24th November 1981	Road traffic accident
11th December 1981	Natural causes—clearing snow
8th January 1982	Fell from rope hoist
14th May 1982	Drowned during lunch break
16th July 1982	Tractor overturned on public highway
20th July 1982	Drowned during lunch break
14th October 1982	Clothing caught fire
2nd December 1982	Trapped in machinery
20th December 1982	Hit by moving machinery
24th March 1983	Road traffic accident
16th April 1983	Tractor accident
12th July 1983	Lunchtime swimming accident
<b>Youth Training scheme</b>	
27th June 1983	Road traffic accident
7th September 1983	Accident on residential outdoor activity
12th October 1983	Forklift truck accident
1st February 1984	Tractor accident

\* Information on the number and causes of fatalities on the youth opportunities programme prior to April 1979 is not available.

† Under the youth opportunities programme, the Manpower Services Commission's accident statistics included all trainee fatalities, even where such fatalities would not have been included in Health and Safety Executive figures had they involved employed persons. Of the 25 fatalities, seven were traffic accidents, three were swimming accidents during the lunch break and one occurred during recreational activities, 14 were industrial accidents related to work processes. Accident statistics for the youth training scheme are collected on a similar basis to those obtained by the Health and Safety Executive.

**Mr. Nellist** asked the Secretary of State for Employment if he will make it his practice to seek from coroners and sheriffs their report into each fatal accident on the youth opportunities programme and the youth training scheme.

**Mr. Peter Morrison:** The Manpower Services Commission obtains a coroner's or sheriff's report where this is likely to assist its investigation of a fatal accident.

## V65 N205

#### School Leavers OA

**Mr. Flannery** asked the Sec State Employment how many people who left school in summer 1983 are still unemployed.

**Mr. Peter Morrison:** The total number of school leavers unemployed in June was 12 per cent. lower than in June last year, but I have no separate figures for 1983 school leavers.

**Mr. Flannery:** Is it not a fact, despite every possible device to try to prove that unemployment is a million lower than it actually is, that the Government's economic policy is now in complete ruin and that these young people have no hope whatsoever of getting a job? When will the Government realise that it is time to begin at least a partial refutation of the economy, to throw overboard their doctrinaire monetarist policy and to grapple with the real problems facing the country?

**Mr. Morrison:** I think the hon. Gentleman would agree, if he went round some of the youth training schemes, that many enthusiastic 16 and 17-year-olds are benefiting enormously from them. That is borne out by the take-up figures for April and May this year and the potential placing figures for those coming off schemes which started in April, May and September of last year.

**Mr. Pawsey:** Does my hon. Friend agree that if school leavers were paid a wage that better reflected their ability, knowledge and experience, more of them would be in employment?

**Mr. Morrison:** I agree with my hon. Friend. I have always maintained that wages of school leavers have a direct effect on their employment prospects.

**Mr. Dormand:** Is the Minister aware that the highest percentage of unemployed school leavers is in the northern region and that it has increased continuously since this Government came to office? Is there anything more tragic than a young person leaving school with no prospect of a job? What proposals do the Government have to increase employment opportunities, specifically for northern youngsters?

**Mr. Morrison:** I know from the hon. Gentleman that the position in the north-east is extremely difficult, because the transition from the traditional industries to the industries of the future is more painful there. He will be aware that all this year's school leavers, 16 and 17-year-olds, will have the opportunity of a place on a youth training scheme. He will also be aware that the incidence of the community programme in his area will be larger because it will be a reflection of the number of long-term unemployed.

**Mr. Tim Smith:** Will my hon. Friend say what steps his Department and the Department Education are taking to explain the merits of self-employment to school leavers and other young people?

**Mr. Morrison:** I assure my hon. Friend that much work is done in that area. Through the MSC, we run enterprise schemes to set up new business. Since 1977, 2,000 have been set up employing approximately 7,000 people.

**Mr. Sheerman:** Is the Minister aware that if only young people were encouraged to stay on in further education, at least some youngsters would have an opportunity to get an education that fits them for a job at a later stage, perhaps when there is a Labour Government? Is he further aware of the present crisis in the MSC after last Thursday's meeting over "Training for Jobs", which could lead to total chaos in further education this autumn? Does the Minister realise that the MSC will not accept the document "Training for Jobs", which he is pushing down its throat, and that he cannot deliver further education without its and the LEA's co-operation?

**Mr. Morrison:** I agree with the hon. Gentleman that there should be an option for school leavers to go into further education or on to a youth training scheme. As to the crisis in the MSC to which he refers, that is not at all in accordance with the reports that I had of last Thursday's meeting.

#### Youth Training Scheme WA

**Mr. Leighton** asked the Sec State Employment what will be the cost of the first year of the youth training scheme.

**Mr. Peter Morrison:** The cost of grants to sponsors of the youth training scheme in 1983-84 was £376.5 million (excluding administrative costs).

#### National Childminding Association WA

**Mr. Tony Lloyd** asked the Sec State Social Services what representations he has received about the funding of the NCA; and why the NCA had received no reply from his Department about certain funding before the beginning of the 1984-85 financial year.

**Mr. John Patten:** We have had five letters from hon. Members about the 1984-85 grant to the NCA for headquarters expenses. I am pleased to say that we were able to offer the association a grant of £48,000 per year for the three years 1984-85 to 1986-87 on 24 July 1984.

#### Play Groups WA

**Mr. Greenway** asked the Sec State Social Services how much his Department spent in grants to play groups in 1975, 1978 and 1983; what information he has on the total number of children involved; and if he will make a statement.

**Mr. John Patten:** The Department made no grants directly to individual playgroups in the years in question. Grants made to the Pre-School Playgroups Association in respect of national and regional activity totalled £82,000 in 1975-76, £210,828 in 1978-79 and £383,000 in 1983-84 broken down as follows:

£346,250 main core grant
£14,750 mother and toddler work
£2,000 training for volunteers in committee work
£10,000 for financial consultants
£10,000 Group on work in disadvantaged areas

In addition the PPA received £106,200 in 1983-84 under the opportunities for volunteering scheme, and £38,500 under the under fives initiative.

#### Youth Unemployment (Job Creation) WA

**Mr. Neil Hamilton** asked the Secretary of State for Employment if he will list all the Government schemes to help unemployed youth which have been introduced since 1970, stating in each scheme, the total cost of each scheme, and the cost per place of each scheme; and if he will make a statement.

**Mr. Peter Morrison:** The available information\* about the main schemes is set out in the following table.

Schemes	Entrants	Cost (£ million)
Recruitment subsidy for school leavers	30,000	3
Youth employment subsidy	47,000	9
Youth opportunities programme†	1,929,000	1,586
Youth training scheme	354,000	377
Young workers scheme	304,000	99
Community industry	70,000	136

\* To 31 March 1984

† Figures shown for the youth opportunities programme include the work experience programme.

#### Children and Young Persons Act 1969 (Police Information) WA

**Mr. Tony Lloyd** asked the Secretary of State for Social Services if he will issue guidance to local authorities about the security of information passed to them by the police under the provisions of the Children and Young Persons Act 1969.

**Mr. John Patten:** Local authorities are already aware of the need to safeguard information which may be passed on to them by the police and we are not aware there is a need to issue any further guidance. If the hon. Member has a particular case in mind I would be pleased to consider it.

#### Youth Training Scheme OA

**Sir William van Straubenzee** asked the Sec State for Employment what plans he has to review the working of the youth training scheme at the end of its first year.

**Mr. Peter Morrison:** My right hon. Friend has received recommendations from the Manpower Services Commission on the future development of the youth training scheme following a review conducted by a sub-group of the Youth Training Board. These recommendations are being carefully considered.

**Mr. Holt** asked the Sec of State for Employment how many young people have joined the youth training scheme since April; and how this compares with the same period in 1983.

**Mr. Peter Morrison:** About 46,000 youngsters entered the scheme between April and June this year, more than twice the number for the same period last year.

I am most encouraged by the response to the scheme at the beginning of its second year. It shows that young people recognise the advantages of participating in a high quality training programme.

The continuing magnificent support from employers and other sponsors means that there will be more than sufficient places to meet the needs of all eligible youngsters in the second year.

**Mr. Sheerman** asked the Sec of State for Employment if he will set out the terms of the new compensation scheme for vacated mode A places on the youth training scheme; when and under what powers this compensation scheme was approved; if he will give details of the scheme it replaced; what comparable scheme exists in mode B; and what amounts of public spending (a) have been incurred in 1983-84 through existing compensation schemes for empty places showing separately mode A, mode B1 training workshops, community programmes, information technology centres, and mode B2 and (b) are budgeted for 1984-85 similarly broken down.

**Mr. Peter Morrison:** The youth training scheme has, since its inception, compensated managing agents for vacated places. Under the rules that operated for 1983-84 contracts, managing agents were required to produce detailed evidence of their inescapable costs arising from mode A training places which had been vacated and could not be refilled. A period of six weeks must elapse between a place being vacated and any claim being considered. If no young person was available, or became available to fill a vacated place, a payment of up to £12 per place per week could be assessed and paid.

These procedures involved complex accounting and validation exercises for both managing agents and Manpower Services Commission staff out of proportion to the sums involved. Following an approach from the commission, I have therefore decided in principle that for 1984-85 mode A contracts compensation will be available to managing agents who certify that they have incurred inescapable costs. Compensation will be at a flat rate of £8.50 per place per week for the duration of the contract made between the managing agent and the commission payable after a period of six weeks as before.

There are no comparable arrangements for mode B vacated places.

The amount of expenditure incurred for vacated places on 1983-84 mode A contracts cannot be assessed in total, as some programmes will continue to operate until 1985. The estimated forecast is around £9 million for payments made under the previous system.

£8.7 million is budgeted for vacated place and payments arising from 1984-85 mode A contracts under the new system.

## V65 N207

### Drug Abuse WA

**Mr. Wareing** asked the Sec of State for Social Services (1) which local centres will be assisted in his efforts to combat drug abuse; and if he will make a statement;

(2) what extra funds he is making available to combat drug abuse; how they are to be dispensed; and if he will make a statement.

**Mr. John Patten:** Health authorities have been asked to report by 22 December on their plans for urgent action within their available resources to improve services for drug misusers.

Twelve million pounds is being made available to combat drug misuse. Eighty-one firm allocations totalling over £5 million under the £7 million centrally funded initiative have been announced. The balance has been provisionally allocated to proposed projects under discussion with the applicants.

An extra £5 million will be committed to expanding effort in prevention, treatment and rehabilitation. Precise allocation has not been reached but applications already received under the initiative will be taken into account.

**Mr. Wareing** asked the Sec of State for Social Services what consultations he has carried out, and with whom, prior to issuing guidelines to general practitioners on the combating of drug abuse; when he expects them to be published; and if he will make a statement.

**Mr. John Patten:** In response to recommendations in the treatment and rehabilitation report of the Advisory Council on the Misuse of Drugs, endorsed by a conference of representatives of a wide range of medical organisations, my right hon. Friend set up an expert medical working group to prepare guidelines of good clinical practice in the treatment of drug dependence for dissemination to the medical profession and to consider the feasibility of the extension of licensing restrictions on the treatment of drug dependence to include all opioid drugs. Its membership was drawn from nominees of medical bodies and individuals with expertise. We expect to publish the guidelines on good clinical practice shortly. They will be sent to all general practitioners, hospital doctors and to the prison medical service, as well as to health authorities and interested professional and voluntary agencies in November.

### Oral Contraceptives OA

**Mr. Greenway** asked the Sec State for Social Services what representations he has received from the British Medical Association about the prescription of oral contraceptives to girls below the age of 16 years; what reply he has sent; and if he will make a statement.

**Mr. Kenneth Clarke:** The British Medical Association has drawn my attention to its policy statement in support of our current guidance on family planning services for young people. In reply I said we would consider this guidance again when the outcome of the legal action of which it is currently the subject is known.

**Mr. Greenway:** Is my right hon. and learned Friend aware of the widespread public concern over the right of doctors to prescribe oral contraceptives to girls under 16 at a time when it is vitally necessary to strengthen the family unit.

**Mr. Clarke:** I am aware of widespread concern and widely differing views. The guidance from the BMA, our Department and the General Medical Council stresses the need to try to involve parents wherever possible, and doctors often succeed in doing so. At present we say that if they cannot, what happens next should depend on what the doctor judges to be best in the interests of the girls. Mrs. Gillick claims that this is illegal and we have undertaken to review the whole question again once we have received the final decision of the court.

**Dr. M.S. Miller:** Bearing in mind the cost and necessity, if possible to involve parents, does the right hon. and learned Gentleman accept that the primary consideration is the confidential aspect between patient and doctor?

**Mr. Clarke:** A number of important issues are raised, such as the confidentiality of the relationship between a 15-year-old and a doctor, the ability of a 15-year-old to give valid consent to treatment and whether she is sufficiently mature to give such consent. Obviously we shall have to bear all these matters in mind when we review this policy.

### Assisted Places Scheme WA

**Mr. Freud** asked the Sec State Education and Science whether he will list (a) how many schools are taking part in the assisted places scheme in the academic year 1984-85 and (b) how many schools who wished to take part could not meet the requirement that 60 per cent. of the aided pupils formerly attended maintained schools.

**Mr. Dunn:** There are now 226 schools in England in the scheme. The answer to the second part of the question cannot be known.

**Mr. Freud** asked the Sec State of Education what cost benefit analysis his Department has carried out of the expenditure involved in the assisted places scheme; to what conclusions it pointed; and if he will make a statement.

**Mr. Dunn:** The average cost to the public funds of an assisted place is broadly comparable to the average unit cost of educating a pupil in a maintained school. The widening of opportunities which the scheme offers to low-income families represents good value for money.

**Mr. Freud** asked the Secretary State for Education on what basis his Department records and studies the examination results of children educated under the assisted places scheme; whether these results have been compared with those of children at maintained schools; and what conclusions he has come to concerning educational standards as a result of the scheme.

**Mr. Dunn:** Very few assisted pupils have as yet taken public examinations and it would be premature to draw conclusions on the results collected to date. Even with a larger sample, however, great care would be needed in interpreting such output measures.

**Mr. Freud** asked the Sec of State for Education whether he will list in the (a) how many pupils are taking part in the assisted places scheme in the academic year 1984-85 and (b) of these, how many and what percentage attended non-maintained schools (i) at some time in their educational history and (ii) immediately prior to taking up an assisted place.

**Mr. Dunn:** Returns are not yet available from all schools to permit the first part of the question to be answered. Information is not, however, collected which would permit an answer to the second part of the question in the terms specified.

## V65 N213

### Drug and Solvent Abuse OA

**Mr. Hill** asked the Sec State Social Services whether the proposed new centres for treatment of drug abuse solvent abuse are to be purely voluntary; or whether legislation is to be considered to encompass enforced care and attention when an abuser's life is at risk.

**Mr. John Patten:** It is not envisaged that treatment at any facilities specifically provided for drug and solvent misusers will be compulsory. Genuine desire to be helped is regarded by those involved in rehabilitation of substance users. The Medical Health Act 1983 provided that no one should be dealt with under the Act as suffering from mental disorder by reason only of dependence on drugs. In the case of young persons informal action will normally also be appropriate. However the Children and Young Persons Act 1969 already gives the police a power to detain in a place of safety and youngster in respect of whom they have reasonable cause to believe that any of the conditions in section 1(2), of the Act are satisfied. The first of these is that the youngster's proper development is being avoidably prevented or neglected or his health is being avoidably impaired or neglected, or he is being ill-treated. In suitable cases persistent drug or solvent misuse could be drawn to the attention of the social services department as an indication for considering the need for care proceeding under the Act.

**Mr. Hill** asked the Sec State Social Services whether any measures taken to fund regional drug centres, following the current reviews of drug abuse being carried out by health authorities, will also embrace the problem of solvent abuse.

**Mr. John Patten:** The provision of specific facilities to deal with solvent misusers was not generally favoured in the responses to our wide consultations last year. Generally responses endorsed the Government's policy on solvent misuse of helping parents and the whole range of relevant services to use existing skills, resources and powers to co-operate more effectively. We have offered to consider applications for funding of small-scale studies of good local arrangements for coping with solvent misuse.

### School Closures WA

**Mr. Freeson** asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science if he will set out in the *Official Report* a précis of his reasons for rejecting proposals put forward by local education authorities to close and amalgamate secondary schools pursuant to the Education Act 1980.

**Mr. Dunn:** In the limited number of cases where my right hon. Friend or his predecessor have rejected proposals made by local education authorities pursuant to the Education Act to close or amalgamate secondary schools it was only after most careful consideration of all the relevant financial, education and other factors. As I explained to the right hon. Member in reply to his earlier question on 12 November 1984 at column 62, among the reasons for rejection were that the proposals were not in their view in accord with their policies set out in circulars 2/80, 2/81 and 4/82, copies of which I am sending to the right hon. Member. Proposals that have been rejected have failed to take account of the general policies of my right hon. Friend and his predecessor on the curriculum and examinations, and sustaining a balance between the county and voluntary sectors, appropriate to each area, or of their particular policies of not normally approving proposals that would lead to closure or significant change of character of schools with sixth forms of proven worth; or of the need to pay particular regard to parental preference on religious or other grounds for maintaining opportunities for single sex education. Most of the proposals listed in my previous answer were rejected for one or more of these reasons and, according to the circumstances of the case, decisions may also have been influenced by factors such as the inadequacy of consultation or the extent to which amalgamated schools would have been housed in split site premises that were judged unacceptable because of particular educational and organisational difficulties that would have arisen.

### Children's Spectacles OA

**Mr. Hill** asked the Secretary of State for Social Services if, in the supply of children's spectacles under National Health Service provision, he will authorise the routine use of safety glass; and what would be the estimated extra cost to the National Health Service.

**Mr. Kenneth Clarke:** Where parents wish their children to have toughened glass lenses these are available at a charge of £3.25 per lens. To provide them free to all children would represent an extra annual cost of some £2.75 million to the general ophthalmic services. Children requiring high corrections already have the option of being supplied with plastic lenses without charge. We have no plans to change these arrangements.

## V67 N5

### Glue Sniffing OA

**Mr. Hill** asked the Sec State for the Home Department what steps he has taken on matters within his responsibility to combat the problem of glue sniffing.

**Mr. Mellor:** We issued a circular to chief officers of police in June this year setting out the various options and facilities open to the police. We have also consulted representatives of manufacturers and retailers on proposals to create an offence of selling substances to under-16s, knowing or believing that they are likely to be inhaled to achieve intoxication. The responses indicated widespread support for such legislation. The Government are prepared to support the introduction of a suitable Bill in Parliament.

### Youth Training Scheme WA

**Mr. Sheerman** asked the Sec State for Employment what revisions have now been made to the estimated cost of youth training scheme in 1984-85, 1985-86, 1986-87 and 1987-88, as published in tables 3A and 3B of the Manpower Services Commission's corporate plan 1984-88 in the light of experience gained in the first year, and if he will give the original and revised assumptions about the pattern of entry to the scheme and the average length of stay on which these figures are based.

**Mr. Peter Morrison:** The tables in the Manpower Services Commission's corporate plan 1984-88 assumed that there would be 420,000 entrants onto the youth training scheme in 1984-85. The forecasts for the three forward years were based on 490,000 entrants. The projections also assumed an average length of stay of around 43 weeks.

The Manpower Services Commission regularly assesses information about the operations of the youth training scheme and reviews assumptions about the scheme accordingly. The review of the scheme by the Youth Training Board now forecasts 405,000 entrants in 1984-85, 395,000 in 1985-86, 385,000 in 1986-87 and 380,000 in 1987-88.

There are indications that expenditure on youth training scheme in 1984-85 may be less than allowed for in the estimate. The exact extent of the anticipated shortfall is currently under review as are the forecasts by the Youth Training Board of entrants for future years and the financial consequences.

## V65 N209

### Youth Training Scheme

**Mr. Wareing** asked Sec State Employment what percentage of young people who left between 1 April and 31 July went into full-time education and training.

**Mr. Peter Morrison:** A recent sample survey of young people in nine Manpower Services Commission area who left individual programmes within YTS between 1 April and 31 July showed that those who responded 4 per cent. had joined another youth training scheme programme and 2 per cent. had entered full-time education or training. A further 7 per cent. indicated that they were intending to take up full-time education or training.

**V67 N6**

**Armed Services Youth Training Scheme WA**

**Mr. Antony Buck** asked the Sec State Defence whether there are any plans to allow women to be offered places in the Army's armed services youth training scheme.

**Mr. Stanley:** I am pleased to say that the Army is now able to offer places to young women as well as young men and 50 places are being offered on training courses starting in February and March next year for training as supply controllers, drivers, switchboard operators, postal and courier operators, and kennelmaids and grooms.

This brings the Army into line with the Royal Navy and Royal Air Force who already offer places to young women in the armed services youth training scheme.

**V67 N9**

**Students (Parental Contribution) OA**

**Mr. Marlow** asked Sec State Education what slice of gross residual income will be required to cover the parental contribution in 1985 for parents with combined gross residual incomes of £26,000, £25,000, £24,000, £23,000, £22,000, £21,000, £20,000, £19,000, £18,000, £17,000, £16,000, £15,000, £14,000, £13,000, £12,000, £11,000 and £10,000, allowing for a normal pattern of taxation and national insurance payments for parents taxed jointly with none, one, two or three additional dependent children.

**Mr. Brooke:** The Department does not collect information on the tax and national insurance payments of the parents of mandatory award holders. The assessed parental contributions in 1985-86 for families with no other dependent children will be as follows:

Residual Income £	Assessed Parental Contribution £	Per cent.
10,000	291	2.9
11,000	474	4.3
12,000	674	5.6
13,000	874	6.7
14,000	1,074	7.7
15,000	1,274	8.5
16,000	1,524	9.5
17,000	1,774	10.4
18,000	2,024	11.2
19,000	2,274	12.0
20,000	2,524	12.6
21,000	2,774	13.2
22,000	3,024	13.7
23,000	3,274	14.2
24,000	3,524	14.7
25,000	3,774	15.1
26,000	4,000	15.4

The contribution payable in each case may be less than the amounts shown in the scale, particularly at its top end. This will depend on the amount of the award (maintenance and fees) towards which the contribution has to be made and whether any of the assessed contribution is offset by allowances for other dependent children.

Decisions have not yet been taken on the level of deductions from parental contributions in 1985-86 in respect of other dependent children in the family.

**V68 N11**

**Children (Smoking) OA**

**Ms. Renée Scott** asked Sec State Social Services what proposals he has to discourage children from smoking.

**Mr. John Patten:** The Government are already actively attacking the problem. Earlier this year our grant to the Health Education Council was increased by £1/2 million in order to finance additional anti-smoking campaigns aimed particularly at young people. A new television campaign aimed at families is planned for the new year. The maximum fine for illegally selling cigarettes to children has recently been increased, and we have provided guidelines to retailers aimed at ensuring that the law is properly observed. Earlier this year a leaflet drawing attention to the health hazards of smoking was sent to schools throughout the country. We shall remain alert to future opportunities for Government action in this area.

**V68 N13**

**Youth Training and Work Experience WA**

**Mr. Wareing** asked Sec State Employment how many young people aged between 16 and 25 years have been engaged on various youth training and work experience schemes since 1979; how many are currently without permanent employment; and if he will make a statement.

**Mr. Peter Morrison:** Information on the number of young people who have entered youth training and work experience schemes since 1979 is contained in the following table:

Scheme	Period	*Number of entrants
Youth Opportunities Programme	April 1979 to March 1984	1,699,500
	April 1983 to October 1984	647,500
Special Temporary Employment Programme	April 1979 to March 1981	‡21,000
Community Enterprise Programme	April 1981 to September 1982	‡24,000
Community Programme	October 1982 to October 1984	‡138,000
Community Industry	April 1979 to October 1984	50,000

\* The figures quoted in this column will include a number of young people who have entered the respective scheme more than once.

† This figure relates to entrants aged 18 to 24.

‡ This figure relates to entrants aged 19 to 24.

Comprehensive information on the destination of leavers from these schemes is not available.

**V68 N14**

**Juveniles (Metropolitan Police District) IA**

**Mr. Tony Banks** asked Sec State Home Department if he will make a statement on proposed use of instant cautions and multi-agency panels for dealing with juveniles in Metropolitan police district.

**Mr. Giles Shaw:** Metropolitan police introduced an early cautioning scheme for juveniles on 1 November. Where the offence is not serious, most first time juvenile offenders are eligible for an

instant caution, which will be administered at the police station and without reference to the juvenile bureau. Other cases are still referred to the Metropolitan police's juvenile bureau for further consideration.

The Metropolitan police are also considering the introduction of multi-agency juvenile panels on an experimental basis in four districts. Cases of juvenile offenders would be referred to a juvenile panel if the juvenile bureau considered that prosecution was appropriate. The panel would either support prosecution or recommend a caution combined with some form of supervised activity. The viability of such schemes will clearly depend on all the agencies involved as well as the police.

**Student Grants OA**

**Sir Brandon Rhys Williams** asked the Sec State Education what is his estimate of the number of families likely to be affected by the proposed (a) 20 per cent. and (b) 25 per cent. tapers for student grants.

**Mr. Brooke:** For the academic year 1985-86 an estimated 160,000 families will be assessed at £1 in every £5 on residual incomes of £10,300 and above, and of these an estimated 85,000 families will be assessed at £1 in every £4 on residual incomes of £15,000 and above.

**Youth Training Scheme**

**Mr. Sheerman** asked the Sec State Employment (1) whether, in the light of the results of the recent Manpower Services Commission sample survey, he will give the most up-to-date breakdown of the destinations of youth training scheme leavers;

(2) whether, in the light of the reports of the recent Manpower Services Commission sample survey, he will give his most up-to-date estimate of number of youth training scheme leavers who've gone straight into employment.

**Mr. Peter Morrison:** The latest estimates of the destinations of young people leaving the youth training scheme are based on the recent sample survey of 3,500 young people in nine Manpower Services Commission areas who left individual programmes within the scheme between 1 April and 31 July 1984. This showed that, of those responding:

- 56 per cent. were in full-time employment.
- 2 per cent. were in part-time employment.
- 4 per cent. were on another YTS scheme.
- 2 per cent. were on a full-time course at a college or training centre.
- 34 per cent. were unemployed (of whom one-fifth — i.e. 7 per cent. of all respondents — intended to take up full-time education or training).
- 2 per cent. were doing something else.

**V68 N15**

**Books WA**

**Mr. Sean Hughes** asked Sec State Education (1) what has been the total spending on books by local education authorities in England and Wales for each of last 10 years for which figures are available in cost and real terms using 1979-80 as the base year;

(2) what has been the total spending on books per pupil by local education authorities in England and Wales for each of the last 10 years for which figures are available in cost and real terms using 1979-80 as the base year.

**Mr. Dunn:** Expenditure by local education authorities in England on books in primary and secondary schools and that expenditure expressed as cost per pupil, in cost and real terms, is set out in the following table for the ten financial years up to 1982-83, the latest year for which firm figures are available:

(£ 1979-80 prices)

	Primary Schools				Secondary Schools			
	Expenditure £ million		Cost per Pupil		Expenditure £ million		Cost per Pupil	
	Cost Terms	Real Terms	Cost Terms	Real Terms	Cost Terms	Real Terms	Cost Terms	Real Terms
1973-74	25.6	23.2	5.2	4.7	34.8	31.6	10.2	9.2
1974-75	24.2	21.0	5.0	4.3	32.3	27.9	9.0	7.8
1975-76	23.4	21.4	4.8	4.4	31.0	28.3	8.5	7.8
1976-77	22.7	21.3	4.8	4.5	31.6	29.6	8.4	7.8
1977-78	21.7	21.1	4.6	4.5	31.2	30.3	8.1	7.9
1978-79	22.3	21.6	4.8	4.7	32.4	31.5	8.4	8.2
1979-80	20.3	20.3	4.6	4.6	30.2	30.2	7.8	7.8
1980-81	18.7	19.9	4.5	4.8	26.2	28.0	6.8	7.3
1981-82	18.8	19.5	4.8	4.8	25.1	26.1	6.6	6.8
1982-83	19.2	20.2	5.0	5.3	26.7	28.1	7.1	7.5

(The figures in cost and real terms have been calculated using respectively the GDP deflator and the average price of school books index of the Publisher's Association).

**Mr. Sean Hughes** asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science what proportion of total local authority budgets and current spending, respectively, on education was accounted for by books alone in latest year for which figures are available; and how this compares with each of previous five years.

**Mr. Dunn:** Local education authority expenditure on books in primary and secondary schools as a percentage of net recurrent expenditure on those schools was as follows in each of the six financial years up to 1982-83, the latest year for which firm figures are available:

Year	per cent.	
	Primary Schools	Secondary Schools
1977-78	1.1	1.2
1978-79	1.1	1.3
1979-80	1.1	1.2
1980-81	1.0	1.0
1981-82	1.0	0.9
1982-83	1.0	1.0

**V69 N22**

**Youth Training Scheme WA**

**Mr. Chris Smith** asked the Sec State Social Services in each month since the start of the youth training scheme until the latest available date, how many young people have had their supplementary benefit reduced for (a) refusing a place on the youth training scheme and (b) leaving the youth training scheme prematurely; by how much their benefit has been reduced; and how much is the total sum withheld by the Government in this way.

**Mr. Whitney:** The numbers of young people who have had their supplementary benefit reduced because they have, without good cause refused or left prematurely a place on the youth training scheme are shown in the table.

The normal weekly rate of reduction for a claimant of YTS age during the period in question was £6.60, though different rates may have applied in a very small number of cases depending on individual circumstances. It is estimated that the total sum withheld between December 1983 and september 1984 inclusive was about £275,000.

	Refusal of place	Premature leaving
For the 4 weeks ending: 20 December 1983	175	783

17 January 1984	178	731
14 February 1984	226	1,360
13 March 1984	156	1,223
10 April 1984	87	1,087
8 May 1984	63	895
5 June 1984	47	862
3 July 1984	56	804
31 July 1984	36	627
28 August 1984	27	462
25 September 1984	25	502

**Notes:**

1. Records of supplementary benefit reductions for this reason were not kept prior to December 1983.
2. The numbers for the period ending 8 May 1984 are corrected figures from those quoted in the reply of 3 July to the hon. Member for Bishop Auckland (Mr. Foster) at c. 139.

**V69 N29****Higher Education WA**

Mr. Austin Mitchell asked the PM whether it is the Government's policy that students in higher education should pursue their studies at an institution within travelling distance from their parents' home regardless of the circumstances.

The Prime Minister: This Government, like their predecessors, believe that there is merit in students studying from the parental home where that is practicable.

Mr. Austin Mitchell asked the PM what proportion of the population aged 18 to 21 years receives higher education in the United Kingdom compared with Germany, Japan, France and the United States of America.

The PM: Information in the form requested is not readily available. Comparisons of participation rates in higher education between countries are influenced by the structure of higher education in each country, in particular by the age of entry and the length of course. In some countries students enter higher education later than in the UK and take longer to qualify.

A meaningful comparison can be obtained by showing all new entrants to higher education as a percentage of the age group within the typical age range for the country in question. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development has published statistics on this basis. In the table column 1 shows the age range encompassing at least 70 per cent. of all entrants to full-time higher education in each country, the yearly average size of which forms the basis for the calculation of participation. For example for the UK the size of the typical year group is the total number of 18 and 19-year-olds divided by two. Column 2 shows new entrants to higher education in 1982 as a percentage of the age group in the typical age range.

Participation in Higher Education 1982

	1 Age range covering 70 per cent. of entry to higher education	2 Numbers entering Higher Education for the first time in 1982 as a percentage of the size of the average year group in Column 1
France*	18-20	29.0
Germany (Federal Republic)	19-21	21.2
Japan†	18	34.2
United Kingdom‡/	18-19	30.0
United States of America‡/	18	61.7

\* Excluding new entrants to "Grandes Ecoles" and some non-university colleges.

† Includes new entrants to private colleges.

‡ Full-time and part time.

/ Excludes post graduates and others known to have a higher education qualification, excludes overseas students.

/ 1981.

Sources: OECD, "Education Statistics for the UK" 1984 edition.

Mr. Austin Mitchell asked the PM what statistical information she has concerning the level of Government contribution to the cost of higher education in the UK and in other countries so far as the student's contribution is concerned; and if she will publish in the *Official Report* a table showing for the UK's principal overseas competitors how central and local government finance the places of students at universities, distinguishing tuition fees from maintenance.

The Prime Minister: In 1982-83 students' families were asked to contribute a sum equivalent to about 5.6 per cent. of the Government's total expenditure on higher education in the UK. Information on other countries is not available for the purpose of comparisons with the UK. The latest available information on the financing of higher education overseas is contained within statistical bulletin 9/84 of the Department of Education and Science, a copy of which is in the Library.

Mr. Austin Mitchell asked the Prime Minister what information she has about the extent to which university students in Germany, France and Italy are required to pay the whole of their tuition fees; and if she will publish in the *Official Report* a table showing the extent of any derogations from this rule.

The Prime Minister: I understand the university students are not required to pay tuition fees in the Federal Republic of Germany or in France, but that they are required to do so in Italy. I have no information about any derogations from those practices.

**V70 N31****16-plus Examination WA**

Mr. Hanley asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science how his curricular objectives of breadth and balance may be encouraged through the new single system of 16-plus examinations; and if he will make a statement.

Sir Keith Joseph: My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Wales and I are issuing today a consultation paper setting out our proposals for distinction and merit certificates within the general certificate of secondary education examination. Our objective is to encourage the abler pupils, in particular, to pursue broad and balanced examination courses in the fourth and fifth years of secondary education. Copies of the consultative paper have been placed in the Libraries of both Houses. Comments are invited by the end of April 1985.

**Young Workers Scheme OA**

Sir John Farr asked the Secretary of State for Employment if he will make a statement on the operation of the young workers scheme.

Mr. Alan Clark: Since the young workers scheme started in January 1982, it has helped provide employment for over 350,000 young people at more realistic rates of pay. Some 70,000 young people are currently supported and my right hon. Friend announced on 12 November, at column 644, that the scheme is to continue until March 1986.

**Youth Training Scheme OA**

Mr. Prescott: Can the Minister confirm whether youngsters aged 16 will face a fine of £17.30 a week if they refuse a place on the youth training scheme? Many young people, who see the scheme as cheap labour, prefer to take the advice to get on their bikes and look for jobs. Should not the Minister consider the advice of the Select Committee to use whatever spare places are available to provide such opportunities for the 1 million young people under the age of 25? Is it not strange that a Government who believe in freedom of choice should be recruiting young people into forced labour schemes?

Mr. Morrison: I can confirm that, apparently unlike the hon. Gentleman and his right hon. and hon. Friends, the Government are working towards unemployment for 16 and 17-year-olds not being an option. I can also confirm that, for 18 to 24-year-olds, my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State announced that of the 130,000 community programme places 50,000 would have training. More than half of the places on the community programme are occupied by 18 to 24-year-olds.

**Youth Training Scheme WA**

Mr. Eastham asked the Sec State Employment how much the Government are currently spending on the youth training scheme.

Mr. Peter Morrison: The estimate provision for expenditure on youth training in 1984-85 is £801.4 million.

Mr. Patrick Thompson asked the Sec State Employment whether he will make a statement on the level of take-up of the youth training scheme at the end of November 1984.

Mr. Eggar asked the Sec State Employment if he will make a statement on the take-up of the youth training scheme since September.

Mr. Peter Morrison: There are about 327,000 entrants to the youth training scheme between the beginning of April and the end of November this year, including some 70,000 entrants since the end of September. I am most encouraged by the response to the scheme in its second year, which shows that young people recognise the advantages of participating in a high quality training programme.

The continuing tremendous support from employers and other sponsors means that there will be more than sufficient places to meet the needs of all eligible youngsters in the second year.

Mr. Nellist asked the Sec State Employment what is his estimate of the level of training allowance which would have been paid to trainees on the youth training scheme if that allowance had been increased since April 1978 by either the rise in the retail price index or the rise in average industrial earnings.

Mr. Peter Morrison: The youth training scheme did not come into operation until April 1983. Between April 1978 and October 1984 the general index of retail prices increased by 83.8 per cent., and between April 1978 and September 1984 the average earnings index increased by 105.1 per cent. If the youth opportunities programme allowance of £19.50 in April 1978 had been increased by the former amount, it would now be £35.84 and by the latter it would now be £39.99.

**Young Persons (Wages)**

Mr. Chope asked the Sec State Employment whether he will take steps to prevent wages councils deciding the minimum wages of young people.

Mr. Peter Bottomley: The Government are considering whether changes should be made to the Wages Councils Act. At present, we are prevented from removing young people from scope by obligations under International Labour Convention 26.

**V70 N34****School Leavers WA**

Mr. Baldry asked the Sec State Employment what type of youth training scheme provision it is intended to make for school leavers who have completed a technical and vocational educational initiative course.

Mr. Peter Morrison: The technical and vocational education initiative comprises individual pilot projects, the first of which began in September 1983, run by local education authorities. Each provides four-year programmes, starting at age 14, of general technical and vocational education.

A young person completing a TVEI course would be aged 18 and therefore generally not eligible for the youth training scheme which, apart from some limited exceptions, is open only to 16-year-old school leavers and unemployed 17-year-old school leavers.

Many young people having gained basic work skills either within the educational system or through YTS, would go on to specific skills training, for which employers have the prime responsibility.

**Minimum Grants (Abolition) WA**

Mrs. Renée Short asked the Sec State Education what response he has sent to the chairman of the Federation of Conservative Students in answer to the letter he received from him earlier this month relating to the proposed abolition of minimum grants.

Sir Keith Joseph: My response was as follows:

M. H. Glendening Esq.  
National Chairman  
The Federation of  
Conservative Students  
32 Smith Square  
Westminster  
London SW1P 3HH

14 December 1984

Dear Mr. Glendening.

Thank you for your letter of 5 December. You will have seen the outcome of last week's events — and you will have observed that there is to be a review of students finance — which should provide an opportunity for a number of options to be considered.

Sincerely  
Keith Joseph

**Heroin OA**

Mr. Harvey asked the Sec State Home Department when he intends to introduce the legislation to combat the distribution and usage of heroin; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Mellor: Unlawful importation, production, supply and possession of heroin are already offences under the Misuse of Drugs Act 1971. A person convicted of unlawful possession faces a sentence of up to five years' imprisonment. The maximum penalty for unlawful supply and other trafficking offences is currently 14 years' imprisonment, and the Government have announced its intention to increase this to life imprisonment. My hon. Friend the Member for Delyn (Mr. Raffan), has introduced a Bill, due for a Second Reading on 1 February 1985, which may provide an early opportunity to give effect to the proposed change.

**Young Persons (Remand) WA**

Mr. Alex Carlile asked the Sec State Home Department how many young persons, male and female, aged (a) 15 to 16 years and (b) 17 to 21 years have been held on remand in adult establishments so far during 1984.

Mr. Mellor [pursuant to his reply, 14 December 1984, c. 633]: The readily available information relates to initial receptions of persons aged under 21 on remand into adult prisons and is given in the following table. Information for 1984 is not yet available. It is normal for young male prisoners to be kept apart from adult prisoners whereas in establishments for females women and girls may mix.

Untried and convicted unsentenced persons aged 15 and under 21 received initially into an adult Prison Department establishment in England and Wales—1983

	Estimated number			
	15-16		17-20	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Adult prisons with remand units/wings for prisoners aged under 21 (2)	95	—	370	—
Remand centres taking remand prisoners of all ages (3)	590	15	7,840	480
Other adult prisons	40	10	4,620	480



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

(2) Cardiff, Dorchester, Exeter, Liverpool, Manchester, Norwich, Swansea and Winchester.

(3) Ashford, Low Newton, Manchester, Pucklechurch and Risley.

#### Young Offenders WA

Mrs. Renée Short asked the Sec State Home Department how many young offenders under the age of 18 years have been placed in detention centres in each year since the implementation of the Criminal Justice Act 1982.

Mr. Mellor: About 4,100 persons aged under 18 were received into detention centres under detention centre orders between 24 May and 31 December 1983 and about 6,300 between 1 January and 30 November 1984.

#### Students (Tuition Fees)

Mrs. Renée Short asked the Sec State Education how many students of British nationality are meeting the full costs of their tuition fees and accommodation from their own personal resources at both undergraduate and postgraduate level during the present academic year.

Mr. Brooke: Information relating to nationality is not available. In 1982-83, the latest year for which information is available, the number of full-time students at British universities, paying fees at the home rate, who were self-supporting was as follows:

	Numbers	per cent.
Undergraduates	7,118	3.0
Postgraduates	5,206	16.7

Comparable information for public sector higher education students is not available.

#### Student Grants OA

Mr. Latham asked the Sec State Education what arrangements are made, in calculating residual income for the purposes of parental contribution for student grant, in respect of personnel serving in Her Majesty's Forces who are living in married quarters and pay rent or have deductions from their salary in lieu of rent, and do not have mortgages.

Mr. Brooke: No account is taken of any rent payments or deductions from salary in lieu of rent in determining residual income. No special arrangements are made in determining residual income in respect of any occupational groups including members of Her Majesty's Forces.

#### V70 N35

##### Youth Unemployment OA

Mr. Terlezki asked the Sec State for Employment (1) whether he will consider, in order to tackle the problem of youth unemployment, seeking to establish a youth civil defence group;

(2) whether he will consider, in order to tackle the problem of youth unemployment, seeking to establish a youth conservation corps, similar to that established in the United States of America in 1973, to build roads and bridges and plant trees and shrubs and so on.

Mr. Peter Morrison: The problem of youth unemployment is of great concern to the Government and we have introduced a number of measures to provide assistance specifically for young people in the labour market. The youth training scheme guarantees every 16-year-old school leaver who wants is a year planned training and work experience. The young workers scheme is designed to encourage employers to take on young workers at a realistic rate of pay.

Other Government measures, notably the community programme and the voluntary projects programme, provide opportunities for young people and others to take part in work of benefit to the community, including conservation projects. All these schemes are kept under regular review and, while we are always interested and willing to consider new proposals which might enhance the employment prospects of young people, we have no immediate plans to extend the range of measures available.

Continued from P27.

15. See for example Jones, P et al Out of School, M.S.C. 1983 West, M & Newton P The Transition From School to Work. Croom Helm 1983 and Roberts, K School Leavers and Their Prospects. O.U. Press 1984.
16. Jeffs, A op cit p 102.
17. Analysis in Youth and Policy, (10) Autumn 1984.
18. Youth and Community Work in the Seventies HMSO 1969 page 57.
19. Booton, F De schooling the Youth Service, in Booton, F & Dearling, A The 1980's and beyond NYB 1980 74.
20. Detached Work Forum. Detached Work Statement. Paragraph 2.2.
21. Jeffs, op cit, page 88.
22. Report of the Review Group, op cit.
23. Consultative Group on Youth Work Training Helping young people to participate in the Youth Service and social affairs. CGYWT 1984.
24. Ewen, J, op cit.
25. Bone, M & Ross, E The Youth Service and Similar Provision for Young People. HMSO 1972.
26. DES (1983) op cit page 36.
27. Bloxham, S Adolescence in Transition: A longitudinal study of the post-school experience of unemployed young people. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. University of Lancaster. 1984.
28. See Bloxham, S, op cit.
29. Jeffs, A op cit p 130
30. Fulham Girls' Project. Girls nights. FGP 1984 12.

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# benefits

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

The Green Paper, "Reform of Social Security", was published on June 3rd. Norman Fowler, Secretary of State for Social Services wrote in the preface "the green paper...is intended to continue the process of public debate and consultation....The Govt. will welcome views on the proposals and will consider them carefully before reaching final decisions". This consultation process was to go on until early September, within 2 weeks of the publication of the Green Paper, the Govt. announced proposals to actually cut Welfare Benefits.

\* Child Benefit instead of going up by 50p to keep pace with inflation was to be increased by 15p.

\* Housing benefits cuts were announced in rate rebates for people with incomes above the Needs Allowance. The largest groups affected were the low paid and pensioners with works pensions, who have lost between 57p and £2 a week.

\* Supplementary Benefit. Additional money given to people with central heating to be abolished from Aug. 5th, worth between £2.10 and £4.20 a week depending on the size of the house.

Coming 2 weeks after the publication of the Green Paper, these cuts showed a total disregard for the consultation process supposed to be taking place. Taken with the Govts. continued refusal to release detailed figures on the effects of their proposals, it only increases concern about the charges outlined in the Green Paper.

In the Green Paper the proposals are portrayed as a new and more efficient basis for the better targeting of resources towards those who are worst off. Nothing could be further from the truth. We need to see through the rhetoric. In reality what we have here is a further push towards a redistribution from the poorest sectors of society towards the better-off.

There is nothing new in this, it has been the Govts. strategy throughout. The Review Teams didn't consider alternatives to the present system. They were contained by not being allowed to recommend any scheme that cost more to the Treasury. The Housing Benefit team has recommended large scale cuts, Fowler has taken this even further, so that cuts in Housing Benefit will amount to around £500 million. The Chairman of the Housing Benefit team was Jeremy Rowe, deputy chair of the Abbey National and Director of the London Brick company. Yet, excluded from his review, was the most costly "Housing Benefit" of all, mortgage interest tax relief, about which he has a self-interest and presumably some knowledge.

Targetting resources is certainly the Govts. priority, but the target are the rich. Attacking benefit levels, is part of an overall strategy attacking wage levels. This involves the abolition of Wage Councils (already underway for the young) and the sweeping away of employment and Health and Safety rights. There is then a move, aimed at the young, to see people pressurised into low-paid, unprotected, non-unionised jobs at any cost.

The details of the Green Paper proposals include:

\* Abolition of the Death and Maternity grants as of right. The new £75 Maternity grant available through the Social Fund will represent a cut with the abolition of grants for baby things.

\*The introduction of a means test for Maternity Benefit.

\*Massive cuts in Housing Benefits reducing both the amount and restricting the right to claim benefit.

\* Abolition of Family Income Supplement, replaced by a Family Credit scheme paid through the P.A.Y.E. system. This will mean the benefit will in the main be paid to the husband, while there will be little increase in an already low take up. This is more or less a charter for employers to freeze or cut low wages.

\* Free school meals and milk to be abolished for those on low incomes.

\* Child Benefit increases cut and perhaps frozen in the future.

\* In relation to Supplementary Benefit, weekly payments for heating, laundry, special diets, indeed all additional weekly payments to be abolished. Grants for such things as baby items, furniture and removals expenses, indeed all grants are to be abolished. Grants are to be replaced by a Social Fund, which will give repayable loans, without a right of appeal except to the local office manager. Cash limits on these payments will mean offices running out of funds to make payments. Those on Sup. Ben. will be expected to pay 20% of their rates and their water rates from their weekly money.

These changes are made in the name of "simplifying and streamlining" the system, there will be increase in basic levels for families, single parents, pensioners and the disabled. It hardly seems likely that these will compensate for the abolition of single payments and weekly additional payments.

The young unemployed will be particularly hard hit by the Govts. proposals. Young people have already been singled out for cuts and had their benefits reduced. Recently the Govt. has said that unemployed young

people under 26 can only stay in bed and breakfast accommodation for a few weeks. Even though the courts have since said that Norman Fowler was wrong to introduce these changes outwith Parliament, the Government is pressing ahead with their re-introduction.

This Green Paper proposes across the board cuts for young people. This means that people under 25 who are unemployed will get a reduced rate of benefit to live on. At present all single householders get £28.05 a week at least. The proposals mean that those under 25 get the present non-householder rate, instead, which amounts to £22.45. A cut then of £5.60 a week at present benefit levels. The proposals also seem to imply that those under 18, would get less. The Govt. is planning to pay the same for 16-17 yr. olds as it pays presently to 13-15 yr. olds. Currently parents get £14.35 a week for 11-15 yr. olds and 16-17 yr. olds get £17.30. When the Govt. introduces one rate for all 13-17 yr. olds it is likely to be somewhere in between. I would project the new rate as £16 or £16.50.

These measures do not constitute a new and more efficient approach than Beveridge. Instead we are about to see penny pinching steps, which are both piecemeal and divisive. The projection of increased means-testing will only lead to lower take up of benefit. This Govt. wants to see people taking out private insurance against old age, sickness and unemployment. Not because they do not like the "Nanny" state, but because their supporters want to make profits from old-age, sickness and unemployment.

## letters

Dear Youth & Policy

I am writing to comment about an article in No. 12 Youth & Policy, "Freedom and Equality in Alternatives to Unemployment".

There are three strands of David Marsland's argument I can't agree with.

Firstly, there is his attitude to YTS, which seems to be fundamentally uncritical. There is no analysis of unemployment, its causes, what purpose it serves and the role YTS has to play within it. The problem of unemployment for young people in this country has gone way beyond solving by "innovative restructuring of the relationships between education, training, employment and service to the community by young people".

Secondly, the observations that young women's access to education, training and jobs are more severely constrained than young men's are clearly true, as are his comments on how young women get 'trapped' in the parental home or with the establishment of their own 'family'. The article does not seem aware that as long as we have government policies which create and encourage unemployment 'vulnerable groups' like black people and young women, it is inevitable that they will be affected in this way.

David Marsland's stereotypes of work as "individualistic, competitive, aggressive and demanding of full-time work and commitment to careers" and women as "other directed, co-operative, tender" etc, serve no purpose that I can see other than they bring him on to the final point of his argument, that the solution to all previously outlined problems lies with service in the community.

Once again I cannot agree with him that the solution to lack of jobs, differential access to training and jobs due to sex and also a "multitude of neglected social problems" can be a nation-wide programme of community service.

The Young Volunteer Resources Unit at the National Youth Bureau have produced some good material on community involvement by young people and have also done research into the role young women play in this sphere. They propose that community involvement should be voluntary, locally organised, of benefit to young people and the community, involve young people in the organisations and not replace real jobs or do work that should be done by paid personnel. None of this is mentioned in the article.

My third disagreement would be that I don't see why community service should insulate young women from sexual-stereotyping in the way suggested. Girls can always care for the elderly while the boys garden and do conservation work.

I fail to see how such fundamental issues as the inequality between men and women and structural problems of phenomenal unemployment amongst youth will be addressed by community service.

I also fail to see what role such an article has in a journal of critical analysis.

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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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