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community uprising or riot?

handsworth

ALPH HUTCHINSON INTERVIEWED BY HOWARD WILLIAMSON

This article presents an understanding of the recent disturbances in Handsworth based on the knowledge and experience of a local black youth and community worker. Alph Hutchinson offers some insights which question the prevailing public accounts of the events.

Numerous explanations have been offered for the recent disturbances in various inner-city multi-racial districts around the country - Handsworth (or more accurately Lozells), Brixton and Tottenham. Explanations have been based upon the influence of drug 'barons', tensions between the Asian and Afro-Caribbean communities, the style of policing in such areas and, of course, the poverty and deprivation which characterises these neighbourhoods. Media and political commentary on the recent events in these areas has, however, tended to subordinate the more general questions concerning deprivation and unemployment in favour of more specific, often 'conspiratorial' accounts of the riots. Popular myths have been fuelled by such accounts. In order to develop an alternative perspective, I interviewed Alph Hutchinson, a black youth and community worker who has run a voluntary sector neighbourhood project in Lozells for the last five years. The following is a transcript of Alph's words. I have organised his comments according to the subject matter indicated in the sub-headings and Alph has read the manuscript and approved its publication in this form.

The Social Condition of Lozells

Lozells is an inner-city area, a third white, a third Asian, a third black. There has always been harmony in the community: it's not one of those communities where you have racial tension as such, you don't see any National Front graffiti or posters. The community has always lived together as one - no tension even among young people, whereas in other areas you have graffiti against blacks, hassels between young blacks and young whites, where young whites go Paki-bashing. That is not a characteristic of the Lozells area.

Unemployment is over 50%, closer to 60%. Black youth unemployment is around 80%. It's an area with a lot of poverty. There is deprivation, houses are in bad condition; there are still a lot of houses with outside toilets.

Money has gone into the area and over the years there has been an Urban Renewal Programme - renovating the houses and streets, but only on the **outside**. So if you look at the area, streets may look all right, houses may look all right,

but that's just a gloss. If you go inside the houses you'll see the true nature of how the people live - the mildew, the mould, the fungus. So although the Urban Renewal Programme has given a facelift to the area there's still a problem with the housing.

There is one large school where most of the kids go. But there is a lack of proper youth provision in the area. The councillors and politicians will say that x million pounds have gone into the area but it's difficult to see how that has been spent, apart from the Urban Renewal. Even though there's been work done in the area, a lot of it has been done by outside contractors - it would have been better to get local people involved. You have a situation where local people feel hard done by. It would have been more beneficial to the area if, for instance, you had a programme that people felt they had a part of. Instead, it has been a programme **imposed** on local people. There has not been consultation about how the money should be spent.

Young people

There's no **real** jobs. There's different Manpower schemes. Most of the time it's part-time work. And to get on these schemes people are saying you've got to have a skill. But people who've been out of school for five years, they often don't have any skill. So what should be provided is TRAINING. You should **employ** people, but what you should attach to that is an element of training, but it is usually employment without any form of training. So black kids who've left school still won't get jobs because they still haven't got any skill.

If you've got to have some skill before you can get a job, even on a scheme, that seems to defeat the object of these MSC schemes. It creates a lot of problems. It's not that people won't work - they are **desperately** in need of work - it is that they are **excluded** from work. They want to get on in life but if there is not the way, then they say 'we will have to look for alternative ways of survival', and in many cases that may mean breaking the law.

It is true of any inner-city area - **anywhere** any **ghetto** always has the highest percentage of crime. It is a fact that if people can't get jobs, if people are poor, if people have got a sense of **hopelessness**, there is going to be crime. People have to seek alternatives.

I have tried to direct people into self-help-schemes - through the Community Enterprise Scheme, the Co-operative Development Agency, the Prince's Trust for young people who've got bright ideas. The young people I work with have a wide range of interests and ideas that they'd like to put into practice. It seems therefore that there is a **richness** in their ideas for starting a small business, whether it be motor mechanics, picture framing, carpentry, photography. But while in theory the services available to help look good, in practice it doesn't really work.... Take young people who have left school with no qualifications. They are asked to do a feasibility study. And while it is necessary to do a feasibility study before you proceed on any small business venture I think that people like the CES or the CDA still apply what I would call 'white structure' **The meaning of 'white structure'**

9-5 operation

Self-interest

A lot of people coming in from the outside without understanding the people, without understanding the problems. It's not a thing you can learn at college. You can only learn it through experience as part of the community.

White structures seek to develop Euro-centric ideas. Because you're English and you're white you're pushing certain values as opposed to values coming from other cultures. You're pushing on other groups white ways of thinking, white ways of doing things, which creates confusion and threatens the culture of other people. Third World culture is seen as insignificant and irrelevant. Euro-culture is seen as significant and right.

It is a question of culture. As a black worker, I don't think I've got the necessary skills to work with the Bengali community or the Sikh community. But I do have the skills to work with the African community. White people, or white-managed structures, do not.

In youth work, particularly the statutory sector, black youth workers on the ground are caught between white structures and black kids they work with. There is bound to be a conflict of loyalties. And alienation develops when black workers in white structures cannot deliver a programme that is acceptable to the black kids they are working with, and by doing that it eliminates a lot of black people in getting through the process. It's very stringent and I would say that 99% of the black people trying to use them, after waiting about two years of trying hard, they get disillusioned and actually back away from their original idea of trying to start a business. And that just gets them even more disillusioned and just kindles their feelings of hopelessness.

Crime/Drugs

Therefore this means that people look for alternative means of survival. There are a lot of one-parent families, poor families, large families - so it means that the whole area is characterised by people trying to survive as best they can. Drugs is one way - yes, people will involve themselves with selling cannabis on the street. But it's really just small peddlars doing this.

The police have talked about drug **barons** who can get 200 people on the street at their calling. That is rubbish. The police can't name the 'barons'. Silverman - who is doing the inquiry for the council - has said the police can name one or two barons. But he went on to say that the 'barons' are not necessarily **black** people. If there are 'barons' they are the

rich **white** people who have yachts who can go to the West Indies, or Morocco, or Turkey and land the stuff in Wales or Scotland. Black people do not have the money to become 'barons'. Black people are just small peddlars. (Even the police say that black people only account for a few thousand pounds worth out of millions of pounds worth seized in recent months).

There is no drug **problem** in Handsworth. Black people (generally) don't take heroin, don't take cocaine. For Rastafas, it is against their beliefs. Black people smoke cannabis, and that's about it.

The Lozells Neighbourhood Project

I've been involved with the project for five years. We don't charge any fee. So we get young people who wouldn't necessarily go anywhere else: most of them feel alienated from white racist society. We are the only black project doing face-to-face youth work in the Lozells area. There are other projects which might work with some black youth, but they are not black projects - they are usually white-managed with good facilities, clean and tidy, attracting more motivated kids.

We work specifically with black youngsters. I work at the **roots** level. Most other people in the area work from above, pushing ideas **down** on the kids they work with. I start at the bottom, take young people's ideas and try to organise these ideas into some sort of structure and help to develop self-help schemes. Apart from that I give advice to black people on any issues, any problems that they face. It's not a 9-5 project. People come to see me about any issues that affect their lives, whenever they need me. They would rather see me than go to other advice centres because those are run on a 'white structure', strictly 9-5, based on appointments and so on....

I have a different way of working. People feel at ease, people feel at home and people feel that they can trust me. Local people often think other workers are working for themselves, what's in it for them, for their careers.... I'm in it for what I can give and people see that. They might be poor but you can't fool them - and they can see what I try to offer for themselves. That is a basic difference between our project and a lot of the others in the area. I have got the support of parents and of young people. The project is seen as a valuable asset for the black community. It makes the community feel good when they see they have a black project in the area, with a black worker that will give them whatever help they need. It's a black project for black people, run within a black structure.

THE RIOTS

Background

Over the last five years or so the police have introduced 'community policing' into the area. Community policing as I see it is the police getting into the schools, into the youth centres and trying to get **involved** with the black community. The aim is not really, though, for the benefit of the community. The whole aim of 'community policing' is to gather information, from kids at school for example, about what is going on - about what their friends do, about what their brothers and sisters do, about what their parents do. So 'community policing' is to provide an extra earpiece for the police within the community so **they** can act, so **they** can do their jobs better. It means that they can legitimately harass the black com-

munity. It is just for the police. It gives them status. For example there was the Wallace Lawler Centre, a pilot scheme set up by police with some Home Office grants, despite opposition from a lot of different community groups. Although it was superbly equipped it was under-used and has now closed. I believe that was because it was imposed on the community.

Things cannot succeed if they are **imposed** on the people. They have got to be done **by the people for the people**.

The spark

If you look at the riots, they were caused by the poverty and deprivation, and the high unemployment, **coupled with** the nature and style of policing, which was constant police harassment. I saw the incident that was said to have sparked off the riots - the arrest of a black motorist. What I objected to was the **style** of arrest. He was accosted at Villa by three police motorcyclists who looked more like the 'Starsky and Hutch' image of policing. They had their boots on, shade glasses, half-shaven stubble, looking like the Fascist policeman you find in Latin America: their whole style of dress, their mannerism. And innocent people object to this style of policing. They could have arrested the bloke or inquired about whether his car was legal or illegal by doing it far more humanly.

They tried to arrest this bloke....in the melee that followed he was nearly run over by a lorry that was passing. A few people gathered, watching what was going on, and a young woman found it necessary to intervene. While she intervened she was punched in the face. And that **incensed** the black community.

If you look at all the recent riots, it is all about the treatment of black people, and in particular it is about the treatment of black women. In Handsworth, a black woman was punched in the face and immediately the scene was set for the riots. If you look at Brixton, a black woman was shot. If you look at Tottenham, a black woman was killed. And, in a sense, you can pressure the community but if you pressure the women, we as black people feel we must defend the women and children - and that was the feeling at the time.

But to go further still. There has been a local residents' association and on it there's a lot of people with very right-wing views. There was a meeting, attended by the police, members of the residents' association, Jeff Rooker the M.P. and Frank Carter, the Mayor of Birmingham. During that meeting the problem of drugs was raised. A police officer threatened to blow the head off any 'black bastard' who he found trading in cannabis. There was no objection to him saying that from the Mayor or from Rooker. A proposal had gone to the city to turn a local bingo hall into an amusements arcade. People at the meeting got up and said it's going to become a drugs den....

(As community workers and people concerned with young people, we are opposed to the peddling of drugs because we know that drugs **as such** (that is, cocaine, heroin) can destroy the young minds of the community. And we have found that drugs are often tampered with - hard drugs being mixed in with cannabis. We say it is the white system that does this, the 'barons' or whoever, who are white. Black groups will always fight against the drugs problem **as such**. The real 'drug problem' is in Liverpool and Scotland, where

kids are hooked on heroin. And these are white kids. There's no Rastas, no black people in Scotland. Yet, **still**, the police approach there is a 'softly, softly' approach to the problem. In Handsworth, where there is not that kind of 'drug problem', there's been raids and harassment, even though it's not the black people who use drugs **as such** (Rastas use cannabis, **that's all**).

And even at this meeting it was pointed out that it was not black people who were trading in drugs, it was the whites and the Asians. But a lot of people at that meeting said they would do anything within their powers to stop the bingo hall being turned into an amusement arcade.

After that, the police then - on the 9th of September - began getting a lot of hoax calls. The police themselves admitted this to me. The hoax calls were about **drugs** and **fire**. They responded to these calls, which we see as done by agitators trying to agitate a conflict between the police and black people. There were calls that there was a fire in the local bingo hall - which was where the riots started. We believe that the fire was started by agitators or right-wing groups trying to inflame racial tension in the area. The police admitted on the 9th they had so many hoax calls they didn't know what to do. Anyway a fire was spotted in the bingo hall - the same bingo hall that the residents' association said they would do everything in their power to stop it being turned into an amusement arcade. So people can draw their own conclusions from that.

But that's where the riots started. People say it was organised, planned. But **we** don't even describe it as a riot - we see it as community action. The whole thing got out of hand, but it was a **spontaneous reaction**.

(I should point out as well that in the same week an Asian bloke was being arrested, again for a driving offence, and a fight started between the Asians and the police).

Now the riots spread. There was no police presence in the area for more than three hours. No policemen could be seen while the place was burning. What the police did was go on the outskirts and surround the area and seal off the city centre to make certain that the trouble didn't spread.

My feeling is that if it was white businesses that was burning, then the police would have been inside there. There was in my mind a deliberate attempt to separate and divide the community: 'Let the Asian businesses burn because we can get some capital out of that'. That is how it was seen by many.

The fires started. There was a lot of looting, but it wasn't only blacks. The press gave the impression that it was only blacks looting. But I saw whites looting, I saw Asians looting and I saw blacks looting. It wasn't until days after the riots when figures were released by the police that people saw that over forty white people were arrested and 37 Asians (that was a couple of days after), which proved the point that community workers have been saying: that it wasn't a black action, it was a **community** action involving not only blacks but also whites and Asians within the community.

And the looting reflected the poverty and deprivation in the area. People were taking things like foodstuffs from the supermarket....but what's happened since is that there's

been attempts by the police and the media to criminalise the situation, and in particular to criminalise black youths by saying that it was self-indulgence and greed - taking videos and things like that - and that it was against Asians. In that way the police could move in, after creating a divide between Asians and Black people, and brutalise - through their arrest methods - black people. So far there's been something like 700 people arrested and the arrests are still continuing.

The police have come in without search warrants (using some new section of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act). Black people have been interned. We don't know where they are. Black women have been beaten up and insulted. People have been forced to name names. The only time you've been released after you've been picked up is if you've named a name. You've got to name a name. In consequence it means a lot of innocent people have been arrested. There are facts: these are people I've spoken to who've been arrested.... And we as black people object to the way that the police have treated the young people, both male and female, and in particular we object to the way they have tried to dehumanise our women.

Black v. Asian conflict?

In a sense, yes. Asian shops got burned, but so did some white shops and a couple of black shops in the area. If there were more white shops in the area, they would have been burned; if there were more black shops in the area, they would have been burned. Why most Asian shops got burned was because they were mostly Asian shops there. It was action by the deprived against the business community.

(People need to realise that even Asian women have been arrested and have been charged by the police for criminal damage. And that suggests that the way the media pushes the whole thing is totally wrong, because Asian women are one of the most acquiescent people that exist within the community).

A lot of black people are critical of the Asian **business** community. If you look at the amount of Afro-Caribbeans that's been employed in the Asian small businesses, it is very, very few. And there is a feeling that if they are taking the money of the black people, the least they could do is employ some black people in their supermarkets and shops. A lot of these Asian businessmen they live outside the area and they come in and bleed the area dry. So there is some resentment about their type of activity, possibly similar to the type of resentment that's, say, in South Africa where, in the riots there, there's been clashes between the Asian business community and black people. This is because the Botha regime has been able to drive a wedge between these people and actually to create a division whereby Asians are seen as second class citizens while blacks are seen as third class. And if you look at the Asian **business community** in Handsworth - **not** the Asian people living in the area - you will see that a lot of them are Tory voters and see themselves as second class citizens while black people come at the bottom. (Some of these Asian businessmen have even been cashing in on the riots by making fraudulent insurance claims).

But there is no conflict with the ordinary Asians living within the community and black people, and if you look at the complexion of the Defence Campaign it's 50% Afro-Caribbean and 50% Asian. We have the support of the Indian Workers' Association, the Sikh Temple and a lot of other Asian

organisations within the area. But there is a clear division even between the ordinary Asian and the Asian business people, and this is what the press have tried to seize on and tried to make it into Afro-Caribbean versus Asian.

The future?

As a worker in the area it's part of my job and responsibility to try to **defuse** any tension between Afro-Caribbean and Asian that's been created by the media - in a sense, to try and get the community back together (this is obviously difficult after the deaths of two Asians, which we all regret). That is my principal aim. In the short term, it is also my responsibility to provide legal and political defence of the people who've been arrested and to try to make sure that any extra resources made available are injected into the right channels.

There is talk of money coming into the area but again they are making the same mistake that they've always made before....if they come in over the top of workers who've been working in the area for years and years - they've already talked of neighbourhood centres and again these centres are going to be set up without consultation with the people who **know** the community, and they'll be managed by white structures who'll employ black people down the scale to do the dirty work. Because if you go back and look again at youth provision in the area, the way it works is this: there are white **managers**, and a lot of these white workers are not in tune with the black community, so they sit in their offices while employing black youth workers, some trained, some untrained, to do the donkey work - to act as bouncers, as a means of social control.

If money is going to be pumped in, it needs to be pumped into existing black centres which are in touch with the local community. There are suitable black people and Asian people who could work in these centres. That's the way the money should be spent. That's the only way I see hope because if you get the money coming in over the top, through white managers and white officials, the community's going to resist it. There must be discussion and consultation with the local community.



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problems of income support for young people

KENNETH COOKE

This article discusses a number of problems which arise in the system of financial support for young people over school leaving age. In some cases these problems are inherent in the individual benefits themselves but other problems arise from the incoherent and perverse relationships between one benefit and another. The article argues that current arrangements are incoherent in terms of administrative aegis, equity, purpose and in the status which they implicitly accord to young people.

Increasing levels of youth unemployment and particularly the review of benefits for children and young people which formed part of the Fowler social security reviews, have focussed attention on benefits and allowances for young people over minimum school leaving age. Criticisms have not only focussed on the inadequacy of some individual benefits but also on the complexity and perversity of the interactions of one benefit with another. Consequently there have been calls for much greater rationalisation to remove inequities, extend the options open to this age group and increase the freedom to choose between them. The purpose of this article is to explore a number of problems that arise in current arrangements for financial support and some of the suggestions for reform.

Essentially there are three sets of benefits: a set of benefits for the unemployed, paid to the young people themselves; the Youth Training Scheme allowance, also paid to the young people themselves; and a set of benefits paid to parents to maintain 16-19 year olds as their dependants, principally to facilitate education beyond minimum school leaving age.

First, let us consider each of these benefits or sets of benefits independently and then assess the extent to which, taken together, they constitute a coherent and equitable system.

Benefits for individual groups

Unemployed teenagers

People in this age group who have previously worked and paid sufficient national insurance contributions may receive unemployment benefit (UB) for up to 12 months (currently £28.45 in 1985/86). More often, unemployed teenagers do not have enough national insurance contributions and so receive supplementary benefit (SB). From the 1982 **Family Expenditure Survey**⁽¹⁾ we know that only about a quarter of unemployed teenagers receive UB, compared with 56 per cent who receive SB.

Those who live in their parents' households as non-householders receive (1985/86) £17.60 per week in SB if aged 16-17 and £22.45 if aged 18-19. Since April 1984 teenagers living at home have ceased to receive the standard non-householder's rent addition. Until then, unemployed 18-20 year olds living in their parents' household received a notional addition in respect of rent of £3.10. In April 1984 this was discontinued but parents who themselves received housing benefit (HB) were cushioned from the impact of the change by a corresponding increase in the amount of housing benefit they received. In the case of parents not on HB, the withdrawal of the national rent addition amounted to a straight reduction of benefit received by the household. According to a survey carried out by the Child Poverty Action Group this caused considerable hardship.⁽²⁾

Trainees

The MSC has operated a series of short-term employment/training schemes in recent years, the most significant of which has been the YTS. The scheme is available for those up to 20 who have been unemployed for at least six weeks. It is to be extended with effect from April 1986 to guarantee places for two years to all 16 year olds and for one year to all 17 year olds.⁽³⁾ An allowance of £26.25 per week is paid (directly to the trainee) which is tax free and requires no deductions for national insurance contributions.

YTS trainees are not regarded as being in work and so technically are not excluded from receiving SB. However, because most live in their parents' household and the training allowance is higher than the non-householder rate of SB, the majority do not qualify. Curiously, in view of the fact that they are not regarded as being in work, trainees with their own dependent children may, depending on the level of other income, claim family income supplement. The parents of the YTS trainees automatically lose child benefit for them, presumably because the trainees are treated as non-dependent adults.

Teenagers staying in education

Higher Education students are entitled to a mandatory award, means-tested normally on their parents' income but paid directly to themselves, and their parents cease to receive child benefit. Teenagers who stay on at school or in FE are regarded as their parents' dependants, and so parents continue to qualify for child benefit. They may also receive some additional support in the form of a discretionary LEA award. LEAs administer two kinds of award

which vary considerably from authority to authority. Education maintenance allowances (EMAs) are to help parents to support the cost of keeping a young person in full-time education at school after 16. LEAs are under no legal obligation to operate an EMA scheme, and indeed some do not. They may also have minor award schemes for young people in full-time education but not at school. Both awards are means-tested and LEAs have the freedom to determine which families should receive them and how much they should be worth.

A study⁽⁴⁾ carried out by the Child Poverty Action Group concluded that policy varied considerably. Some LEAs had raised their expenditure on discretionary awards in response to rapidly rising levels of youth unemployment while others had significantly cut back on these awards along with other reductions in expenditure. Their findings indicated that in 1981/2 the average EMA was £5.25 per week (maximum £7.59) and the average minor award was about £7.00 per week (maximum about £9.00). So depending on circumstances, including where the family happened to live, the average amount of support could have ranged from £5.25 per week (child benefit alone) to about £14.00 per week in the most generous authority.

Where the parents are not in work, the position is likely to be different. Non-working parents on SB with children who are still in education receive dependency additions which are higher than child benefit: £14.30 per week for 16-17 year olds and £18.60 for 18-19 year olds when CPAG's survey was carried out; currently (1985/6) £17.30 and £22.45. If an EMA is in payment, £7.50 of the award is disregarded (ie. can be received in addition to SB) and if a minor award is in payment, £9.00 of it is disregarded. (The difference in disregards reflects the non availability of free school meals to children not at school).

A number of studies have attempted to assess the adequacy of these levels of support. Piachaud⁽⁵⁾ has attempted to estimate the financial cost to the family of keeping a young person in full-time education, rather than work. To estimate the cost of a child remaining in education, the author took into account the costs of maintenance (including food, clothes and pocket money), the contribution of child tax allowances, (still in existence when the study was carried out), family allowance and any educational award or grant received and an estimate of the forgone contribution of the child to the family's income. The conclusions of the study were that, at the crucial age of 15-17, the costs to low-income parents of keeping a child at school were proportionately greater than those faced by higher income families. Thus the pressures to leave school were most severe among the group who were already under the highest pressure to leave full-time education.

A number of empirical studies have suggested that substantial numbers of young people do respond to the financial incentive to leave school at the earliest opportunity. A study carried out by Fulton and Gordon⁽⁶⁾ which took as its point of departure the pilot scheme announced in 1978 by the then Secretary of State for Education (Shirley Williams) for a statutory EMA for post-16 year olds, concluded that in a sample of 1,100 school leavers, 56 per cent might have stayed on with a grant paid to themselves and 50 per cent with a grant paid to their parents.

More recently, the National Conference of Parent-Teacher Associations has completed a study⁽⁷⁾ which indicated that in July 1983 about 20,000 young people left school despite being capable of benefiting from further education. The report suggested that an allowance equal to that paid to YTS trainees and given directly to the young people themselves could help to contain the numbers of academically able young people who leave school at the earliest opportunity.

Further evidence of school leaving for financial reasons has been provided by Wedge and Essen's work⁽⁸⁾ based on the National Child Development Study. These empirical findings are in sharp contrast to the aspirations of the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Education in 1981, who told the House of Commons: "We believe that it is important for young people to stay on in education for as long as they can".⁽⁹⁾

Coherence

To what extent do these benefits collectively form a coherent system? Provisions for this age group have been variously characterised as a 'mess' by the Fabian Society,⁽¹⁰⁾ piecemeal, arbitrary and incoherent by the Civil Service Unions,⁽¹¹⁾ 'anomalous' by the Under-Secretary of State for Education⁽¹²⁾ and a 'tangle' by the Minister for Social Security himself.⁽¹³⁾ Cohen⁽¹⁴⁾ starkly asserts that Britain has no coherent policy for youth, merely a fragmented collection of programmes and provisions in different service areas.

Administrative cohesion

One of the most apparent sources of fragmentation is in the physical location of policy making and service provision, divided as these are between different departments of central government (DES, DE, DHSS), local government and a quasi-government agency (MSC). One concomitant of this administrative fragmentation is the principle that one agency does not subsidize the expenditure of another. Burghes and Stables in their study found that both EMAs and minor awards tended to be paid up to about the maximum which is disregarded for the calculation of SB entitlement.⁽¹⁵⁾ A higher award would be taken into account, and therefore reduce the amount of SB payable - and amount to a local government relief of central government expenditure to the amount of the excess.

Equity

It is difficult to sustain the view that the system treats different groups equitably. There are clearly very marked disparities in the extent of financial support, and therefore incentives, attaching to different options. Some of these differentials may be considered equitable in the sense that they promote desirable choices - for example the YTS allowance is set at a higher rate than the single person's SB scale rate, and may be justified by a desire to make the training option attractive in relation to continuing employment. Yet there remain serious inequities which seem difficult to justify, for example between the support attaching to training and that applying to continuing education (other than higher education).

The pressure to leave school and forgo further academic qualifications in favour of immediate financial considerations (but at the expense of a long-term earnings potential) has already been mentioned. The introduction of YTS, with its original £25.00 training allowance, led to some speculation that this might also create a considerable exodus of

young people out of full-time education. However, Ryan⁽¹⁶⁾ concludes, on the basis of year by year comparisons of the proportion of young people staying on at school and especially the lower than expected take-up of YTS places, that YTS itself is probably not a major force attracting people out of full-time education and other evidence supports this view.⁽¹⁷⁾ Nonetheless, in a formal sense at least, this does not invalidate the view that the relationship between support for education and support for training is inequitable.

Status

There is also little consistency in the status accorded to 16-19 year olds, who inhabit a curious administrative no-man's-land between dependent childhood and independent young adulthood, as Brown⁽¹⁸⁾ has suggested. Child benefit and EMAs are paid to parents but UB and SB are paid to the young people themselves. However, SB is paid at the non-householder rate, which indicates some continuing support from parents. YTS allowances are paid at one rate to the young person regardless of household status. Thus, a person of 16-17 may be regarded, depending on the circumstances, as a dependent child, a partial dependent or an adult. The survey of attitudes to benefits carried out by Social and Community Planning Research⁽¹⁹⁾ indicates that teenagers' perceptions of their status are strongly determined by the extent of their financial dependence on their parents. The survey found almost total agreement between parents and young people that benefits should be paid to the young people themselves.

The government's view of the status of 16 year olds was expressed in 1982 by the Secretary of State for Employment (Norman Tebbit) who said:

The government believes that 16 year olds should be regarded as dependent on their parents rather than on the taxpayers. Certainly I can see no reason why (they) should be rewarded for opting out.⁽²⁰⁾

However, for older people, the position is much more ambiguous. The social security Green Paper⁽²¹⁾ proposes to abolish the distinction between householders and non-householders in income support (SB), but to pay a lower rate of benefit to all under 25s because the vast majority live as non-householders, mostly in their parents' household. This might be construed as a move to entrench the young unemployed as dependants in their parents' household. Recent changes in the regulations governing payments for board and lodging for young unemployed people under 26 might equally be thought to be designed to force them back into their parents' household (or discourage them from leaving).

However, recent developments in housing benefit have been said to promote the division of families, even where young people and their parents wish to live as one household. The withdrawal of the notional rent allowance from young unemployed people living at home has already been mentioned. Since April 1983 there have also been changes in housing benefit affecting households with a young adult in work. With some exceptions, the amount that a young working adult is assumed or at least expected to be contributing towards the household's rent (and therefore deducted from the parents' HB) has risen markedly, as follows:

	16-17 year olds	18-20 year olds	21+ year olds
	£	£	£
Nov. 1982	-	4.55	5.90
April 1983	-	4.55	6.55
Nov. 1983	-	5.55	6.55
April 1984	-	8.20	8.20
Nov. 1984	3.30	8.80	8.80

These increases were carried through in the face of strong criticism from the Social Security Advisory Committee, which argued:

We think that it is entirely right that non-dependants living in a beneficiary's household should be expected to make a contribution to housing costs. We are concerned, however, that these increases have gone beyond what is fair and realistic, and that there will be circumstances in which it is not reasonable to expect the non-dependant to pay a contribution of as much as £8.80.⁽²²⁾

Cusack and Roll have attempted through a small survey to assess the impact of the assumed contribution to housing costs from working teenagers. Their conclusion was that: "the consequence .. has been severe hardship for both parents and children in some families, and also, ironically, an eruption of family strife even where none existed before".⁽²³⁾ The authors report some surprise and disbelief on the part of parents in the face of what appeared to be an encouragement to evict their children (and so increase the amount of HB they received) if they were unable to afford the additional housing costs and the children could (or would) not make the contribution which they were unable legally to enforce. But some of the most trenchant comments concerned the underlying view of family life. One respondent commented: "I do not **charge** my children anything. They give me their keep: they are not lodgers, they are my sons".

Purpose

There is also obscurity of purpose in the relationship between different benefits and allowances for young people. Consider, for example, the role of discretionary education allowances. Brown⁽²⁴⁾ has attempted to discern what value is inferred for post-16 education. The existence of EMAs and the continuation of CB beyond 16 suggest a high value in principle, but the low level (and, indeed, disappearance in some authorities) of EMAs tends to contradict this. The SCPR survey of attitudes⁽²⁵⁾ indicated that most parents and teenagers in the sample regarded the difference in the level of support for staying on at school and for unemployment an unjustifiable anomaly.

In a more direct way, the '21 hours rule' in SB runs counter to the principle of the promotion of post-16 education. Unemployed young people who wish to study part-time are able to do so and continue to receive SB provided that the course lasts only 21 hours a week or less, **and** they are prepared to give up the course immediately a suitable job is offered **and** they have been unemployed for at least three months immediately before beginning the course. Albeson remarks that:

A complaint frequently made to CPAG by puzzled and confused teenagers and parents has been that whilst the government seemed happy to pay young unemployed people to kick their heels at home doing nothing, it put every obstacle in their way if they wanted to fill their time usefully by improving their job qualifications.⁽²⁶⁾

The '21 hours rule' presents a particularly severe obstacle to summer school leavers. Summer leavers cannot obtain benefit until September, and so the three month qualifying period means that they cannot begin a 21 hour course until December - but most courses start in September, not December. Young people leaving YTS schemes, by contrast, are not required to serve the three month qualifying period, and so can begin a course immediately. The '21 hour rule' is also another striking example of the principle that one agency does not subsidize another. Only under very restricted circumstances will DHSS provide financial support for part-time education.

Conclusions

There is clearly much to justify the assertion by *The Economist* that for young people "the welfare state is a game of snakes and ladders".⁽²⁷⁾ The benefits and allowances that currently exist are, in some cases, grossly inadequate to perform their designated function, inequitable between groups in largely similar circumstances, have little by way of coherent underlying principles or view of the position of young people in society, and indeed are in certain respects perverse and self-contradictory in the sense that the objectives of one part of the system are subverted by another.

Perhaps more than anything the incoherence and inequity of current provisions argue in favour of a standard allowance for young people, and there have been recommendations for such an allowance. The House of Lords Select Committee on the European Communities for example, has recommended that teenagers should receive a standard basic 'wage' regardless of whether they stay in education or begin work as trainees. The Select Committee comments in its report:

One immediate advantage of this approach would be to discourage a student or trainee from taking decisions about his future based primarily on immediate financial considerations.⁽²⁸⁾

In view of the administrative fragmentation of responsibility for this age group it is perhaps hardly surprising that the outcome has been disappointing. Unlike, for example, the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain has no central department responsible for the family, still less for youth, so there is no single department to perform a co-ordinating role, and in the current administrative structure of competing departments, no single department has the incentive to take the role upon itself. Review and reform, where it takes place, does so within departmental boundaries, as has been the case with the social security Green Paper proposals.

The most recent government initiative to create a general youth benefit foundered on such inter-ministerial rivalry. In 1981 it appeared that the Conservatives were considering a standard youth benefit for 16-19 year olds in education, training or on a special employment scheme.⁽²⁹⁾ To create an enhanced benefit for those in education at no extra cost would have required youth employment benefits and training allowances to be cut, and although the scheme was supported by education ministers it was opposed by the Employment Secretary - and by early 1982 had been dropped.

In view of the likelihood of continuing financial restraint in the immediate future, perhaps the best hope lies with proposals to remove the most serious inequity and the severest

hardship which appears to be experienced by poor families with children staying in post-16 education. The pilot scheme announced by the then Secretary of State for Education in 1978, and which fell with the general election, has already been mentioned. More recently, Burghes and Stagles⁽³⁰⁾ have developed and costed proposals for a standard, mandatory scheme of financial support for 16-17 year olds in full-time education, equal to the value of the YTS allowance and not means-tested, which might be an important step in the right direction.

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life skills and social education

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Life skills and social education as commonly practised in relation to young people contain an implicit restrictive philosophy. In this article, Batsleer outlines that philosophy and suggests an alternative liberating philosophical foundation for social educational practice.

There is a sense of panic in many schools, colleges and youth centres. Schools are attempting to adjust to the realities of Technical and Vocational Educational Initiative (TVEI). Colleges are grappling with YTS and Certificate in the Pre-Vocational Education (CPVE). Youth tutors and youth workers are struggling to maintain a sense of identity in the face of new 'Lifeskills' programmes. Group work, negotiated learning and skill ownership tussle with traditional academic practice, particularly where non-GCE bands in schools are concerned. Yet the response to the basic questions, posed so sharply by Davies in *In Whose Interest?*, is curiously muffled. He suggests that "the absence of any explicit commitment to certain fundamental values and to certain primary aims" must be tackled.⁽¹⁾ This article is an attempt to explore the fundamental values and primary aims of developmental social education, by indicating how it must conflict with the ideology of 'personal effectiveness.' It is therefore philosophical rather than practical. All our practice is informed by theory, however inarticulately, so it is better that our philosophy becomes explicit. Philosophical argument should not however be read as an attack on the attempts at good practice of the many youth workers and teachers who work on MSC schemes in schools or outside, or on teachers who are working with group work methods and developing a new curriculum in schools. We need to strengthen our attempts at good practice with an explicit philosophy, a clarity of aims and a clarity of understanding of the position of young people. The philosophies of 'personal effectiveness' and 'lifeskills' do not appear to offer this.

The rest of this article, which focuses on the book *Lifeskills Teaching*, by Hopson and Scally,⁽²⁾ analyses elements of these philosophies and offers an alternative perspective. I begin with a sense of the history to which we are heirs.

Personal Effectiveness Training... where from?

Personal effectiveness training can be seen in some ways as the latest in a series of 'educational' attempts within schooling to meet the criticism that the education system is failing to provide equality of opportunity to working-class children. Following compensatory education, there came the

ROSLA curriculum, and now there are the variously named 'lifeskills' programmes, occasionally 'topped-up' by 'multi-cultural' approaches to education. The curriculum of 'lifeskills' commonly amalgamates health and contraceptive education, leisure activities, money management, as well as the ubiquitous 'jobsearch skills'. A young person who experiences 'lifeskills' at school, attends a youth club, and enrolls on a two year Y.T.S. scheme is almost guaranteed to have learned, every year for five years, how to fill in application forms with finesse and how to present themselves at interview.

The history of attempts to find 'relevant' education for the lower (majority) bands tells only part of the story, for since the late 1970's a sea-change has occurred. Its name is mass-unemployment. Mass unemployment - and the effects of political and economic strategies which do nothing to combat mass unemployment - this is the determining condition in which all young people experience the last years of compulsory schooling and their lives after the age of sixteen. Last year, *Youthaid* estimated that half the country's under eighteen year olds and one in four of the under twenty-fives, were out of work. More than 330,000 had been out of work for more than a year.⁽³⁾ Unemployment is the **one** truly comprehensive experience currently on offer to Britain's young people. In this context, the attempt through TVEI and YTS to create a 'bridge to work' is an attempt to tackle mass unemployment by disqualifying a whole social group of young people from employment. 'Youth', now meaning everyone under 26, is a political category. YTS creates a 'bridge to nowhere' for about half the young people on the schemes - a 'quality training' for a future that does not yet exist. The Government's economic and welfare benefits strategy is effectively making YTS a compulsory programme. YTS is then cited by the same Government to counter accusations of neglecting the rising generation of citizens. After all, as Mrs. Thatcher so succinctly put it, in December 1984: "Young people ought not to be idle. It is very bad for them. It starts them off wrong."⁽⁴⁾

At the same time, the policy makers conception of the skills which young people lack is shadowed by a fear of the stropiness and willingness to question which so many young people possess. Early MSC guidelines on social and lifeskills training specifically excluded the consideration of topics "related to the functioning and organisation of society in general". And, in fear of the dangers of 'idleness' that could 'start us off wrong', the minister responsible for YTS, Peter

Morrison, stated in 1983:

The scheme is not a social service. Its purpose is to teach youngsters what the real world of work is all about. That means arriving on time, giving of their best during the working day, and perhaps staying on a little longer to complete an unfinished task.⁽⁵⁾

He might have added - that also means depressing your expectations, learning to accept low wages and very few prospects of permanent, let alone fulfilling employment.

In this depressed and oppressive climate, 'personal effectiveness' has been suggested as a hopeful way forward. It is seen as hopeful by many who are well aware of the failure of the traditional academic curriculum and of the traditional 'darts and disco' curriculum of the Youth Service. Yet, precisely because of that continuing history of failure, we need to elaborate a better and more adequate philosophy than 'personal effectiveness' offers.

Individualism and self-concept

"There is always an alternative and we can choose."⁽⁶⁾

"People are primarily responsible for what happens to them."⁽⁷⁾

"People must not feel guilty or be made to feel guilty because they do not have a job."⁽⁸⁾

Such comments as these, taken from Hobson and Scally, and many others like them are constantly recurring statements of belief in the repertoire of lifeskills. Their appeal is rooted in the challenge they seem to offer to the fatalism of 'there is no alternative' which the present social and economic climate engenders: the sense that things are awful, but they have to be this way, there is nothing that we or anybody else can do about it.

Yet this very celebration of personal freedom fails to acknowledge that young people's freedom to develop and act is essentially highly limited and restricted by mass unemployment. The absence of work and lack of money places **real** limits on freedom. It may simply be a limit on freedom to travel, to develop self-expression through music, clothes or the other pleasures and creativities of youth culture. It may be, more basically, the lack of freedom to become independent of parents - to move away from the parental home and live as an independent adult.

It is a truism that there is always an alternative and we can choose: young people with little money have a choice of which television channel to watch, or between watching television and 'dossing' on the streets. They may even have a choice between 'creative use of (enforced) leisure' and passive acquiescence, though social psychologists suggest that the longer unemployment persists, the more difficult it becomes for an individual to make such choices. As long as the major real alternative, permanent paid employment is not on offer, it is fundamentally deceitful to suggest that "people are primarily responsible for what happens to them." Our ability to act as responsible for ourselves exists in sharply circumscribed limits.

If the limits of 'personal effectiveness' are not made explicit, then our education will fuel the process in which young people blame themselves for their unemployment (which becomes known, in a subtle shift of meaning as 'unemployability'). It is indeed true that people must not be made to feel

guilty because they do not have a job. As youthworkers, trainers and teachers, we contribute to that sense of guilt and failure if our education suggests:

- perhaps if I'd concentrated better at school, I'd have a job now.

- perhaps if I'd filled in that form better, I'd have a job now.

- perhaps if I'd been cleverer, or politer, or more co-operative, I'd have a job now.

Perhaps all these things are true, but it is equally if not more important to grasp that unemployment among young people is a reflection of social priorities. Public policy and private capital in the end determine the number of jobs available to young people. Education creates employment for the teachers, not the learners. The number of places in the 'youth army' of the unemployed is not determined by young people, nor is the number of places in that army diminished if tomorrow it becomes an army of fully 'personally effective' individuals.

At the heart of much effective educational group work, there is an alternative philosophy which is not individualist (but which recognises individuals' needs) and does not hold individuals primarily responsible for their own position. Its roots are very ancient, in Jewish wisdom. Its modern form is found in socialist and co-operative movements, and in Trade Unionism. It is summed up in the question 'Am I my brother's keeper?' and in the answer 'Yes, and an injury to one is an injury to all.' In this account of human beings, social being precedes individual being. Human beings are only able to be human **socially**. It is through social co-operation that our individual capacities are able to develop. This is fundamentally opposed to the view that 'In the end we are primarily responsible for ourselves'. Instead, the claim is: 'in the end, we are primarily responsible to and for one another'. Currently, the latter philosophy finds little expression within social education, perhaps because it leads to awkward questions about the nature of mutual responsibility and collective injury. To ask the question: 'why is this injury being inflicted on a part of our social being?' must lead with unseemly haste to the question of power.

Power comes from within....

We see 'liberation' being very much about autonomy and responsibility, but also sensitivity to others and the promotion of their liberation. We think it is also about developing the skills of each of us which will allow us to **acquire, preserve and use** that liberation in whatever situations life brings to us and others.⁽⁹⁾

Here, liberation is no longer a process, but a possession, and the circumstances life brings to us is an historical backdrop. Both power and liberation are personalised and depoliticised. Although Hopson and Scally are here citing the political and educational theories of Paulo Freire, whose work and writing has formed the basis for the development of mass literacy programmes in Central and Latin America, they do so in a way which accomodates Freire's revolutionary pedagogy to the dominant British social order. For Freire, liberation and literacy are indissoluble: the true meaning of literacy is a power in language which enables us to understand our lives and become the subjects, rather than the objects, of historical process and change.⁽¹⁰⁾ People can be taught to read without becoming literate in Freire's sense. If reading is limited to allowing people to fulfil certain

pre-given social functions more adequately, rather than enabling a collective grasp on social reality and the processes of social change, it does not constitute literacy. So, learning to fill out a voting slip without understanding the power of the vote, learning to fill in a claim for benefit without asking questions about the Benefits system, learning to 'sign on' for work without questioning the absence of work opportunities: all these are denials of literacy, in Freire's sense.

The above activities, devoid of reflection, do however constitute **Lifeskills**: a term whose ugly usage in Thatcherspeak succeeds in diminishing both 'life' and 'skills'. For the implication of being deemed below average in 'Lifeskills' is presumably, to question whether 'life' is a suitable vocation. Literacy, in Britain, is another lifeskill seen as an **individual** function. 'Liberation', in the sense that Hopson and Scally use the word, is seen as a process of **individual** empowerment within a society whose structures are essentially fixed. The content of the word 'freedom' is sharply reduced to mean a choice between already existing alternatives.

This is shown very sharply when the individualist philosophy of lifeskills touches on domestic life, leisure and gender roles. Its effects on one subordinated group, women, can serve as a pointer to the ways in which the philosophy elides issues of social power, to the detriment of other subordinated social groups.

The age has passed during which people could define their identities simply in terms of the job they do. Both sexes must now be concerned with maximum fulfilment from the variety of roles they play.⁽¹¹⁾

The problem of being a girl and growing up a woman is it seems our lack of awareness of our 'lifescipt'. If we become aware of the script then,

From that awareness comes the freedom to choose whether to stick to the script or to change it. True freedom comes with the determination freely to restrict ones alternatives'.⁽¹²⁾

To a woman whose consciousness has developed very much at odds with her lifescipt, this sounds like a very old song set to a new tune. The problem of being a woman is not solved by becoming aware of the choices we have, choosing and sticking freely with the decision. The problem is the restricted range of alternatives. A woman who chooses freely to marry young, to work for low wages, to have children and take sole responsibility on a day to day basis for housework and the care of young children and sick, elderly relatives may well have weighed her choices carefully, but she is not experiencing 'liberation', any more than is the young person who freely chooses a YTS place rather than stay in the dole queue.

Destinies are not wholly, or even mainly, determined by self-concept. Powerful social forces, quite independent of ourselves, shape our lives. For women, the common patterns of marriage; the common patterns of what a man may expect of his wife; the common patterns of women's employment, low paid and part time; the common patterns of political representation; the common patterns of violence; all these shape our lives. There is indeed a power in all of us to challenge these restrictions. However the power we are up against is exercised publicly and corporately through systems, such as employment practices and marriage laws, as much as through individuals. If the power which restricts

freedom is social, then education for empowerment must be social and rooted in our belonging to a group currently without power (for example 'youth'). Striving for a redistribution of power is a condition of individual freedom and development.

Self-empowerment is a social process. There are examples of this process all around us: from the young people who begin to take real responsibility for their club away from adults and for themselves, through the mothers who organise mums and toddler groups to combat isolation; to examples of nursery and hospital occupations to protect services, strikes to protect jobs, workers' plans and workers' co-operatives. To say, as Hopson and Scally do, that "first and foremost we depower ourselves", simply makes no sense. Young people unable to find employment on leaving school do not "depower themselves". They are depowered by an economic system that all but denies them the means of life. It is always the case that:

The more people take charge of themselves and their lives, the more likely it is that they will work to empower others and develop empowering environments in which all people can live, work and play.⁽¹³⁾

If this is inevitably true, we are forced to assume that those who hold the reins of power in Britain currently are simply not in charge of themselves and their lives, and **this** is why they fail to create environments which empower others. In fact, the opposite seems to be the case. The present Government is fully "personally effective" and the motto seems to be appropriately Victorian:

It matters not how strait the gate
How charged with punishments the schroll
I am the master of my Fate
I am the captain of my Soul⁽¹⁴⁾

and the destructive results of such philosophy become clearer by the year.

In contrast, true education for liberation begins by facing squarely the current social inequalities of power. It is a process which begins now but cannot end for any of us until the social systems of power change. It is a process which

- recognises the reality of existing power structures;
- identifies how individuals, as members of social groups, (such as working-class young people) are being marginalised and offered highly restricted choices;
- allows members of groups currently dispossessed of power to explore a common situation and name their desire for development and change, to find a voice for their discontents and to discover how these desires could be fulfilled and these discontents assuaged.

Skills ... for what?

The third element of "personal effectiveness philosophy" which needs careful attention is the notion of skills. Many writers have noticed the irony of promoting 'job search skills' in a period of chronic mass unemployment.

There will be chronic unemployment judged by traditional norms and values. The implications for education are clear: people will need to be trained in how to cope with unemployment psychologically; they will need job-hunting skills, self-motivating skills, knowledge of how to get information on retraining opportunities, government grants and schemes and further and higher education opportunities.⁽¹⁵⁾

And there will have to be jobs for the graduate boys and girls in providing such training. The cynically, but accurately named unemployment industry starts here. Those of us employed in that industry must therefore be particularly scrupulous in examining our practice, our 'professionalism', our motives, and in particular our notion of skill.

Before MSC - speak and 'transferable skills' in 'occupational training families', the debate about 'skill' was largely about the exclusion of women and black workers from certain industries in which 'skilled work' was highly rewarded, and about the devaluing of certain skills for example, looking after people, which are strongly associated with women. This debate, which is still of major importance, has largely been deflected by the view that unemployment is caused by a lack of flexibility and adaptability in the workforce. There is mass unemployment, the argument now runs, because the British workforce does not offer the right qualities for prospective silicon-chip based industries of the future (a classic case of 'blaming the victim'). Therefore the argument runs, we need to be re-skilled. Young people, above all, must be skilled in ways that school and family have hitherto failed to achieve. Without new skills, they cannot expect to command a wage. Enter the M.S.C. Enter CPVE, TVEI, YTS, 'core skills', 'transferable skills', 'can do profiling' and, above all, lifeskills. 'Life' equal 'skills' and developing these skills means 'personal effectiveness'.

It is often claimed that this redefinition of skill and learning is of benefit to young people, especially academically 'less able' young people. Instead of being GCE failures, the same young people can become profiling successes: **can** write name, **can** speak clearly, **can** make tea and so on. Success will breed success.

Yet the often expressed view from many young people is that all this is a 'con'. This view needs listening to and should not be dismissed simply as media brainwashing and the influence of backward looking parents. After all, for years young women have been trained in the 'transferable skills' of domestic work and this has yet to be economically recognised. And young people entering YTS hoping to 'learn a trade' - in printing, in building, in plumbing - find that their ambitions to learn a trade thoroughly and well are cut short. For the point is not apparently to learn a trade, as they had hoped, but to gain the 'transferable skills'. No matter that to learn a particular trade thoroughly and well has traditionally been a great motive to personal development. Nor has the training in 'core skills' noticeably offered a challenge to destructive sex and race stereotyping of skill. The great majority of female trainees are still to be found in the 'distribution', 'office skills' and 'caring' sectors, and far too few black trainees are to be found in the prestigious Mode A schemes.⁽¹⁶⁾

Lastly, there is a tendency to remove a definition of 'skill' from an existing social context and thereby, unselfconsciously, to overvalue professional middle class skills:

Knowing how to service your car will not empower you as much generally as knowing how to make relationships quickly. Knowing how to throw a pot will not help you as much through life as knowing how to be assertive.⁽¹⁷⁾

Unless you can regularly afford to pay a mechanic, knowing how to service your car may be a greater means of freedom than knowing how to form relationships quickly. Limited

travel is limited experience. How the value of 'skills' is assessed depends very much on your social position. The skills that the current training and re-training opportunities stress may be highly desirable to current and prospective employers, though even that is uncertain. In a democracy, in an educational process, there must be more at stake. Young people's sense of a 'con', older workers sense of the loss of the old skills, teachers unease with the 'new curriculum' - all these point to a sense of collective de-skilling of a class, rather than its empowerment.

The process of determining the skills we need and educating one another in them is essential to the process of social education, and the skills we need are certainly wider than the cognitive and deductive skills of the traditional academic curriculum. Some of the skills we need are passed on informally and semi-consciously - how else do we learn the different meanings of love? - but they cannot be systematised into behavioural strategies. They **can** be made conscious, nurtured and valued. Some of the skills we need, such as democratic methods of working in groups, negotiating, collective bargaining, gaining knowledge to increase power and advocacy, are neglected and marginalised in current life-skills programmes. Some skills, the immensely valuable practical skills traditionally associated with craft apprenticeships, are in the process of being lost to an entire generation. Yet it is these which have traditionally enable to 'take pride in their work'.

As teachers, trainers and youthworkers we must continually ask: what is the value of this learning for the young people we are working with? If the skills we teach do not enhance young people's experience, do not increase their collective ability to participate in a democracy, do not create the conditions for self-development, then no amount of training in 'job seeking skills' or 'using your leisure time effectively' will disguise the tawdry second-bestness of our offerings.

A better practice....a better philosophy

There is a strong democratic strand in youth work which is focussed on the developmental needs of young people: their personal, social and political needs. This philosophy of social education needs re-stating and developing. Most recently, and in my own experience, it has been youth work with girls and young women which has revitalised this movement. In order to highlight important differences from 'personal effectiveness' philosophy, and in an attempt to develop a philosophy from good practice, I intend to conclude this article with a brief sketch of the importance of girls work to youth work.

Girls work - starting with groups empowers individuals

As it becomes increasingly obvious that 'mixed' group work and 'mixed' club work is excluding young women, women youth workers have established girls' nights, girls' days, girls' weekends and girls' projects. As a result of this collective action, individual young women have gained access to activities they were not previously able to take part in. The most mundane examples are among the most important. Girls learn to play snooker and play well (in the face of all-male coverage of snooker on television). a 'woman's right to cues' syndrome develops. Through collective experience, individual young women learn to say: 'I can do that'.

Girls work - starting with the here and now

On the whole, women workers involved with girls' groups

do not begin with a sense that young women 'lack' skills which they need to be taught. The curriculum of girls' work has developed as a result of women and girls meeting together and discovering common aspects of their lives : common difficulties, common joys - and also discovering 'common differences' (between 'slags' and 'virgins') and common divisions (of race and class) - that can be discussed and explored. Because of the dominant social expectations of femininity, themes focussed on our bodies, our health, sexuality, relationships, children, lack of freedom, lack of opportunities, adult expectations, parental expectations: all these can and do emerge. In this context, the process of understanding, naming, challenging and exploring power relationships begins. It is the task of the worker to share in this process and to assist the group in its own naming of the problem of being a woman, the problem which Betty Friedan once said "has no name".

In this process, many of the methods of group work so well described and promoted by among others Hopson and Scally will be used. But it is not the group work method alone which enables the process. In a mixed group, the same methods could easily find the same young women embarrassed, silenced and marginalised. In a girls' group, the inherited dynamic of male dominance and female subordination is removed; in such a group, a young woman can begin to become an individual.

From such groups, an explosion of powerful utterance has come that puts the 'functional literacy' of 'lifeskills' to shame: young women have made music, written stories and poems and published magazines, expressing and communicating their sense of identity and challenge to the adult world. From the women's movement, and directly from such group work, the slogan 'Girls are Powerful' was born.

Girls Work - the Skills we need

Youth workers developing work with girls and young women have repeatedly emphasised the need for positive action (sometimes called positive discrimination) to challenge the neglect of young women's human potential. Like the 'Lifeskills trainers' we have called for a reevaluation of 'skill'. There, on the whole, the similarity ends.

First, there has been a recognition that traditionally 'male' practical skills - like driving, motor bike and car maintenance, plastering and woodwork - are intrinsically valuable and should not be socially restricted to males.

Second, there has been a recognition that traditionally female skills - like cooking, sewing, letter writing and caring for people - are valuable, have been socially and economically undervalued and can be used for ourselves as well as in service to men.

Third, there has been an emphasis on practical skills that enable young women to live a fuller life in a society that is still deeply inimical to female independence. Hence the emphasis on assertiveness training and self-defence workshops which allow young women to explore their real fears of violence together and to attempt to overcome these fears practically.⁽¹⁸⁾

A process of social education, with a commitment to certain fundamental values and certain primary aims.

Overall, the emphasis of girls' work has been on a process of social education which begins with the realities of young women's lives, validates their experience and extends their education and opportunities. This hopeful practice suggests a philosophy of social education very different from that of 'personal effectiveness'.

1. A social rather than an individualist ethic: 'standing on your own two feet' as an aim of youth work practice fails to acknowledge the reality of all our needs for mutual support and for interdependence. In the end, **we are all responsible for one another**. We either exercise that responsibility by perpetuating hierarchy, division and inequality, or we seek to develop a co-operative way of working.
2. Social education encourages the development of individuals as members of a social group in which each assists the development of the other. We have seen the effects of the dominant codes of 'social education' in which brutalism and competition are encouraged. The powerful social education in codes of 'self-sufficient' masculinity conducted by the mass media during the Falklands War, (GOTCHA), the crude racism and chauvinism that accompanied it, the Victorian distinctions between the 'deserving' (new entrepreneurial) and 'undeserving' (Benefit scrounging) poor find their effects in a violent street and football terrace culture which our masters then condemn. As social educators, we must educate our political masters and our style of working will be one which enables you people to express and interpret their experience in a way which assists their development. In this process, all the media of communication and art will be of primary importance. A social education curriculum which does not include **expression and communication to educate others** is unlikely to be developmental. Equally, it must include political education and education in political strategies at its core.
3. Social education recognises that the realities of power are material and economic as well as psychological and spiritual. It therefore must be a **partisan** education, and enable young working-class people - who are currently a powerless group - to challenge the current inequalities of power. This will certainly involve complex negotiations on the part of youth workers, for it may, in certain instances be their own employer whose power is being challenged: particularly in the case of a Local Authority. Mark Smith has written eloquently on this subject in **Questions for Survival**.⁽¹⁹⁾
4. Social education recognises that the processes of democracy and liberation are only beginning. It is impossible to transfer Freire's pedagogy from the context of revolution in dictatorships to a Western European capitalist democracy. In Britain, the struggle to protect and extend representative democracy has been seen historically by powerless people as a means to power, and it is essentially through developments of this struggle - in delegated democracy and participatory democracy - that social education will work. The skills we need are the democratic skills of group work and collective action which will enable young people to negotiate with the more powerful groups which determine their conditions of life.

The primary aim of developmental youth work and of social education is therefore to enable young people, through mutual co-operation, to extend and enhance the opportunities that are open to them, recognising that 'the free development of each' can only be sought through 'the free development of all'.

If such philosophies seem unrealistic and out of tune with the times, perhaps that it is all to the good, when the times are so bad for so many.

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democracy and control in community education

RON KIRBY

This article is a reflection on my close involvement with community education in two contrasting situations: first in the early development of the much publicised Sidney Stringer School and Community College in Coventry (1972/75) and secondly in the Carlton Centre, a community project in Kilburn in the London Borough of Brent (1976/79). The article is inspired by the fact that while as Tony Jeffs suggests, "the community school bandwagon appears to be unstoppable"⁽¹⁾ much that has been written about community schools amounts to authors blowing their own trumpets in a somewhat uncritical key. The community school is but one form of community education and whilst it has much to offer it is important to question the claims made for it and ask who benefits from this form of provision.

Community education arrived in the 1970's. It came from various directions. The Plowden Report and work in educational priority areas (EPA) particularly that of Midwinter, drew attention to the need for a relevant curriculum and sought to close the gap between school and community. The Russel Report high-lighted the need for adult education to be more flexibly organised to meet the needs of a larger section of the population. How this might be done was demonstrated by various projects notably the development work undertaken jointly by the W.E.A. and the EPA Project in Liverpool. The Fairbairn and Milson Report 'Youth and Community Work in the 1970's stressed both the community orientation of youth work and the youth worker's role in political education, "young people would be encouraged to play an active part in a society which they themselves will help to mould."⁽²⁾

Finally, perhaps the most significant development was the of the multi-purpose campus. In the 1970's the site shared between school, youth club and adult education became a 'multi-purpose hybrid monster' with developments such as the Abraham Moss Centre in Manchester and the Sutton Centre in Mansfield. For the first time Henry Morris' ideas which inspired the Cambridgeshire village colleges came to be applied to urban areas.

If the idea of community education has come to age it clearly means different things to different people. What is seen as a method of working by the teacher or youth worker can be taken up by the planner under the banner of the rationalisation and efficient use of resources so, in effect, the bureaucratic paw creates community by building plant and calling it a community centre regardless of whether it serves any

definable neighbourhood. The institutionalisation of community education can therefore contradict its very aims and purposes. Effective community education demands that the teacher, youth worker or adult educationalist is aware of the social context in which they operate. It is fundamentally democratic insofar as the educator seeks to start where the people are, to work with them rather than for them. The skills of the community worker become more appropriate than those of the traditional authoritarian teacher.

Rather than a source of unquestioned knowledge the teacher becomes an enabler creating a learning situation which by definition must take account of the local context. The adult educationalist becomes concerned with more than pinning a programme on the door and counting the course fees but becomes involved in the affairs and needs of the locality. Similarly the youth worker must be more than a caretaker and custodian working with young people in isolation. Yet many of these developments have come to be regarded as good practices without any particular policy of community education being applied. Indeed many schools may be more 'open' and more involved with the community than institutions which choose to call themselves community schools. Community-based youth work and adult education thrive in areas where the notion of a Community Education Service is not part of official policy, whilst authorities which claim to have a Community Education Service simply retain traditional adult education and youth workers under a meaningless community umbrella.

In some authorities the concept is moving towards what David Marsland describes as "a new ideology for the whole education system". He writes:

"The strongest and boldest concept of community education offers it as a symbol and rationale for reconstructing and re-organising the whole of the education system with a local authority area. It claims to provide justification, style, method and coherent objectives for a modernised, rational, democratic, educational service for the community as a whole. It's as if the organisation and spirit of the comprehensive school were massively diffused to incorporate all higher and further education, all secondary and primary education, adult education, leisure provision, the Youth Service and much more."⁽³⁾

The antecedents of this new ideology can be found in the work of Henry Morris who states, "The integration of modern communities is likely to come about by organising them

around their educational institutions"; and "The great task of education is to convert society into a series of cultural communities".⁽⁴⁾

Midwinter has developed the nearest thing to a blueprint for Local Authorities in his book **Education and the Community**. In his scheme the teacher becomes the steward and con-venor of the total educative community is a system which extends from the cradle to the grave. It is significant that the cover of Midwinter's book has education at the hub of a wheel, with homes and families, religion, factories and offices, in fact the whole range of social activity forming the spokes. Educationalists are fond of the idea of their own importance.

Marsland criticises the ideology of the total system of community education as "a fairly loose idea, certainly not a coherent ideology as yet, and a long way short of constituting an adequate basis for a rationally defensible public policy." He rejects it as an "administrative device, a way of giving a tidy appearance to complex realities" and something which will lead ultimately to domination by the schools.⁽⁵⁾

Midwinter's version seems clear enough but what worries me is its monolithic nature and the fact that it amounts to an imposition of something which by definition cannot be imposed. Midwinter writes in confident terms about community control of the system but as Marjaleena Repo points out, "the problem with the concept of community control is that it is a thoroughly amorphous concept, unclear and vague, ill-defined and wobbly like a huge marshmallow."⁽⁶⁾

Midwinter's version of community control leaves power firmly in the hands of professionals. They form a majority in his proposed Community Education Board and whilst he may claim a professional relationship 'wherein' "the chasm between professional teacher and lay parent or citizen should be narrowed by a partial 'deprofessionalisation' of the former and the current 'professionalisation' of the latter", it is hard to believe this will result in any real shift in power.⁽⁷⁾

As Michael Newman comments in **The Poor Cousin** his excellent study of adult education he noted that stripped of their pretensions many projects which claim to give an education service for the whole community often amount to unadventurous exercises in parent education. If we were really serious about parent education and giving parents an opportunity to run schools, they would be given leave from work and be paid to train and participate.⁽⁸⁾

Even given a situation where an informed parent and lay representative could participate in their Community Education Board it would appear that major policy decisions in Midwinter's system will be made as now by the Education Committee and Local Authority Administration. At most it would seem that Midwinter should be talking about consultation and participation. Community control has political and economic implications which are not considered in his analysis.

Whilst as Midwinter regrets, no local authority has yet organised its entire education services as a system of community education, some have gone some way towards it by creating community colleges. The community college is the biggest investment that authorities have made in the idea of

community education and whilst research on their performance is still limited there is evidence to suggest, as Jeffs argues, that whilst the "Economic case for joint provision may well be sound, in educational terms the investment appears to be far less than expected."⁽⁹⁾ Community colleges attempt to integrate the secondary school, adult education centre, youth work and other community activities. The large complexes, such as Abraham Moss and the Sutton Complex contain other provision such as libraries and social services offices. The theory is that the whole is greater than the sum of the parts. The close proximity of activities allows for innovation and greater exploitation of educational potential.

Flude and Parrot see Community Colleges as "front-line institutions" important forerunners and foundation stones of a recurrent system of education in Britain. They represent the major attempt so far to introduce a flexible education service able to cope with change.⁽¹⁰⁾

Other writers have not been so convinced of this ability to cope with change and respond to community needs. In his research on the Leicestershire Community Colleges Hutchinson suggests that they have not appealed to as wide a cross section of the community as hoped and that there may be a need to organise some adult education activities outside the community college structure.⁽¹¹⁾

The Youth Service has particular doubts as Jeffs details in his account of "**An uneasy marriage: Schools and the Youth Service**". Along with adult education the youth provision is seen as being subordinated to the school. Thus community education becomes: "a fundamentally conservative notion", one whereby adjustments might be made to the community in order to minimise change within the school. The youth club is integrated into the school so as to enable the school to exercise a greater measure of control over the leisure activities of its pupils and to give staff the opportunity to reinforce school discipline through the development of informal relationships.⁽¹²⁾

The result is that the community college cannot become the focal point for the whole community as Robert Aitken, Director of Education for Coventry, amongst others, had hoped.⁽¹³⁾ The architecture and ethos of the school determines that the community college is likely to serve a narrower class base. The integration of the youth club with the school will mean its rejection by many young people. On the other hand for those who accept the community college programme there is, as Henry Morris suggested: "no leaving school - the child would enter at three and leave the college only in extreme old age."⁽¹⁴⁾

The fully integrated participant in the school community enjoys as Jeffs suggests:

"...an almost total environment, one in which the working day is regulated by the school timetable and their evening and weekend leisure activities are organised by the youth tutor and his or her staff. A number of community schools even provide evening meals for their pupils to save them the 'unnecessary' journey home for food."⁽¹⁵⁾

Thus far from closing the gap between school and community it can be argued that 'essentially a contrived and controlled environment is provided' that hinders rather than encourages self realisation. Perhaps instead of the optimistic

forecasts of the Local Authority administrators we should be reaching for Goffman's work on total institutions to aid our understanding of the community college.⁽¹⁶⁾

Sidney Stringer School and Community College from its inception like the Cathedral and shopping precinct, was to be a showpiece for Coventry. The Director of Education Robert Aitken, had his own version of the Henry Morris vision. He wanted a people's palace with "beer, bingo and belly dancing."⁽¹⁷⁾ He describes his concern at the rapid growth of Coventry's population and suggests that community colleges will combat loneliness in the city. Major policy decisions are thus based on naive assumptions which were not shared by the supposed beneficiaries. Aitken's vision was not that of the people of Hillfields. Residents fought unsuccessfully against the demolition of their houses. There were protests that half of Primrose Hill Street, the main shopping street in Hillfields, was being demolished to make way for school tennis courts. Far from seeing the community college as the place to combat their loneliness the people of Hillfields refused to be fobbed off and continued to battle for a community centre of their own despite the fact that the LEA used the existence of Sidney Stringer Community College as an excuse for not funding it.

Other interest groups also had doubts about the package with which they were being presented. Half of the school pupils were of Asian origin and their parents were concerned at the prospect of their children travelling to a city centre area which they associated with sex cinemas and prostitution. It is highly likely that given the choice they would have wanted their children's schools to remain at the Broadheath and Frederick Bird sites, the two secondary modern schools that combined to form Sidney Stringer. Ironically Sidney Stringer's catchment area extending some two and a half miles out from the city centre, meant that it served several distinct neighbourhoods and made the development of on-site community activities difficult. Commenting on the Leicestershire Community Colleges Hutchinson writes, "Upper school college development should not obscure the importance of maintaining and extending a network of local centres at village and neighbourhood levels on the lines of what has already been done, in the establishment of community centres."⁽¹⁸⁾

Some community colleges do attempt to de-centralise resource provision. Indeed during my first year at Sidney Stringer, as a matter of policy, I worked much of my time in Foleshill which was in the north of the catchment area at the furthest point from the Community College campus. However the decision to put so many resources into one site limits what is to be done elsewhere and the tragedy is that people who become involved in their immediate neighbourhood tend to be picked as useful community representatives in the main plant. It is possible of course, for community colleges to be planned with sensitivity to local needs. An extensive process of community consultation took place before the community complex at Sutton-in-Ashfield was built. Yet community participation rarely comes at the beginning of a project. The grand ideal is in danger of imposing a pattern and reducing local initiative. The words of Geoffrey Holroyde first head of Sidney Stringer, seem appropriate:

"Well, I would like to think the policy is pretty well established. You know the staff can't be consulted on the really fundamental issues on which the thing was originally established. If you're a sailor you don't have a

choice of whether the ship's a carrier or a destroyer if it was laid down long before you were appointed."⁽¹⁹⁾

If the staff could not expect to be consulted on fundamental issues then what hope had the people served by the institution who were more remote from the decision-making process. The management of a community college of 1900 school pupils, an unspecified number of adult users and a staff of 210 is a complex process. The new Head arrived with little experience of education but substantial management experience with British Leyland. He introduced a management system based on his experience in industry as the Open University Case Study quoted above reveals, on many counts Holroyde's organic style of management was successful. It succeeded in encouraging creative work from the staff and maintaining a degree of purpose and unity which seemed unlikely given that many of the staff drawn from the original secondary modern schools were doubtful about the new project. The feeling of purpose was of course bolstered by the Head's ability to create a good public image; the Open University cameras, visiting local authority administrators and numerous academics completing theses persuaded the staff that they were involved in something important.

Holroyde can be congratulated for charting a way through the various constraints upon him. The basis of a good school was established. Writing for a book published in 1983, Arfon Jones present Head of Sidney Stringer is able to note:

"Today, the school has very little truancy, no violence in the classroom, a low rate of vandalism and an atmosphere that many visitors describe as warm and happy with excellent relationships between staff and pupils. The examination results are also good. While there is no obvious statistical causal relationship between any of the characteristics of progressive education promoted within the school and the present level of success, there is no doubt that the combination of these factors within the context of community education are at its foundation."⁽²⁰⁾

Jones attributes this success to the competence of professionals. The vast majority of the people who lived in Hillfields and Foleshill he argues, would not have accepted the progressive education that brought success had they been in a controlling position. I have no quarrel with the claim of success although the juxtaposition of the harmony of 1982 with the tension and violence Jones claims existed in 1972 is overstated. The vast majority of Sidney Stringer's pupils came with a positive attitude to school and whilst it is situated in a multi-cultural inner city area the tensions were not as extreme as those I experienced in school in Hackney and Brent. Sidney Stringer was meant to be more than a good school. Its aims were:

1. To raise the level of consciousness of the people who live in the area.
2. An enterprise seen by residents as theirs; which has their interest at heart; in which they feel welcome and secure.
3. It was to be a community centre managed by the residents for their own benefit with as little interference from the professional as possible.

In view of the vision of Aitken, the managerial objectives of Holroyde and the faith that Jones displays in the primacy of professional intervention, one must doubt that these aims were ever more than the rhetoric of a progressive Labour

Council. Jones could be right in his argument that it was necessary for the senior professional staff of the institution to decide the way forward but his case cannot be proved. Holroyde stated in 1974, "I think the interesting thing over the next two to three years is to see how the community can take a bigger share of what goes on"⁽²¹⁾ It may be that with the confidence of having established the school successfully Holroyde's management style and undoubted ability would have enabled him to arrive at a situation where the community took a bigger share although there are doubts, as I shall demonstrate later, as to what a 'share' might mean. Jones replaced Holroyde as headteacher and there is something of a self-fulfilling prophecy in his position.

In an unpublished paper written in 1972 '**The Community School Worries me a Little; or How do you give Power to the People?**' he points to the dangers of the "respectable working class man getting his kicks from the various management and committee-based structures". Rather than a sense of partnership Jones advocates the classical social democratic solution, the firm professional hand on the tiller. This professional hand in the early development of Sidney Stringer takes the form not of needs assessment as one might expect of an institution committed to community education but of objective setting by management. The objectives set out in the original Sidney Stringer staff manual and reproduced in the Open University text are quite clearly Holroyde's. They reflect his style and his class position. There is the same paternalistic approach as one finds in the writings of Henry Morris. In no sense are the objectives those of the community however construed. The framework for participation is set. It could be fairly argued that in opening a new institution Holroyde had to start somewhere and his objectives may change with exposure to other ideas and influences. However, there are clear limits in Holroyde's schema to the function of participation. He distinguishes between the 'professional autonomy' which he allows members of staff at Executive Team level with participation at other levels, "At other levels participation largely takes the form of collective consultation. Its purpose is to improve communication and increase motivation."⁽²¹⁾

This statement must be borne in mind when one considers those made concerning community participation:

"Participation has been planned at all levels: community, staff and pupil. Its underlying purpose at community level is to spread responsibility for management to the very people served by the organisation; considerable responsibility for the use and upkeep of the plant, raising and spending the money and initiative for community development has been invested in those local people served by the enterprise."⁽²²⁾

Given that Holroyde saw participation as an extension of his public relations exercise, "to improve communication and increase motivation", this statement can only be seen as an attempt to incorporate the community. The areas of responsibility are little more than the traditional parent-teacher association with emphasis placed on fund raising. Limited power is being carefully bestowed; in no way do the users of the institution become involved on their own terms.

The Government of School and Community Colleges in Coventry was to be achieved through a School and Community Association and Governing Body. The Education Committee minutes note that a School and Community

Association "would in effect combine within it the roles of the Parent-Teacher Association, Students' Union, Staff Association and Community Association, etc." Explaining this rubric to school pupils and community users was no small task. The Governing Body of the School and Community College "would in effect be the executive committee elected by the association plus members nominated by the local education authority." In early proposals representatives from the School and Community Association formed a majority of the Governing Body but revised drafts swung the balance in favour of LEA representation. The possibility of the Association being overruled by the Governors was thus built into the system. Powers even of the Governors were limited to the interpretation of policy at the institutional level. Significant issues like the appointment of Heads and Deputy Heads remained the prerogative of the LEA.

Within this limiting framework members of the Community Activities team at Sidney Stringer worked to set up a School and Community Association consisting of a council which debated and voted upon major issues and sub-committees to consider school affairs, resources and finance, youth, leisure and sports. Apart from the difficulties of involving local people in this large and complex structure community workers at Sidney Stringer were not free to work in the kind of open way a community education approach would demand. They were directly responsible to the Head in their day-to-day work. The form a Head's control would take is illustrated in the following quotation from the Headmaster of a community college to a member of the community staff in 1977:

1. It is to be clearly understood in your work with the community association that one of the guiding principles upon which you operate is to establish a harmonious relationship with all members of the Board of Governors.
2. That as professional staff employed by the LEA you should not find yourself as part of your professional duties in a position where you are advising, either verbally or in writing, members of the community association to take up a negative or destructive attitude to your employers."⁽²³⁾

There are no prizes for guessing the identity of the headteacher in question here! The range of issues and constituents that the worker could engage with are clearly restricted by this statement to those which aid the service delivery of the institution as its hierarchy defines. Clearly any group of pupils, parents, youth club or adult users who opposed the institution could not expect community work support in formulating their demands.

Institutions like Sidney Stringer it can be argued, actually reduce the amount of control groups in a given neighbourhood may have over their affairs. Where adult education, youth work, playgroups and other activities are not tied to an inevitably bureaucratic structure it is possible for local people to exercise far more control of the smaller units. Further the presence of the school will be the dominant factor and will mean that the LEA has statutory duties and therefore a legal obligation to keep control.

Legal authority is vested in the Head who retains a power within our school system which hardly finds parallel in other institutions. Sidney Stringer is no exception, the Head's authority is merely extended over a wider range of activity. Despite the appearance of a participatory system the Head could and did impose arbitrary, authoritarian decisions. Hol-

royde for example, unhappy with the working and clientele of the youth club and following a report from Arfon Jones the Deputy Head, which stated. "The problem, for adult and sporting activities, is the youth problem," decided to close the club in order to introduce a new policy which would be based on his notions of useful activity. The effect of such a policy would have been to narrow interest in the youth club to those young people prepared to accept this approach. However the key issue here is the way the decision was made and it is useful in analysing this to not the exact wording of Holroyde's statement as it appeared in the Sidney Stringer communication sheet. It reads:

"Last evening I took one of the most difficult decisions since taking the Headship of Sidney Stringer. The decision was taken to close temporarily the operation of the Senior Youth Club at Con Street... The decision was taken with the full support of Allen Clifford, Adviser on Youth and Community, and last night I spoke with the Director on the phone and have his agreement. The intention is to rebuild the youth scene with a programme of activities for young people... In this we hope to be assisted by many people and agencies, with the active support of parents. The social club and its refreshments will be seen as a support service to the activities programme, perhaps largely run by parents, and the working relationships with the youngsters will grow as a result of their participation in clubs and activities. I wish to recognise publicly the contribution by the team in the Youth Wing working exceptionally long hours with utter dedication and I hope they will enjoy building a new youth scene in the second phase of Sidney Stringer's development."⁽²⁴⁾

Here then was a major new policy, "the second phase of Sidney Stringer's development" created overnight by the Head. Support for his decision is sought not from the community but from the Adviser and Director of Education. The parents whose labour after a hard day on the Chrysler assembly lines is being so charitably bestowed had not been asked whether they wanted to spend their evenings with their teenage offspring. The "working relationship" sought is simply a euphemism for more control over the activities of young people.

The development of youth policy at Sidney Stringer demonstrates the tendency of community colleges to accept groups that fit in to what management define as the correct value system and highlights the concern that writers as ideologically diverse as Jeffs and Marsland express, that in effect youth loses out. Jones' defence of professional control is that it is the professional who will ensure that resources are directed to those most in need. In this discussion of what he describes as "the youth service" within Sidney Stringer, Jones distinguishes between those activities which occupy "their rightful place." Kubbudi in the gymnasium would be followed by 'The Women's League of Health and Beauty'. to be followed by badminton practice. Security was created because ethnic groups selected their own times and activities."⁽²⁵⁾

The youth club failed to fit into this neat scenario. For a start it was multi-racial. It attracted West Indian, white and a small number of Asian youth, many of whom would be branded as rejects and failures by traditional school norms. As such the club was typical of youth clubs in the mid-1970's. Membership of the club did not reflect the ethnic balance of

the school's population since 50% of school pupils were of Asian origin and only 10% West Indian but looking at it in terms of the total resource provision of the community college the balance could be defended - the youth leaders concerned were addressing themselves to real need. Whilst they were not involved in the club in any great numbers Asian youth were heavily involved in sports and cultural activities which were part of the community college programme and there were specific times set aside for an Asian girls' group. Holroyde's genuinely held concern was that the youth club should work with a wider range of young people in a highly structured way. One of his suggestions was setting up a model railway club. The Head's experience in working in an inner-city multi-cultural setting meant that he sometimes failed to understand that not all young people could be jollied into getting their scout badges. To be fair Holroyde responded positively to the protests of staff and to a meeting with youth club members and the youth club was re-opened after three days.

Whilst arguing that the youth club staff were right to work with what Jones himself described as dissident and disenfranchised young people, the problems of doing so in a community college setting cannot be glossed over. Mistakes were made, notably running Saturday night discos which attracted as Jones suggests, youth from as far a field as Leicester and Birmingham. Discos certainly met a need but as experience elsewhere has shown the response can be overwhelming. But the discos were not the youth club which opened during the week for young people from the local community. The implication of Jones' criticism of the clientele of the discos, which were set up as a fund-raising venture, is that the resources of the community college were not being directed to the local community. Yet he fails to mention in analysis that his own examples of activities which occupy "their rightful place" were hardly representative of the catchment area. The Women's League of Health and Beauty and badminton groups were not overwhelmingly supported by local people. The central position of the community college made the squash courts a handy port of call for businessmen and the college retained a traditional Further Education programme which again appealed more the middle-class Coventry. All these activities made money for the LEA and implied none of the threat of disaffected youth. The use of resources hardly vindicates the faith of Jones in the ability of professional management to direct them to those most in need.

Other writers whilst acknowledging the difficulty of running a youth centre in the middle of a community college complex, have been prepared to work with those difficulties. Thompson for example, in a very frank and useful account of the Abraham Moss Centre states:

"The realities of placing a school or youth centre at the heart of the operation means that unlike most of their kind they are exposed for all to see. Young people behaving in an 'untidy' fashion sometimes impinge on the adult consciousness in a way which provokes disapproval. But the lesson here is not so much that the setting should be an adult one and young people should conform to the adults' wishes and desires but rather that real learning can take place for everyone in coming to terms with the facts that adults and young people alike have needs, that sometimes those needs are in conflict and, therefore, issues need to be resolved."⁽²⁶⁾

By definition this spirit of compromise is not possible for Jones who in a somewhat blanket condemnation argues, "The youth service in England may have contributed to the alienation of parent and child, often by emphasising a concept of ethnic cultures as it applied to young people from a West Indian background, which in truth had little connection with reality."⁽²⁷⁾ He goes on to praise Gujarati and West Indian 'Bookstrap' classes for the group cohesion they engender by operating with values akin to those of the parents. The implication is that the only correct youth work in Jones' view is that which supports parental attitudes and the status quo. That would be in complete contradiction with the philosophy of community education outlined earlier. Youth workers do not invent the tensions involved in growing up in the 1980's but if they are to work effectively with young people they cannot simply ignore their existence.

The reprieve of the youth club at Sidney Stringer was only temporary. Jones succeeded Holroyde as Head and the youth club was moved from the main building. Jones' own objectives for the youth service, outlined in his policy document 'Stringer into the Eighties', have a nineteenth century ring, "The Youth Service and the Faculty of P.E. should together foster self-respect through sport, striving to bring out individual excellence with which the youngster can identify, but without neglecting the recreational and physical needs of all". As Jones explains, "The strategy has two objects: not sporting endeavour and exertion to keep young people off the streets or to tire them sufficiently so that they do not vandalise property, but rather to achieve personal and group success: to help understand and cope with failure." The ideas might belong to the nineteenth century but they seem tailor-made for Thatcher's Britain.

A major failing in the social democratic tradition has been its distrust of ordinary people. The professional solution has always been the preferred one in social engineering. The Welfare State is imposed on people by those who believe they know what is best. The rhetoric of community education offers something different and its practice in some areas offers the possibility of partnership with the professional. There are examples of community primary schools and community projects where considerable progress has been made. The scale of the primary school makes a community focus far more feasible. My own faith in the possibility of an effective democratic structure, which will enable a community to control an institution and regard it as theirs, is based on my experience at the Carlton Centre. The Centre was a very different proposition to Sidney Stringer. A Victorian school building, tall and surrounded by iron bars it was in many ways the last place one would choose to develop community facilities. The London Borough of Brent had no community education policy in 1976 but the local people fought for the building and an action committee was set up to develop it with the help of Urban Aid. Tension existed between the Local Authority's plans for future use of the building as an Adult Education Centre and the local community's demand for facilities in an area which consisted of high rise flats and very little community provision. I was appointed a Manager of the Centre by the Local Authority but seconded to work with the local Management Committee. That Committee was able to formulate its own constitution and plan the development of the Centre which was to include initially an Advice Centre, Pensioners' Area, Bar and Social club, Playcentre and Nursery, and later crafts and drama facilities. The ideas for the Centre's use developed by the

original action committee were tested by a one in ten survey of the fairly well defined neighbourhood of South Kilburn. Conducting the survey itself was a useful communications exercise and in the six months whilst building work was taking place a community newspaper was established and the first of a highly successful series of Carlton Centre Festivals was held. The Advice Centre proved to be the hub of the building and significantly it changed its name to 'Information and Action Centre'. People who initially came to the Centre with housing problems or because their electricity had been cut off frequently became involved in other activities. Thus the Centre was able to grow organically. A variety of groups formed, notably for example, a Handicapped Children's Group which started when two mothers came into the Centre concerned about the treatment they and their children received at a local hospital. From this initial encounter a large support group developed with interests ranging from the provision of play facilities and holiday playschemes for the children to action to improve health service provision. Groups ran their own affairs supported by the community workers at the Centre. More formally organised classes arose out of group interest and the Centre provided tutors in such areas as Irish Studies, Welfare Rights and Women and Health. The Management Committee was sufficiently representative and flexible to play a co-ordinating role whilst enabling the needs of individual groups to be met within the limitations of the Centre.

Progress at a community centre is not of course made in isolation and as Manager I was often thrust into the position of go-between for the Local Authority and Centre Management Committee. Brent's Education Department was situated in Wembley in the north of the Borough. The North Circular Road acted as the great divide and amongst education officers there tended to be both a lack of understanding and indeed a fear of happenings in the 'inner city' south. The strength of the Management Committee of the Centre was vital in negotiations with the Authority and indeed I took the education of officers who were unfamiliar with dealing directly with the community to be an important part of my role. When the architect put forward his plan to paint the whole of the inside of the building in 'seafoam', an institutional off-white, he found to his surprise and dismay that he was dealing with a group of people who had very definite ideas about colour schemes. He sent his colour adviser to one of the most ribald yet productive meetings I have attended. The results were not to everyone's taste but at least the victorian building became rather more welcoming. The Crafts Adviser found that the Centre's Management Committee would not accept that pottery could only be done on the ground floor and eventually a perfectly satisfactory pottery room was established in the crafts area on the top floor of the building. From its initial planning through the development of its activities the Centre was fortunate in having a group of people who could give considerable time and energy to their project. Thus advisory staff appointed to the Local Authority found themselves answerable directly to the consumers.

The Carlton Centre had acute problems but they were not caused by its democratic structures in the way that Jones describes in relation to Sidney Stringer as much as by the environment and wider political situation with which it attempted to cope. Of course there were strong individuals associated with the Management Committee and no doubt power seekers but the dominant value was one of construc-

tive partnership with the professional workers which enabled a great many disadvantaged people to make use of and participate in the control of the Centre. A careful balance was maintained some people would argue through my manipulation as the Manager. As the size and strength of the professional staff grew (by the time I left there were twenty-six people employed at the Centre as playleaders, community workers, nursery teachers and support staff). So maintaining the balance became more difficult. As at Sidney Stringer there was a danger that professionals would do what they thought was best for people rather than work out with groups what was best. There were also problems of continuity. In an area of high-rise where no-one wants to live the most able and active people will also be those most likely to get themselves a housing transfer or to embark on buying a house in another area. Community workers burn out too. In a Centre that was open from 8 a.m., when the Nursery opened, until 10.30 p.m. when the bar closed demands on staff are high and I have a lingering regret that I left after three and a half years when there was still much to be done. The Carlton Centre though and centres like it, will always remain marginal to the lives of the majority of people in the areas that they service. Unlike the people of Hillfields, with regard to Sidney Stringer, the community may have fought for it but in effect they are presented with a sop. The building itself was ill-suited to its new purpose but even the most well designed purpose-built centre would have had little impact on the social conditions of the area. The Carlton Centre of itself could not regenerate South Kilburn as some local councillors seemed to expect any more than Sidney Stringer could regenerate Hillfields.

Conclusion

"From each according to his abilities to each according to his needs." (Karl Marx Critique of the Gotha Programme).

The pessimistic tone of the last paragraph should not be taken to mean that community education is irrelevant; it can clearly contribute to social change. But which way forward? The Carlton Centre is not a school. It deals in the more marginal world of community activities and this was a major reason its Management Committee was able to gain considerable freedom of action and control.

As Manager I co-ordinated the Centre's activities but in close liaison with the Management Committee and having more of the power and authority associated with that of a head of school. The paternalistic, centralised style of management which characterises most schools and certainly existed at Sidney Stringer would not have been appropriate. Yet there are clear advantages to the community college approach in terms of the efficient use of resources and above all, the evidence suggests that a community education approach does make school more civilised and relaxed places. Whilst in the present economic climate fewer people's palaces are likely to be built, the same economic stringency will encourage authorities to make full use of school premises by placing other activities within them. Being part of a larger entity does not, as we have seen in the last few years in Leicestershire and elsewhere, give financial security to the non-statutory areas of community education. In times of economic stringency then the statutory commitment to school will come first and staff and resources will be switched from community use to school. Indeed present structures as are seen in the case of Sidney Stringer, tend to dictate the values under which community education takes

place and those values are hierarchically determined. The ideas of Morris converting society to a series of cultural communities may have been suitable for Cambridgeshire but they are less appropriate to the social diversity of urban areas of the 1980's. The challenge is to create democratic structures within community colleges.

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feature review

BY MARION LEIGH

WOMEN - THE HIDDEN MAJORITY

Dale Spender

INVISIBLE WOMEN - The Schooling Scandal

Writers and Readers Publishing Ltd.,

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G. Ashworth and L. Bonnerjea (Editors)

THE INVISIBLE DECADE -

UK Women and the UN Decade 1976-1985

Gower Publishing Ltd.,

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WOMEN AND THE COMMUNITY 1983-4 -

A Review and Bibliography

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The problem of the invisibility of women is two-fold. Women are invisible to men **and** in social policy, except in highly-specific roles related to men. Women are also invisible to each other. The invisibility of women and their issues, the reasons for this invisibility, how invisibility is achieved, its function and its effects on women and young women are the subject of two of the books reviewed here and implicit in the review and select bibliography the third publication. **Invisible Women - The schooling Scandal** and **The Invisible Decade** add considerably to our knowledge of the processes by which women and young women are rendered invisible. Dale Spender shows us clearly how institutional processes work at the personal level, and **The Invisible Decade** gives us the facts - socio-economic, legal, cultural - laid out in logical and damning succession. Together these books provide the meat for policy makers and practitioners concerned with equality for women and young women. Separately, either can provide an invaluable critique of the state of gender relations in UK 1985.

Youth work is somewhat short on the kind of textual analysis of process which Dale Spender offers. She provides an analysis and translation of what happens to girls which is as applicable to youth and community work as it is to the formal education settings from which she draws her material. Schooling here can certainly be read with its wider meaning of socialisation. Her words leap off the page with such impact that I found the book compulsive reading. There is a flash of recognition at every point; my own childhood vividly illuminated, the words and experiences of women and young women with whom I work, or the struggles of women as teacher or youth worker, all are there and accounted for.

The passivity of young women is the focus of both negative and positive attention in youth work. The chapter on what happens to girls in classrooms analyses in lively detail the way in which young women are taught to be invisible and to take second place to boys. Spender first points out that research⁽¹⁾ shows that most teachers prefer to teach boys and that they know boys better as individuals.... 'One teacher listed the names of all the boys in his class and gave details of some of their interests and abilities and finished with - "And the rest are girls"'. The greater attention which is given to males reinforces their sense of their own worth. At the same time it both perpetuates ignorance about the experience of females and of females as individuals whilst also proving to young women their own unimportance and lack of worth.

Questions about equal opportunity in the youth field can evoke a hurt assurance that 'here we know what the problems are and we make sure that girls are treated equally'. This might overcome some of the effects just referred to, were it not for another factor to which Spender draws attention. She identifies the persistence of view amongst staff that they treated girls equally even where the empirical evidence showed that this was not so. To make matters worse, as she points out, even where the problems were understood and staff set out to give as much time to girls as they did to boys they still gave only 38% or less time to girls **but thought** that they had given girls more than half their time and had been compensating them. This points to a need for much more substantial in/service training and over a more sustained period that is even envisaged in the youth and community field. It also raises questions around the issue of co-education.

The arguments for comprehensive education subsumed gender within class and certainly for someone who was teaching during that period, the evidence of the damaging divisiveness of a tripartite system were overwhelming. One benefit of the UN Decade of Women which is the subject of **The Invisible Decade** is that evidence of the importance of gender is now available. In youth work, as long ago as the mid-sixties there was of course concern about the way girls were losing out, and there were some attempts to deal with this, including a project on Girls and Leisure conducted by Jalna Hanmer who is a contributor to the **Invisible Decade**. There are some projects and special provision for girls but the arguments about 'separatism' rage fast and furious, and the underlying premise is that mixed settings for youth work are the preferred norm.

Yet the discussion of the problems this causes for girls is not new. Florence Howe in 1976⁽²⁾ observed that there were only two roles available to young women in mixed settings - to be 'silly, or silent'. She was referring to schools but the same is observable in youth and community settings and so far as they and the adult world is concerned to those would be added 'pretty'. One social mechanism by which subordinate roles are justified is that of the victims as culprit....as in 'women are their own worst enemies' and 'all girls want is boys anyway'. Stanley Cohen in **Folk Devils and Moral Panics** identified the mechanism with reference to young men in 1972. Irene Payne and others in **Learning to Lose** relates it to young women.⁽³⁾ There is no doubt that the denigration of young women and women as deserving of their own invisibility and deprivation is a significant factor in

its maintenance. As Harriet Taylor and John Stuart Mill pointed out a century and a half ago, in order to be the slaves men required, women had to be willing slaves. There is some telling material in **Invisible Women** on how compliance is still a significant factor and the fact that beauty 'contests' are still held in the youth and adult world and that women youth workers and women do not universally object is illustrative of that same fact.

The combination of low status, of learning to lose and accepting that it is your fault, coupled with compliance also has its effect on boys and men, as the following extract illustrates....

Interviewer: Who would you least wish to be like?

Male pupil: I don't know, let's see (sorting through cards with names of classmates) Oh, one of the faceless bunch I suppose. They seem so anonymous. Probably one of the gagging girls, lets pick one, Linda, she's ugly. Yes Linda.

Interviewer: Is that because she is ugly?

Male pupil: No, but she seems so immature, she doesn't contribute much to the class. She stands for everything I dislike.
(Stanworth, 1981; p43)

....and so the circle and cycle of deserved invisibility continues since the route to status and some power is through men, so that girls do not want to be like girls either. The same research which produced the above revealed the negative way in which being female is viewed by young women. Spender concludes....'Girls are disliked for being non-entities, for being colourless, passive and docile, but they are equally disliked for being individuals and claiming attention, for 'speaking out' too aggressively and 'hogging the limelight'. (p64)

In the light of this it is hardly surprising that Spender argues for the need to develop alternative ways of working with girls. She also points out that it is not an unequivocal support for single girls. As has been argued in youth work⁽⁴⁾ such provision needs to be rooted in a new curriculum and not merely replicate the values and constituents of the dominant and male-determined one. She concludes that in the absence of single-sex provision she would settle for single-sex opportunities for girls where the subject of male domination can be tackled. That such attempts in youth and community work and in schools should be largely invisible to each other is illustrative of the way in which women are divided by social organisation and institutions and to understand why this is so it is necessary to turn to the socio-economic explanation with which **The Invisible Decade** is concerned. Before doing this however, a few further pointers from Spender.

The circles of invisibility are powerful constraints on attempts to provide alternative settings and provision for young women and are supported by the hostility which such attempts meet. Since they challenge a social system which hinges on the male role of controller of females, resistance is to be expected. It is expressed by men in ridicule, in illogical argument, in put-down and aggression through to bullying and covert and overt threats which are the every-day experience of women engaged in such work in mixed settings. Since an immediate reward for giving up the struggle is the approval of the power group, some inevitably give up, as they are also most likely to be carrying a double burden; of

paid and unpaid work, or in the case of volunteers, unpaid work at home and unpaid work outside the home. Resistance may also be met by women who have internalised male values of competition and of young women's place in society as servicing. There is also some anger at the loss of opportunity which co-education is perceived to have brought for girls, and this too can be blamed on 'feminists' by those who fall into the 'victim as culprit' trap.

It is here that the need for the support of women by other women is so apparent. Such groups and networks have a visibility problem which is directly related to the imbalance in resources identified by Spender, in **Invisible Decade** and in youth and community work with young women and women is explainable in part by the need to deal with hostility. As Spender points out, this needs to be backed up by women's centres and colleges which provide the history, the arguments and the support for development - the tendency is for the loss of even such centres or colleges as exist. That this is not possible in existing settings in any thing other than a marginal way is supported by the arguments advanced in both books. I would argue from experience of the project on which I am engaged that such provision is long overdue in youth and community work. Much present in-service training is excellent but it is scattered and episodic. Specialist centres with a remit for in-service training on work with young women, to develop a non-sexist curriculum and to provide appropriate staff development would begin to support the practice and training in both single and mixed-sex settings, which at present is diffused and struggling against the predominant mode with inadequate resources. The present provision cannot begin to meet the needs of the hidden majority.

The strength of **Invisible Women** lies for me in its textual analysis. This is used to good effect and a similar treatment of material from youth work and community work settings would be valuable. But such as there is likely to come from short-term projects and women on short-term contracts so that impetus and history is lost again and again. Based in the personal and individual, Spender lays bare the social relations, rules and realities as experienced by young women and shows exactly how they and the provision for them is made 'invisible'. I recommend this book and **The Invisible Decade** as compulsory and complementary texts for all who are involved in any way with youth and community work.

A Womens Centre could produce the materials and information which are at present so few and far between. **Women and the Community 1983-4** by Frances Presley is a Review and Bibliography which is a welcome contribution to resources. It is constrained in what it can cover by its remit, which is to collate relevant material from the Community Project Foundation's two-monthly digest - **Community Currents**. It collates from the 83-84 publications and a regular annual repeat is promised. The material is collated under such headings as Education and training, Health, Media and the arts, but also includes sections on Youth and Black Women. It also contains a list of publications scanned and this alone makes it a useful resource. I looked in vain for work on harassment, on rape crisis, self-help health centres or on the peace movement - all community activities with which women are concerned. Perhaps the recently-formed womens caucus within ACW will increase visibility in an organisation which I identify with radical action and practice.

The introduction, although somewhat bland in tone, still presents a rounded picture which manages to include what could be regarded as the main constituents of a picture of women in the community so far as recent history is concerned. The omissions mentioned may be attributable in part to the constraints noted above. They may also, and probably this is more likely, be attributable to the more complex roots and causes of invisibility which are the subjects of the two other publications reviewed here. I know from experience exactly how much work goes into the preparation of select reviews and bibliographies. This one is clearly-written and well organised in three sections and will be a useful resource for students and information centres as well as the field.

The Invisible Decade is edited by Georgina Ashworth and Lucy Bonnerjea and brings together an impressive list of authors who present material with clarity and authority. That the editors and the others who contributed did this entirely unaided by funds from research or elsewhere is a tribute to the women themselves and an indictment of a society which permits such inequality in provision and continues to expect women to make such significant contributions unaided and voluntarily.

As a way of introducing the subject of invisibility I sometimes ask the audience to check their equality quotient with a short quiz. Out of around 200 returns to the question 'what do the dates 1967 - 1985 mean to you?' only 15 returns were correct. Since this was with adult groups concerned in one way or another with youth and community work and containing both women and men it serves to illustrate the reason for the title of this book.

So what is (or was) the Decade? The Invisible Decade began in 1976 following the United Nations World Conference for Women in association with the World Plan of Action for the implementation of the Objectives of International Women's Year and adoption of 1976 - 1985 as The Decade for Women - Peace, Development, Equality.

The Decade was to be committed to the elimination of both internal and exported discrimination against women. The Plan made it clear that it was the responsibility of governments to create conditions for the equal enjoyment of human rights - social, economic as well as civic and political. (p1) It also recognised the link between the political disadvantage of women, their unreasonably heavy work load their economic disadvantage and the increasing, rather than diminishing, rigidity of social roles. Unfortunately the mid-decade conference in Copenhagen fell into the servicing trap. The political stance of the governments which delegates represented became the focus of attention rather than the needs of women. In addition the UK delegation did not consult womens groups and held no consultations with its citizens (unlike others) at the Conference.

The Plan of Action includes instruments of which the International Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women is one. It requires ratification by governments before it takes effect in any country as a U.N. Human Rights Instrument. This convention is still unratified in the U.K. There is also a U.N. Questionnaire on the way in which the Plan of Action is implemented and this will contribute to the U.N. Review on the Status of Women and raises crucial

questions on education, health services, or about poverty as a female problem. The U.K. government response has been to explain them in terms of attitudes and assumptions. As Ashworth and Bonnerjea point out in their introduction, this was not the sole cause of the Invisibility of the Decade to women (and men) in the U.K., but a manifestation of the cobwebs of sexism in all its forms which controls our lives. They make the point that the view of women as consumers and as unpaid labour is pervasive and applicable across the whole political spectrum. They also identify the weakness of the Womens National Commission as the governmental institution with few powers and limited resources compared with other Womens Commission within the Commonwealth.

The Invisible Decade explains just why the decade was invisible. There are chapters on Women and the Law, the Value of Women, on equality and the formation of public policy, social security and taxation. The book covers the social and economic bases on which women are exploited and oppressed. It contains equally useful chapters on the cultural commitments - media, education and on technology. Alongside Spender's textual analysis of the experience of young women as they start out on life, we have a clear picture of their predetermined path through it, at the edge of attention from educators and second place education, through unpaid and unrecognised labour in the home and economic dependence and future through men and the lower paid, insecure jobs outside the home. They are trapped on a treadmill of economic deprivation which leads inexorably to the poverty, loneliness and often poor health which is more frequently the lot of women than men in old age.

The reasons for women's invisibility and division from each other are not hard to find either. The chapter on the international perspective highlights this. Women in the West are administrators of consumable purchases and the purchasers of goods and cash crops from the third world. These goods and crops are produced by women in 'developments' which have destroyed the independence previously held by those same women. There are other examples too, from the media, in law and taxation and in social security. This international perspective is valuable also because youth and community work is not noted for its world view, and this makes explicit that this is a world problem as well as illuminating the exploitation of black women through systems which are racist as well as sexist.

The book concludes with recommendations which are as applicable to youth and community work as elsewhere. The first of these is the establishment of positive action monitoring units with ministries as well as local governments. Contract compliance should accompany this. And we can conduct our own contract compliance too, and need not wait for governments as in an example given me recently. This concerned interviewing procedures, a frequent cause of concern in issues of equality. The list of candidates contained no black women and on preceiving this the all-white female short list read out a statement explaining why they were withdrawing, **and withdrew**. Similarly, if groups, professional organisations and individuals conducted their own monitoring, of provision, of the composition of committees and designed appropriate courses of action and response where they find inequality either of representation or participation, particularly if this was adopted as a priority then

perhaps change would come. Some examples already exist of organisations which have adopted such policies.

The final recommendation from the **Invisible Decade** is for a Minister for Women's Equality at Cabinet level, backed by a Secretariat of 'some visibility, strength and financial viability' (p.157). This should include the power to solicit policy statements from colleagues requiring that any legislation should include a published projection of its effects on each sex, income, ethnic and age group.

The arguments and evidence presented in all these publications lead with inexorable logic to this conclusion. The demand for and success of special and separate provision for young women supports such conclusions as does the pitifully un-met demands for training and resources. Whilst it is not considered a heresy to subsume youth under class, it cannot be argued that to subsume young women under gender is

heretical. The evidence suggests that real equality will be achieved when women and young women have the power and resources to control their own education and training and to make their own choices as to who will represent them. This calls for the sorts of resources suggested in this review, directed at supporting networks, womens centres for education and training and opportunities for single-sex activities and provision.

Marion Leigh

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M MACMILLAN

thin stick and fat carrot - the french juvenile system

MICHAEL KING & MARIE-AGNÉS PETIT

This article examines the operation of the French system of juvenile justice. We explain how cultural factors have resulted in ways of perceiving juvenile crime and ways of dealing with offenders which differ markedly from official strategies towards these problems in England and Wales. We conclude that the French have succeeded in constructing and maintaining a welfare-orientated system by sacrificing the most difficult youngsters to the prison cell and by allowing rampant paternalism to triumph over the principles of due process. In our view, these are prices worth paying for a policy which offers a flexible and non-punitive response for the vast majority of young offenders.

Whatever similarities cynical observers may care to find between policies of the Socialist government of Mitterand and those of the Tories under Thatcher, nothing could be more different than their respective approaches to juvenile crime. While Leon Brittan has been delighting the right wing of his party with his short sharp shock detention centres and prison building programmes and Peter Jenkins, Norman Fowler and Nigel Lawson have between them been progressively starving aid to families and decimating social work practices designed to prevent young people becoming involved in crime, Monsieur Badinter, the French Minister of Justice has been pouring resources into preventative programmes and alternatives to detention. One of the results of this policy has been an actual reduction over the past three years of the number of under 18s held in custody.⁽¹⁾ However, as successive Labour Home Office Ministers discovered in the 1960s, juvenile justice reform in England and Wales is not just a question of choosing a policy and putting it into effect. Without the cooperation of that powerful judicial body, the magistracy, little can be achieved and the magistracy in these two countries has stuck steadfastly to a mistrust of social work and to a belief that the only way to deter young offenders is to make life progressively more unpleasant for them. If Badinter seems to have succeeded where Socialist policies in the 1960s in England and Wales failed so miserably, such success must be due, in part, to differences between the attitudes of the French and English judiciary. As we shall demonstrate in this article, it also results from historical and cultural factors which make the benevolent paternalism inherent in a welfare-orientated policy much more acceptable to the French than it is to the English. Yet the apparently liberal approach to young offenders in France has, as we shall show, been achieved at the expense of what many would consider to be important civil rights and also at the cost of incarcerating in prison a small number of

adolescents who cannot be contained by the welfare net.

From Les Bagnes d'Enfants to Education Surveillée

Inevitably, the history of the present juvenile justice system in France, like that of all other contemporary French institutions, begins with the revolution of 1789. It was the Revolutionary Assembly which first inscribed in French law the idea that young offenders should be treated differently from adults. The Assembly decided that the severity of penal sanctions should be tailored to the age of the culprit - a concept which still exists in France today for 13 to 18 year olds. A more fundamental change, however, came some twenty years later with the introduction of the Napoleonic Law of 1810. This invoked the concept of '**discernement**', which obliged the courts to acquit any minor who was unable to distinguish between right and wrong. Moreover, it also allowed the court to take into account the personality of the offender in order to determine whether there were grounds for believing in the possibility of reform.

This change in the legal situation of young offenders corresponded with the development by philanthropic organisations of institutions specifically designed to reform young delinquents and to turn them into good, honest, hard-working citizens. Despite the best intentions in avoiding prison of the individuals and committees which set up these 'education centres', 'reform schools' and 'agricultural centres', regimes which included night-time isolation in cells working in silence, a progressive scale of privileges and punishments and expulsion of those who would not obey the rules meant that they were not unduly different from the harsh prisons and mental hospitals which flourished at that time. Foucault describes the regime operating in one such reformatory, at Mettray as "the simultaneous knocking into shape and relentless assessments of the inmates' behaviour".⁽²⁾ The fact that from 1850 onwards these institutions started to take in those young offenders found guilty by the courts as well as those who were deemed to lack the necessary criminal knowledge reinforced, their repressive nature. Yet it was not until the worst excesses were exposed by Alexis Danan⁽³⁾ that between 1935 and 1940 press and pressure group campaigns mounted steadily against what had become known as '**les bagnes d'enfants**' or 'children's penal colonies' led to their eventual closure.

This history of the **bagnes d'enfants** is an important factor for any analysis for the present French philosophy towards juvenile offenders. The memory of their harsh, repressive

regimes and the cruel, sometimes sadistic, behaviour of many of those who ran them, sticks in the collective consciousness to the extent that any residential home for children still tends to be regarded by many with alarm and suspicion. Some parents and children, for example, tend to see these residential homes as places of exile and punishment when ever the court suggest or order a child's placement away from the family, despite the fact that today these institutions have open door policies and a liberal, relaxed attitude to the children in their care. Similarly, social workers and social service administrators tend to regard any residential placement of child offenders as doomed to failure, since they represent the soft end of a range of coercive measures which progress towards naked punishment and imprisonment. This does not necessarily prevent them from proposing residential placements for children in need of care and protection, but it does mean that, as a matter of policy, social workers refuse under any circumstances to assist in locking up children. The equivalent of the English 'secure units' have therefore long since ceased to exist in France.

The origins of the present system of '*liberté surveillée*' (supervision)⁽⁴⁾ which are to be found in the 'individualist' movement which overlapped that of the reform schools during the early part of this century. This movement united the courts and the *sociétés de patronage* in the belief that an understanding of the offender as an individual, and not merely as the perpetrator of a crime, was an essential prerequisite to any treatment decision. This means that, not only the personality of the offender, but also his or her family and social environment became legitimate areas of concern for the courts. It was the memory of the *banges d'enfants* together with the development of the social services under the influence of the social sciences and, in particular, psychoanalytical theory, that led in the post-war years to the development of this prevailing welfare ideology and its practical implications of providing help, support and supervision for the young offender.

This general welfare philosophy was given legislative force as early as 1912, but it was not until after the Second World War (**Ordonnance of 2nd February 1945**) that any real attempt was made to put into practice the reforms in the courts and in the social services which this philosophy demanded. The Law of 1912 set out the following principles:-

- no criminal responsibility under the age of 13 years;
- the creation of a Children's Court (**Tribunal pour enfants**) to hear criminal charges involving minors between 13 and 16 years old;
- the assessment of the offender's personality;
- The priority of welfare over punishment as the official response to juvenile offenders between 13 and 16 years old and to those between 16 and 18 who had acted without criminal knowledge (*sans discernement*); the introduction of *liberté surveillée*;
- the creation of specialized children's judges (**juges des enfants**).

In fact it was the Vichy government⁽⁵⁾ under the German occupation which first created the means for putting these principles into effect. After the Liberation these measures were reintroduced with particular emphasis on the role of the children's judge in the intervention, disposal and continuous supervision of young offenders. (**Ordonnance of 2nd February 1945**).

The Juge des Enfants

It is the children's judge above all else who embodies the ambivalence of benign paternalism and repressive control that characterizes the French juvenile justice system. Like juvenile court magistrates in England and Wales, the **juges des enfants** exercise both a criminal and civil jurisdiction, but unlike English and Welsh juvenile courts, the distinction between civil and criminal is often blurred. Child protection has been interpreted as including the protection of the child from the risks of becoming delinquent, so that, even when a child is accused of a crime, the judge may effectively take what amounts to protective measures. In this way a sole decision maker may become responsible for all the problems which tend to beset the children of underprivileged families. The judge then becomes a focus for all those agencies involved in the social control and social assistance of the poor and inadequate, be they police, school, social security or social work. It is as if, instead of appearing before a juvenile court, a child accused of a crime was made a ward of court and became subject to the continuous control of the High Court. Like a judge in wardship, the **juge des enfants** is able to exercise a considerable influence over the lives of both the children and their families. Any major change in the child's situation requires the judge's prior authorisation and any subsequent offences or other problems involving the family will be brought to the judge's attention.

However, unlike judges in wardship, the **juges des enfants** have responsibility for a specific geographical area. Each judge gets to know the particular problems of their sector firstly through the files (*dossiers*) relating to children in that area and, secondly, through meeting with local groups of social workers, administrators and politicians involved in formulating policies towards children and families, and case conferences in children's homes and day-centres to discuss individual cases. Their knowledge of the child and the family extends often over a long period, since the same judge will be involved at each of the various procedural stages in the legal process from initial investigation to final judgement and any subsequent appearances of the child before the court. In theory, a judge hearing a case will have a detailed knowledge, not only of the offender's previous convictions and school history but also of the family, the area where they live and any particular social problems associated with that area. The practice, however, may fall well short of this ideal, since the 'turnover' in children's judges is such that continuity over more than two or three years is the exception rather than the rule. Children's judges tend to 'burn out', as a result of the demands made on their time, energy and emotional resources. Moreover, those who survive the strain tend to go on to higher and better things. Indeed, the judicial statistics show that the median period for the office of children's judge is approximately three years.

Who then are the children's judges? The official answer is that they are no different from any other of the career judges who operate the French judicial system.⁽⁶⁾ They all undergo the same training at the **Ecole Normale de la Magistrature** in Bordeaux followed by a short probationary period before their first judicial appointment. The only difference is that the aspiring **juges des enfants** spend their probationary period with an experienced children's judge. After two years in office, they may, like all other judges, ask to move to other courts and other branches of the judiciary. The problem is that, despite the official version, the children's judges tend to be regarded by lawyers and other judges as judicial

heresies, more like super social workers or pseudo-therapists than real judges. Moreover, in the hierarchy of judges, they tend to sit at the bottom of the pile - '**Les juges des mineurs sont les juges mineurs**'.⁽⁷⁾ This means that any with ambition of the wish to be seen as 'a real judge' get out as soon as they can. This having been said it should also be stated that those who remain tend to do so because they find the work satisfying and worthwhile. This motivation combined with the opportunity to spend up to four weeks every year on courses or secondment in fields related to child care and welfare means that those who remain form a core of highly specialized decision-makers with training and experience outside the narrow limits of the law courts. The considerable powers and broad discretion given to children's judges reflect the ideal that they will incorporate all the attributes of a good lawyer, a knowledge of social work practices, a familiarity with their geographical sector and a compassion for children. Where this ideal is realised in practice the French process for deciding issues involving children and their families works better than anything the juvenile court, Crown Court, or High Court in England and Wales has to offer.

The Legal Process

Yet direct comparisons between the English and French ways of dealing with juvenile offenders are likely to be confusing and misleading, because the two systems exist within very different cultural environments and rely upon very different principles of justice and legal traditions. For a start, where children are concerned, judges in France are able to move with considerable ease between civil and criminal jurisdictions. Secondly, the faith that the French place in the professionalism of judges and prosecutors means that they possess a degree of discretionary power that would horrify most English observers. This power is there from the moment when a young person has been arrested. The state prosecutor (**procureur de la République**) immediately has a choice of not laying charges, or of taking the accused before a children's judge or a **judge d'instruction**. This choice of judges will often be determined by the plans which the **procureur** has in mind for the alleged offender. If he or she has a remand in custody in mind, the minor will probably be taken before a **judge d'instruction**, as many **procureurs** tend to regard children's judges as 'the soft option'. Both the **judge des enfants** and the **judge d'instruction** then have the power to choose between a remand in custody (**détention provisoire**) or some welfare measure. In practice the **judges d'instruction** tend to be less well versed in, and therefore less keen to use, welfare measures than the specialist children's judge. Yet, even where a **judge d'instruction** decides to treat the case as a simple criminal matter, it is still possible for the **judge des enfants** where approached, for example by the accused's social worker, to open a child protection file. This practice of having two simultaneous dossiers, one criminal and one for child protection, has been developed by the children's judges as a way of shifting the emphasis away from retribution and deterrence towards help for the child and family. Even if no child protection file is opened, the judge may make a welfare order (**mésure éducative**).

Where the judge decides that welfare intervention is called for, this may take place immediately under the guise of observations and assessment. In effect, this usually means the release of the minor and the preparation by a multi-disciplinary team of child care experts of a report on the child, family and social environment. In the 1950s and 60s this

observation and assessment was usually carried out in residential institutions and included standard personality and intelligence tests. Disillusionment with such artificial devices and doubts about assessment carried out in a strange environment have led to the abandonment of such practices and the conversion of assessment centres into children's homes.⁽⁸⁾ This in turn has resulted in a merging of supervision and assessment. Reports are still prepared and these may assist the judges in their final decision concerning the child on the 'criminal file' but this decision may take place as long as two years after the initial judicial intervention. Before any finding of guilt, the child may well therefore be subject to supervision and required to attend a day centre or placed in an institution. Such unrestrained intervention before any formal finding of guilt will horrify the legal purists who will no doubt argue that a system which simply determines guilt and punishes the offender is far less disruptive to the lives of children and their families. Such reasoning, however, ignores the essentially benign nature of welfare intervention under the French system. Almost all placements in the children's home are made with parental consent. Social workers do not lock children up. Children who run away from institutions are not put into secure units; they are not punished by the court, unless they commit offences. In general social work practice as reinforced by the courts, emphasises the importance of securing the co-operation of both child and family if any intervention is to be effective. The French would tend to argue that any lack of procedural protections is more than offset by the fact that intervention at this early stage may and often does result in no punishment being inflicted by the court and even in the necessity for a formal court hearing being avoided.

Complaints about the present system are concerned more with the lack of adequate resources than with procedural niceties. Despite the existence in all major courts of a rapid social enquiry and emergency social work service whose task it is to propose to the judge alternatives to the imprisonment of young offenders, staff shortages and the absence of suitable residential accommodation sometimes make this task an impossible one. In some major urban areas there are long waiting lists for places at day training centres (**éducation en milieu ouvert**). Social workers qualified to undertake the supervision of minors, both those attached to the court (**éducateurs d'éducation surveillée**) and those employed by private social work agencies (**travailleurs sociaux**), have unbearably heavy case loads. Moreover, the problems of getting difficult children into children's homes are, despite their name, (**institutions d'accueil**) not very different from those existing for children in care in England and Wales.⁽⁹⁾ It is doubtless much easier for the judge who wants a peaceful life to resort to remands in custody. The spectacle of a small number of 13 and 14 year olds stagnating in the children's wing of French prisons is a price which has to be paid for the luxury of a system which diverts the majority of young offenders from the harshness and formality of the criminal process.

What then happens to the criminal file? In some cases it is simply closed by the **Procureur** and the intervention takes place with the co-operation of the child and parents on the child protection file. In other cases there is a hearing either in the Children's Court (**Tribunal pour enfants**) or in the judge's room (**Audience de cabinet**). The difference between these two types of hearing is not simply a matter of court hearings being much more formal affairs than hearings in

chambers, for it is only in the tribunal that the judge, assisted by two lay assessors, may impose a penal sanction. However, this does not mean to say that children cannot be sent to prison without a formal public hearing in the court. As Table 1 below indicates, either the **juge des enfants** or the **juge d'instruction** has the power to detain in custody for limited periods as a preventative measure. Until recently such decisions were taken by the judges merely exercising their judicial discretion to determine what was necessary in the public safety. The often-quoted description of these judges as "the most powerful men in France" may be an exaggeration, but it is not far removed from the truth, so extensive are the powers that they are able to exercise in the privacy of their own rooms. It is true that changes in procedure which were brought in last year⁽¹⁰⁾ introduced the right to legal representation and an adversary contest before any decision for **détention provisoire** may be made in respect of an adult or a minor. However, the lawyers concerned meet the client only briefly before the hearing and usually have no opportunity to take instructions and to familiarise themselves with the facts of the case. All that they provide is some sort of safeguard against blatant abuses of power.

TABLE 1 THE POWERS OF THE JUGE AND TRIBUNAL DES ENFANTS

Welfare and Treatment (may also be ordered by juge d'instruction).		Punishment and Containment (may also be ordered by juge d'instruction).	
Decisions taken prior to finding of guilt or passing of sentence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - personality enquiry *(consultation d'orientation éducative). - medical/Psychological assessment* - assessment of behaviour at home,* school etc. (observation on milieu ouvert). - provisional order for liberté surveillée. - provisional order for placement in children's home. 	PROVISIONAL DETENTION IN PRISON	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Serious Crimes (e.g. homicide) 18 years old: unlimited period (only available to juge d'instruction). (b) Lesser Offences 13-16 years old: Max. 10 days 16-18 years old: Max. 8 months unless a known recidivist.
FINAL SENTENCES (May be ordered only by Tribunal)			
Decisions by Tribunal or Audience de Cabinet after finding of guilt	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - caution to the judge. - returned to parental care with or without liberté surveillée. - placement in children's home until max. 18 years (only available to tribunal). - made the subject of judicial control applies only to 16-18 year olds. May be placed in home with consent of offender. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - deferred sentence. - fine, either immediate or suspended. - prison, either immediate or suspended. - travail d'intérêt général (community service) for over 16 years. 	
Appeals	All appealable to three judge specialised appeal court except those marked with*	All appealable.	
Children and parents may be declared criminally responsible for the offence and required to pay compensation to the victim.			

Unfortunately, much the same criticisms may be directed to the lawyers who appear on behalf of children at the **Tribunal pour enfants**. These appointed lawyers (**avocats d'office**)⁽¹¹⁾ have little or no experience in juvenile justice and, except where the family instructs a lawyer privately there is little that is recognizable as a lawyer-client relationship. Yet the Tribunal has the power to impose the same penal sanctions, including imprisonment, as those imposed on adults (see Table I). In choosing to emphasise the education and improvement of the juvenile offender with its necessary concentration on the personality, home circumstances and social milieu of those before the court, the French have tended to relegate to a secondary and minor objective the right of the defendant to a fair trial. Indeed, the welfare role of the children's judge, with its stress on continuity and wide discretionary powers, seems to deny what under English jurisdiction are regarded as the rule of natural justice when it comes to determining the facts of the case.

In exercising their discretion to send the child before the Tribunal rather than a chambers hearing and in determining the issue of guilt and what sentence the offender should receive, judges may take into account not only the official list of previous convictions, but also all the knowledge that they have acquired concerning the defendants and their families. They may, therefore, find themselves judging a case of handling stolen goods where they are aware of previous accusations of a similar kind involving the same defendant, even where these accusations did not result in prosecution. It is, of course, extremely difficult for judges to put them entirely from their mind in deciding the case. Similarly, offenders who are well known to the judge through the many unsuccessful efforts made in the past to help them in the context of a child protection file may well find themselves sentenced to prison, not as a direct response to the seriousness of the offence they may have committed, but rather because the judge has decided to apply the "get him off our backs" criterion. This principle of sentencing is unknown to the law, but frequently used in practice. The same discretionary power which allows the **prosecuteur** to close the criminal file for a first offender whose victim has been compensated and whose family has not been the subject of adverse reports, and which allows the judge to impose a welfare measure prior to conviction, also allows the judge to send to prison those who, for one reason or another, have proved themselves to be a nuisance to the police, social workers and the courts.

In sentencing, but not in provisional detention decisions, the discretion of the judge may be restrained by the presence of the two lay assessors⁽¹²⁾ (**assesseurs**), each of whom carry equal weight to the judge in the **Tribunal's** decision making process. However, **assesseurs** are dependent upon the judge both in matters of law and for any information appearing in the dossiers. They also lack any real training in judicial decision making. The defence lawyers, who are obligatory for defendants in the **Tribunaux pour enfants** make only rare appearances in children's cases and are usually unfamiliar with the procedures and jargon. Even if they have taken the trouble to read the criminal file, they will be entirely ignorant of anything mentioned in the child protection file, such as previous welfare measures taken to help the child and family. These factors combined with the lack of any real lawyer-client relationship means that they are unlikely to make much impact on the outcome of the proceedings or on the way in which a particular judge decides to exercise his or her discretion. As in juvenile courts in England and Wales, children and parents tend to remain silent throughout Tribunal hearings, although both are invited to address the Bench. In effect, the **Tribunal pour Enfants** generally serves as little more than a ritual condemnation, a ceremony of degradation for those who are going to prison and a formal warning of worse things to come for those who 'get off' with a fine or a suspended sentence.

It needs to be emphasized, however, that the majority of defendants appearing before the **Tribunal pour Enfants** have already experienced on previous occasions a much less formal and ritualistic procedure when they appeared before the judge in chambers. The difference between the two processes is similar to that existing in Scotland between the Sheriff's court and the Children's Panels. As in the Scottish system, the informal session may impose only welfare measures; it may not punish the offender. Yet, in contrast to the Scottish system, there is not the same clear separation bet-

ween 'treatment' and punishment.⁽¹⁵⁾ In France the power to impose both welfare and punitive measures rests in one and the same person, the children's judge, as does the power to decide which of these two responses is appropriate for each offender and what kind of hearing is called for. Moreover, the hearings *en cabinet* are not confined to an assessment of the child's needs. Many judges use the occasion to make the offenders aware of the seriousness of the offence, its consequences for the victim and the disgrace that they have brought upon themselves and their family, and to discuss freely with the parents and the child ways in which they may work together, often with the help of a social worker to avoid any repetition of the sort of behaviour which has resulted in the prosecution.

The other major difference which distinguishes the French system from those operating in both England and Scotland is the simultaneous application of civil and criminal law. This goes much further than the power of juvenile court magistrates in England to make compensation orders. It involves rather the use of one hearing, either in the Tribunal or in cabinet, to decide both civil and criminal issues. It is not unusual, therefore, in cases involving personal injury or damage to property, not only for the victim to be present at the hearing, but for that victim to be legally represented by a lawyer instructed by the victim's insurers. Moreover, on occasions, the child's parents may also be represented in order to defend them against the victim's civil claim. In such cases it is quite clear that the judge cannot ignore the consequences of the offence and treat the hearing as an inquiry into the child's individual needs and ways of solving problems of discipline, boredom or truancy. On the other hand, it would be a mistake to imagine that the presence of victims and lawyers necessarily prevents any informal discussions of the factors, both environmental and personality, which led to the commission of the offence and of ways of dealing with them. These informal discussions may also provide the judge with an opportunity to explain to victims why a particular decision has been taken in respect of a child, why, for example, a spell in prison, far from 'curing' the offender, would be far more likely to produce a hardened, more sophisticated criminal.

The Effects

To claim that the French system of juvenile justice acts as a more effective control over delinquency than that operating in other European countries would be to attribute to the legal process alone a major impact upon social behaviour. Few, apart from the tabloid newspapers, some lawyers, judges and magistrates would even attempt to justify such a direct relationship between what the courts do and the levels of crime within the community. The courts operate within particular social and economic contexts which influence (some would say, determine,) not only the nature and level of delinquency within society, but also the style of justice generated by the courts, both in their procedures and in their decisions. Yet, deviancy theories of criminology maintain that the criminal courts and criminal justice agencies do play their part in the stigmatization of offenders, their exclusion from the mainstream of society and the consequent creation of delinquent sub-cultures. On this yardstick alone the French system's emphasis upon control through socialization (*éducation*) and paternalistic intervention must score over the ritual humiliation and oppressive punishments which characterize the activities of the English juvenile courts. In France the number of juvenile offenders who end

up before a formal tribunal are few and the numbers who find themselves locked up for their crimes, even fewer.

Although statistical comparisons are difficult, the fact that the figure for custodial sentences passed on 16-18 year olds in France in 1984 (4,378) is smaller by about 2,300 than the figure in England and Wales for those two years younger, the 14-16 year olds in the year ending June 1984 (6,675). Moreover, in April 1984 there were only 924 minors of under 18 years old in French prisons compared with 3336⁽¹⁴⁾ in some form of Prison Department detention in England and Wales on 30th June of the same year. In addition this figure excludes young people detained in local authority secure accommodation units.

This gives some indication of the different responses in countries of similar adolescent populations and with similar problems of juvenile crime.

Table II

Population aged under 18 in Prison Department Establishments in England and Wales on 30 June 1984: by sex age and type of custody.

Sex and age	Number of Persons						
	Total	Untried	Convicted unsentenced	S.53 C+YPA 1933	Detention centre	Youth custody	Fine default
Males	3,256	617	125	79	837	1,570	28
Aged 14	101	-	-	1	100	-	-
Aged 15	358	28	4	2	194	130	-
Aged 16	815	68	19	29	253	446	-
Aged 17	1,982	521	102	47	290	994	28

15. Langford Study Group 1966. London, Labour Party.
16. H.M.S.O. 1965 Cmnd. 2739

Of course, to concentrate on the courts and the criminal statistics is to ignore the effects of social policies directed at the causes of delinquency. In France, as a response to the rise in petty crime in the '70s, Alain Peyrefitte, Giscard d'Estaing's Minister of Justice set up local committees for delinquency to be followed by the recent introduction of crime prevention councils (*Conseils de prévention de la délinquance*). These consist of local politicians, social workers and judges concerned with the problems of children and families and representatives of all relevant state agencies. The Councils have been able to conduct experiments and run pilot studies in such diverse areas as preventative policing, street lighting and liaison with schools and social services, to provide leisure activities and work training for children from deprived areas. Such measures have been accompanied by a broadening of the spectrum of alternatives open to the police and the courts, including the recent introduction of community service orders (*travail d'intérêt général*) for minors over 16.

The common feature in both the formal legal response and what one might call community initiatives directed towards the control and prevention of delinquency is the children's judge. It is the judge who provides the link between the formal judicial process and the informal responses to delinquency, as expressed by victims, and the activities of local preventative organisations. It is the judge who acts as a focal

point for all the official agencies involved in detection, prosecution, punishment and welfare intervention. Juvenile offenders in France can expect to be treated as individuals and not just names on the list pinned up outside a juvenile court. They will have an opportunity to explain themselves and to talk about their problems and what motivated their behaviour to a single, identifiable judge, whose decisions are not dominated by the tariff and the need to set an example to others. In some cases this judge will follow the young offender through his or her adolescence.

Even if this ideal is not realised, because judges, like everyone else, move on and move away, the philosophy of paternalistic intervention combined with a concern for victims will continue. Only when the offender's behaviour becomes more than a mere nuisance and presents a real danger to others is this philosophy likely to be abandoned. Even by English standards, the alternative is likely to be stark. The juvenile wings of French prisons are not very different from English remand centres where security and containment are the dominating considerations and where young people can expect to spend up to 23 hours a day locked in a cell. Yet, if the French tend to abandon their hard cases to languish in ill-equipped prisons to be watched over by prison staff who have no special training in the care of young people, it is because almost all their ideas, resources and energy have gone into devising ways of keeping juvenile offenders away from any form of custodial control. The same, unfortunately, cannot be said of the policies of courts and governments towards juvenile crime in England and Wales.

What is interesting in such comparisons is that if one steps outside the formal juvenile justice system in England and Wales one finds in some of the embryo conciliations and juvenile liaison schemes a philosophy towards young offenders which is not so very different from that which guides official responses in France. One can also find something of this philosophy in the Longford Report, **Crime a Challenge to us all** of 1966⁽¹⁵⁾ and the White Paper **The Child, The Family and the Young Offender** of 1965.⁽¹⁶⁾ The fact that the Magistrates Association fiercely resisted any attempt to replace juvenile courts with less formal, less traditional forums and to adopt a more humane, less retributive approach to juvenile crime, and the fact that social service departments were prepared to regard the provisions of the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act as an acceptable compromise and to concur in, and even encourage the setting up of secure units and the continued use of residential assessment centres are perhaps more significant points of comparison than simply setting side by side the official statistics or the policies of Mitterrand and Thatcher towards young offenders.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. The figures are 1981:6,053 1982:5,970 1983:5,875 1984:5,700 .
2. Foucault, M. **Surveiller et Punir**, N.R.F. Paris, 1975, p. 301.
3. Alexis Danon (1890-1979) the founder of the **Comité de Vigilance à l'égard des enfants maltraités** - a voluntary organization engaged in the discovery and prevention of child abuse in all its forms, both in families and in institutions.
4. Since 1945 **liberté surveillée** has existed as an independent department of the Ministère de la justice. It is broadly responsible for all social work activity expressly related to the delinquency control and child protection roles of the court. Prior to 1945 it was attached to the **Administration pénitentiaire** which goes some way to explaining why its social workers are now so adamantly opposed to participation in any activities involving the incarceration of young people. They are specially trained and work both in institutions and as supervisors of minors subject to an order for **éducation surveillée en milieu ouvert** (supervision orders).

5. This government, led by Marshall Pétain has as its slogan, 'Work, Family, Homeland'. Following the examples of Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, it placed great emphasis on family life and the socialization of children as future workers and parents for the good of the fatherland. It also encouraged militaristic youth organizations.
6. In 1981 there were 237 **Juges des enfants** out of the 5554 career judges in France. Both **juges** and **procureurs** are trained at Bordeaux and it is possible to switch from one of these branches of the **magistrature** to the other. There are specialist children's **procureurs** in the same way that there are specialist children's judges. Both begin their careers in their mid to late twenties, 27 being the upper age limit for the entry exam for Bordeaux.
7. Syndicat de la Magistrature, **Special Justice des mineurs**, Justice, Oct-Nov 1980 no. 80-81. See also King, M. 1983. 'The French Children's Judge,' **Social Work Today**, December 13th.
8. Juvisy-sur-Orge, one such observation centre, was notorious as a prison in everything but name. It became a symbol of repression during the campaign mounted by social work organisations against these institutions for observation and assessment (see Bailleau, F. L'histoire de l'observation et l'émergence d'un droit des mineurs, in **Ministère de la Justice Statistiques 1978-1979**)
9. Most of these homes are owned and run by private religious therapeutic or charitable organisations, subject to inspection by the judges and Social Service Department (DDASS). They receive a fixed daily sum for every child in their charge. When a child absconds, the home receives no payments during his or her absence, which is one of the reasons why they are reluctant to take difficult children.
10. Law of 9th July 1984.
11. Since 1984 funds have been made available to pay these lawyers. The going rate is 250 Frs. per case (£21).
12. **Assesseurs** are appointed by the Minister of Justice after recommendation from one or more children's judge. Those appointed tend to be people involved in voluntary work in the community who have shown a special interest in children and their problems.
13. In Scotland the Sheriff will deal with those cases which, because of their serious nature, are not considered appropriate to go before the Children's Panel. It is the Procurator Fiscal who makes this choice, although the Lord Advocate has laid down policy guidelines.
14. This information was obtained from the Home Office. The details are as follows:

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

JOHN SPRINGHALL

This article is continued from Issue No. 14.

If anything, singing and dancing in the gaffs took on greater refinement as popular leisure forms adapted to the urban folkways and the predominant respectability of Victorian society. Changing trends in the dominant cultural hegemony, in other words, were probably more responsible for the lyrics of a street song being labelled 'improper' than the actual verse content. George Godwin was something of an exception to the prevailing middle class consensus in his belief that such entertainment did not possess any immoral tendency. He argued that adolescence was not made any better or worse for such songs, stressed the good behaviour of the gaff audiences and felt that, although open to improvement, penny theatres did more good than harm among the young. Mayhew was more representative of the contemporary middle class opinion that 'venal' commercial proprietors appealed to the 'coarsest and brutal appetites' of their youthful audience. Ironically, it was not the tightening up of the largely unenforceable theatrical licensing laws which were to seal the death warrant of the penny theatres after the 1870s, but rising real wages and the rapid expansion of a cheaper music hall entertainment in late Victorian London. Whereas the British music hall was soon to become a prototype of the modern mass communications industry, appealing across both age and class barriers, the surviving penny theatres remained, almost uniquely a recreational and cultural form characteristic of the Victorian urban working class young alone.⁽¹⁷⁾

Popular Boys' Literature

Penny theatres were seemingly at their most popular in the 1860s, at the same time as 'penny dreadfuls' or cheap sensational literature began to be directed towards a more juvenile audience. The clearest indication of this shift to a new literary market was the sudden upsurge of stories featuring boy heroes, especially Charles Stevens' **Jack Rushton: or Alone in the Pirates' Lair** (1866). The most popular Victorian 'penny dreadful', however, was Edward Viles' **Black Bess**, a highwayman novel named after Dick Turpin's favourite horse which was published in weekly parts from 1863 to 1868 and subsequently reissued up to the 1890s. Publication of cheap fiction of this kind about popular heroes, such as Jack Sheppard, Sweeney Todd, Robin Hood and Claude Duval, was associated with the elusive figure of Edwin J. Brett (1828-1895) and his rivals W.L. Emmett and Charles Fox. Brett was born in Canterbury, the son of an army officer, and in the late 1840s became a minor

participant in the Chartist movement, then got involved in cheap publishing as a journalist and an engraver. From the mid-1860s he was responsible for the appearance of the kind of 'penny dreadful' which outraged 'respectable' public opinion: stories about highwaymen, pirates and sordid crimes bearing such titles as **The Dance of Death** (1865-66) and the notorious **Wild Boys** series. These were all novels sold in penny weekly parts, each part consisting of eight pages of text embellished with a lurid illustration. Many of them, like **Jack Rushton**, were written by the prolific Charles Stevens, a hard-working journalist who became Brett's chief editor and was responsible for much of the success of his Newsagent's Publishing Company. Brett's most widely read and long running publication was **The Boys of England** (1866), the first 'penny dreadful' weekly journal, whose masthead proclaimed it as 'a young gentleman's journal of sport, travel, fun and instruction subscribed to His Royal Highness Prince Arthur'. It appealed more directly, of course, to schoolboys, office boys, shop boys and factory assistants and initially sold 150,000 copies per week, four times more than Brett's earlier attempts at penny-part fiction.⁽¹⁸⁾

The circulation of Brett's **The Boys of England** soared to at least a quarter of a million when in 1871 it began to serialize the memorable Jack Harkaway stories written by an old Etonian and unsuccessful barrister, Bracebridge Hemyng (1841-1901), stories that continued in popularity in various magazines until the turn of the century. Brett's other boys' publications, like **Young Men of Great Britain** (1868) and **Our Boys' Journal** (1876), were moderately successful but his only incursion into the girls' sector of the market, **Our Girls Journal** (1882), survived for just a couple of months. The heroes of Brett's 'penny dreadfuls', like Jack Harkaway or Sweeney Todd, were cheerfully amoral, openly defied authority and revelled in bloodshed, hence they were constantly accused by school teachers and local magistrates of inciting boys to commit crimes. In 1885 Sir Thomas Chambers, the Recorder of the City of London, stated categorically that, 'there is not a boy or young lad tried at our Courts of Justice whose position there is not more or less due to the effects of unwholesome literature upon his mind'. Even the satirical magazine **Punch** wrote, with a touch of irony: 'If proof of the widespread character of the evil is demanded, there are the daily records of the nearest Police Courts with the answer. **The Boy Pirate** or **The Boy Brigand** of fiction soon became the boy burglar and boy thief of fact'. A working class observer like Thomas Wright was more sceptical:

It often happens, we are aware, that some juvenile till-robber is found to be a reader of penny-dreadfuls. Nevertheless, we cannot agree with the conclusion usually taken in these cases, that the reading and the robbery stand in relation to cause and effect. Young gentlemen 'in trouble' are ready enough to avail themselves of this plea when it is put into their mouths.⁽¹⁹⁾

The evident popularity of the 'penny dreadful' among adolescents and boys led the Religious Tract Society (R.T.S.), rather reluctantly, to launch a boys' paper in 1879 that would rival their circulation without imitating their sensationalism or absence of moral restraint. The result was **The Boy's Own Paper** (B.O.P.) which, under its first and greatest editor, George Hutchinson (1842-1913), quickly became the most important and influential juvenile periodical ever produced - despite its firmly moral and Christian tone. The fourteen-year old Herbert Spackman in rural Wiltshire, for example, switched his newsagent's order from **The Boy's Sunday Reader** to the B.O.P. in the first months of the latter's appearance. While upwardly aspiring parents, like those of Richard Church in suburban south London, went to the expense of having the monthly parts of the B.O.P. bound in form boards with red leather backs and corners. By the mid-1880s the B.O.P. had exceeded the circulation of its nearest rivals, such as Brett's **The Boys of England**, and was printing over half a million weekly copies which, if an average of two or three boys read each copy, suggests an actual readership of at least one and a quarter million. A survey of juvenile reading habits made in 1884 by Edward Salmon calculated that out of a sample of six hundred schoolboys, about four hundred read the B.O.P. as their favourite paper, next came George Newnes' **Tit-Bits** (1881) with only twenty seven votes. It is unlikely, however, that many ordinary working class boys would be regular readers of the B.O.P. at a penny a copy, although thousands of early issues were distributed free in London's Board schools by the R.T.S. to help ensure a more popular readership. From the start each issue had a variety of material on hobbies, sport, nature, and a popular section 'Health Hints for Growing Boys', in which the eccentric Dr. Gordon Stables dispensed stern advice to his adolescent correspondents. A more important ingredient in the B.O.P.'s success was that it recruited many of the better boys' writers of the late Victorian period: W.H.G. Kingston, Jules Verne, Talbot Baines Reed, G.A. Henty and R.M. Ballantyne. The B.O.P. met with the approval of both boys and parents until, with changing tastes and lower circulation figures, it ceased publication eighty eight years after its first appearance.⁽²⁰⁾

Before 1914 there was a great social divide between boys or adolescents who could afford a penny weekly boys' paper, like the B.O.P. or **Chums** (1892), and those who could only run to the cheaper halfpenny publications, such as those launched in the 1890s by Alfred Harmsworth, the newspaper magnate, and his brothers. These Harmsworth boys' papers were an efficient mouthpiece for the imperialism of the age and titles such as **The Boys' Friend** (1895), **The Union Jack** (1894) and **Pluck** (1894), had a penchant for daring deeds set against an imperial backdrop. The narrator in a James Joyce short story recalls being introduced to the 'ha'penny bloods' by a school-friend who had a little library made up of old numbers which encouraged in him an early interest in Wild West stories. 'Though there was nothing wrong in these stories and though their intention was sometimes literary, they were circulated secretly at school', com-

ments Joyce. 'Harmsworth killed the "penny dreadful"', according to A.A. Milne, 'by the simple process of producing the ha'penny dreadfuller'. In the late 1900s, Arnold Freeman discovered that the most popular reading material of the apprentice brass-workers, silver-smiths, errand boys and bottle washers that he interviewed in Birmingham was led by Harmsworth's **The Marvel** (1893), specializing in stories of journeys in search of buried treasure and German attempts to take the country by storm. The same firm's **Illustrated Chips** (1890) was next in popularity, an early English 'comic' which was selling a million copies a week at the height of its success, then came **Butterfly** (1904) and **Picture Fun** (1902). These were all newspaper format comics printed on tinted paper, as pioneered by the veteran **Comic Cuts** (1890), and were virtually indistinguishable from each other with their four pages of serialized story in small print and four pages of humorous strips. In Manchester, boys' club leader C.E.B. Russell revealed his general ignorance of popular juvenile reading habits when he recommended G.A. Henty's manly novels or that 'public school house magazine' **The Captain** (1889), as suitable for his members. Working class adolescents were much more likely to be found reading such 'execrable' works as the 'ha'penny bloods', which Russell claimed led boys to, 'run away from home or attempt foolish and often evil deeds'.⁽²¹⁾

'The problem for future writers of juvenile literature', opined B.O.P. author Talbot Baines Reed in 1888, was to find a formula which would enable them to appeal to a wider section of the boy market for uplifting fiction: 'to attempt in some bold, effective and practical way to cut into the fields of low literature and give our street boys and girls as good stories as are already provided for the boys and girls of our more happy homes'. Reed, the author of **The Fifth Form at St. Dominic's** (1881) - which gave the genre of the school story its particular conventions - had himself discovered that formula but it was not to reach its most popular dimensions until the following century. In 1902 the Harmsworth company was renamed the Amalgamated Press and in that capacity printed the hugely popular boys' weeklies **The Gem** (1907) and **The Magnet** (1908), which by the late 1920s had reached a peak circulation of over 200,000 copies a week. Working class adolescents developed a rather surprising addiction for Frank Richards' Greyfriars school stories in **The Magnet** and Martin Clifford's St. Jim stories in **The Gem** which was to baffle later commentators, like the Old Etonian George Orwell in his famous **Horizon** essay on 'Boys' Weeklies' (1940). What Orwell did not realize until much later was that both these long-running school stories were written by Charles Hamilton (1876-1961), the remarkable creator of Billy Bunter and the other memorable Greyfriars' characters, who wrote more than 5,000 school stories under different pseudonyms, including Hilda Richards for Cliff House School, the female equivalent of Greyfriars. Robert Roberts vividly recalled the imitation by working class boys in Salford of the language, behaviour and affections of the boarding school characters in **The Gem** and **The Magnet**. Such was their enthusiasm, local boys used to dash to the railway station to intercept the bulk arrival from London and thus get hold of the first copies of their favourite weeklies from the station bookstall:

Over the years these simple tales conditioned the thought of a whole generation of boys. The public school ethos, distorted into myth and sold among us weekly in penny numbers, for good or ill, set ideals and standards.

This our own tutors, religious and secular, had signally failed to do. In the final estimate it may well be that Frank Richards during the first quarter of the twentieth century had more influence on the mind and outlook of young working class England than any other single person, not excluding Baden-Powell.⁽²²⁾

The Early British Cinema

The earliest commercial film show in Britain was provided, most commentators agree, by the Lumière brothers at the Regents' Street Polytechnic on 20 February 1896, transferring a few weeks later to the Empire, Leicester Square. In March 1896 another screening ran at the Alhambra Music Hall and, by the end of the year, films provided part of the regular programmes of the music hall in London and other cities. Randall Williams, meanwhile, claimed to be the first person to install a travelling film booth at a Kings Lynn fair-ground in the same historic year and soon no fair would be without its bioscope. Film booths persisted at fun-fairs until 1914, long after the first purpose-built picture houses had been built in the towns and cities. However, the first introduction many urban, working class adolescents had to the cinema was through a version of the ubiquitous 'penny gaff' - converted shoprooms or empty shops which were used to show the primitive early films. The nature of a visit to this home of the early cinema is well described in silent filmmaker George Pearson's autobiography. As a child at the turn of the century he paid a penny to go into a derelict greengrocer's shop in the Lambeth Walk and waited apprehensively:

Stale cabbage leaves and a smell of dry mud gave atmosphere to a scene from Hogarth. A furtive youth did things to a tin oven on iron legs, and a white sheet swung from the ceiling. We grouped around that oven and wondered. Suddenly things happened, someone turned down a gas-jet, the tin apparatus burst into a fearful clatter, and an oblong picture slapped on to the sheet and began a violent dance. After a while I discerned it was picture of a house on fire. Flames and smoke belched from the windows, and miracle of miracles, a fire-engine dashed in, some one mounted a fire-escape, little human figures darted about below, and then Bang! the show was over. Exactly one minute I had been to the Cinema!

The advent of the more respectable 'Bijou' type of film theatre from 1907 to 1908 was a deliberate commercial attempt to elevate the social status of the early cinema, which had been tarnished by the make-shift penny gaffs and bioscopes with their poor projection, dirty and flea-ridden premises and outworn programme material. The gaffs were virtually dead by about 1910 but their reputation lingered on to deter the urban middle class from a visit to the cinema for some time afterwards.⁽²³⁾

The new commercial mass medium of the moving pictures attracted a steadily increasing under-age patronage, until it was calculated that up to thirty per cent of total British audiences in the 1900s were under seventeen. The cinema was well on the way to usurping the music halls and the penny theatres in the provision of mass entertainment for the young and, by the outbreak of the First World War, Charlie Chaplin's two-reel comedies had come to exercise a predominant appeal. There were a total of forty seven 'Picturedomes' in Birmingham alone in 1914, that gave three

afternoon shows and two each evening with a total seating capacity of nearly 33,000. Even a smaller industrial centre like Salford, on the fringes of Manchester, had thirteen premises licensed under the Cinematograph Act. In general, these early cinemas were a vast improvement on the poorly ventilated, inadequately heated and often smelly penny gaffs which they replaced, although their standard of comfort varied with proximity to a large thoroughfare. The luxury which this new form of mass leisure represented is vividly recalled in this oral account of the first 'picture palace' to open in Woolwich, south east London, in early 1914:

Of course you went in the vestibule and it was all done up with potted palms. And you went in the afternoons, you paid sixpence to go in, and in the programme that sixpence entitled you to a free cup of tea and biscuits. And I always - the long - the first - sort of long reeled film, five reels I think it was - the film was called 'Tilly's Punctured Romance' (Chaplin). It was a real slapstick comedy. But of course in those days you got one reel, then you had to have a stop while - the - whatsname changed the reel, you see The cinema's now destroyed, it was destroyed during the war, it was hit by a bomb. But - it was - there weren't many about, you see. You got the Bioscope which was - which was really a fairground and travelling showman sort of thing.

Even more exotic than potted palms but less homely than cups of tea in the afternoons was the entertainment offered at the Regent Picture House when it opened in Hanley, near Stoke-on-Trent, where a large orchestra played the '1812 Overture' during the opening week. At Saturday morning matinees for children in Hackney, East London, for the price of a penny admission children would receive a comic or sometimes a stick of rock as a special treat.⁽²⁴⁾

In 1916 children in six elementary schools in the East End of London were asked to write an account of the films they had most enjoyed. Comedies, westerns, crime serials and adventure stories proved more popular with the boys in this survey, while the girls preferred domestic, fairy and love stories. Not surprisingly, the majority of the boys gave extremely vivid descriptions of war-time propaganda films, such as the Ministry of Information's 'Battle of' series. One schoolboy, for example, gave the following account of 'The Battle of the Ancre' in the literary-patriotic terms of the film's own dialogue cards:

It shows us in Old England the privations Tommy has to undergo in blood-sodden France and Belgium. The Tommies went to the trenches stumbling and slipping, but always wore the smile which the Kaiser's legions, try hard as they might, could not brush off. Lords, tinkers, earls, chimney sweeps, side by side, were shown in this splendid film. It showed and proved that although England was small and Germany large, the British Lion was a match for the-German Eagle any day. The film also showed that monster terror and fear of the Germans the Tank. Snorting, creaking, waddling, the huge bogey started for the German first-line trenches. The film showed the huge British guns. Day and night, night and day, the huge monsters of destruction roared never ceasing.

The Tower Cinema band in Walthamstow tried hard to imitate the battle scenes depicted on the screen ('Crash!

Boom! You see the Tanks in action, also men slushing about in mud') which may or may not have added to the authenticity of the film. Girls were clearly less fond of the awe-inspiring tanks and, after the age of eleven, showed more of a preference for romantic 'love stories', although one dissident claimed that, 'love stories are sometimes ridiculous and are only meant for grown-ups'. A ten-year old girl provides a more typical description of her favourite kind of silent film:

The pictures I like best are dramas not too sad. I like about when people get bankrupt. A lady has to marry a person she does not like to get her father's business back. She loves another gentleman and she tells him her trouble. Then just as they are going to church a telegram boy comes to say that her uncle has died and she is an heiress. then she marries her real young man. Her father is then able to keep his business on.

It has often been observed that the morality of the Victorian stage melodrama, clearly evident in D.W. Griffith's film work, was preserved intact by the silent cinema.⁽²⁵⁾

'Any visitor to the Children's Courts will be struck by the constant references of young offenders to the Picture Palaces, either as suggesting a criminal action or providing a motive for house-breaking and larceny', claimed Arnold Freeman in 1914. A simple cause and effect relationship between what appeared on the screen and juvenile crime was soon established, to the satisfaction at least of many important figures in authority over the young. 'Thoughts of burglary are without doubt put into boys' minds and in some places gangs of juvenile thieves try to emulate the exploits of their cinema heroes', according to the Chief Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools in 1917. The Governor of Durham Prison was also struck by the number of boys on remand who confessed to stealing in order to get money to go to the cinema, a criminal motive which, it will be recalled, was also attributed to the penny theatres. When in 1920 two boys were charged with malicious damage at Paisley Police Court in Scotland, the Procurator Fiscal drew a parallel between Charlie Chaplin's malign influence and that of the 'penny dreadfuls':

The boys were great frequenters of picture houses, and he thought this was a case of impulsive criminality. They were attracted with the actions of Charlie Chaplin and tried to imitate them. The case was similar to one of a number of years ago, when boys were influenced by reading novels about 'Springheel(ed) Jack' and such persons.

Canon H.D. Rawnsley, one of the founders of the National Trust, wrote to the *Times* in 1913 deploring the effect of sensational filmed melodramas on under-fourteen year-olds sitting in darkened cinematograph halls until eleven o'clock at night. 'While many children become petty pilferers to get pence for admission to the show, others actually begin their downward course of crime by reason of the burglary and pickpocket scenes they have witnessed', he theorized. A deputation of teachers to the Secretary of State for Education in 1916 made practically the same charges, adding to their indictment the damage done to children's health, eyesight and nerves by the late hours and bad atmosphere of the picture halls.⁽²⁶⁾

The Cinematograph Films Act of 1910 was introduced as a bill by the Liberal Home Secretary, Herbert Gladstone, and opened the way for future political interference in the film business. Thus the clause in the Act dealing with the safety of audiences in the event of fire could be interpreted by local authorities as a means of preventing cinema licences being granted where it was thought likely to offend Sabbatarians and other local pressure groups. The issue of local censorship had also become a distinct possibility with the flood of American films entering distribution in Britain and so, from the end of 1912, the film industry set up its own self-regulating body, the British Board of Film Censors. During the First World War, when there was a marked increase in juvenile crime rates, the film trade had reason to be grateful for this measure because the idea of censorship once again came under consideration by the government. Hence the rather ominous-sounding National Council of Public Morals set up an independent commission of inquiry in 1917 to investigate how far generalized accusations that the cinema incited juvenile delinquency in war-time could be substantiated in fact. Its members included such distinguished figures as Baden-Powell, the Bishop of Birmingham and the Secretary of the Sunday School Union. The inquiry listened patiently to a great deal of conflicting evidence from various witnesses but ultimately found the charge that children and adolescents were induced to steal in order to pay for admission to the picture palace could not be proven. This unverifiable charge was no reason to censure the cinema, they concluded, for the same objection could be raised to almost any other commodity that was desirable to the young. A Probation Officer called to testify to the commission pointed out that the picture palace was commonly used by juvenile offenders as a convenient scapegoat to secure more lenient treatment from a credulous magistrate, for 'sweets, cigarettes, tram rides, music halls, as well as picture palaces, are the reasons frequently given for stealing'. The Report concluded that while a causal connection between the cinema and imitative juvenile crime might exist to a limited extent, it was a sufficient rather than a necessary connection and should not exclude many other contributory factors.⁽²⁷⁾

Street Corner Leisure

Youth cultures are not entirely a post-1945 phenomenon in modern industrial society, it is just that they have become an area for academic research only in the past twenty years or so. Wherever young people have gathered together in the past, apart from adults, they have tended to generate their own styles of life and distinctive patterns of behaviour. Thus the marked segregation of boys during adolescence in traditional working class communities has tended to produce the typically 'street corner' sub culture in urban Britain. The commercial forms of leisure discussed herein took place only in relation to the vast amount of time spent by adolescents away from school or work in hanging about fairly aimlessly on the street - particularly boys of from fourteen to sixteen. There is no doubt that, since the industrial revolution and the growth of large cities, the streets have always provided the main arena for the relaxation of working class youth. Hanging around on street corners has, in retrospect, come to assume the status of a customary historical right which is constantly under attack by such adult forms of authority as the police. Naturally, it is difficult for the middle class observer to see lounging about on street corners as a form of leisure activity and such an adolescent 'milieu' may be seen instead as threatening, offering opportunities for various types of rule-breaking or 'getting into trouble'. 'Too

much of young Belfast crouches and shambles rather than walks at the present moment; too much of young Belfast spends its evening's leisure on the streets; too much of young Belfast is qualifying for Hooliganism at the corners', as the **Northern Whig** put it in 1902. More recently, it has been argued by sociologists that the street group constitutes an informal open-air society or communal gathering with important values of education and social training for the developing adolescent. Street corner society, it is argued, can even act as a further extension of the traditional morality held by the more conservative members of the working class neighbourhood.⁽²⁸⁾

Under the notorious Section Four of the 1824 Vagrancy Act, the police in England and Wales have had the legal power until recently to summons anyone for, 'being a suspicious person loitering with intent to commit an arrestable offence'. This regulation was passed to control the roaming bands of marauders left over from the soldiers that fought in the Napoleonic wars of the early nineteenth century. Section Four's particular weapon in the police armoury, known more widely as the 'sus' section of the Vagrancy Act, was not modified until 1981 by the Criminal Attempts Act. Three years earlier, half of the young people interviewed on a council estate at Roehampton in south west London were found, at some time, to have 'been in trouble' with the police - the majority on charges of loitering in the streets. The report of their local appeal for a teenagers' law centre made the following implicitly historical comment on such harassment:

Many of the interviewed felt that they were not free to meet on the street, in the sense that they had grown accustomed to being harassed for doing so. Individuals who had experienced such harassment felt a sense of injustice and a negative attitude to 'authority' because of automatically being regarded as suspects. The business of standing around with friends in the street or sitting casually in public places was **seen to be something that their parents had done, and many generations before them**, but which now tends to label those who do it as deviants or juvenile criminals. (my emphasis)

That there are, however, significant and identifiable continuities over time in the attitude of authority towards street corner behaviour is apparent from the evidence related by boys' club leaders in Manchester around the turn of the century. A group of adolescents used to meet on a certain street corner before coming to the Sunday evening services of the Ardwick Lads' and Mens' Club and, as a result, were regularly summonsed by the police for loitering. The club's leaders complained first to the Chairman of the local Watch Committee and then angrily confronted the Chief Constable of Manchester. 'The latter bristled with defence of his men and the system and adopted brow-beating tactics which, however, rather missed their mark with us', comments the club historian. Eventually the police discontinued their use of the 'sus' section of the 1834 Vagrancy Act against club members when every lad thus summonsed was defended free of charge by a leading Manchester counsel and acquitted.⁽²⁹⁾

Children's games were popular with the more adventurous boys playing on the streets, such as 'knock out ginger' and numerous other tricks performed with door-knockers:

Well, what we did, wait till the evening come, then we ties one knocker to the door knocker opposite with a long piece of cotton. Then we knocks one of the doors and hides, and as it opens inward it raps the door over the other side of the road. Well, this goes on, with doors opening and closing, until they twigs it, then they's shout: 'You stop that larking about, you bloody little nuisances!'

Some householders reacted with their own form of deterrent to a more simplified version of this particular street game:

The last one used to get the bucket of water, what people used to throw out of the windows at them The first one got away with it, was halfway down the street. The first knocked, well they'd open the door, see the kids and they'd go in, go up to the bedroom and chuck the water out on 'em. So the last one got a drowning. 'Course the last one began to get fly and would go right out in the road and run up.

Arnold Freeman thought that football was the greatest single influence in the recreational life of the average Birmingham working boy and the diaries he collected of weekly life give an added emphasis to that judgement. Most male adolescents would be found either supporting their favourite local team or playing football among themselves on Saturday afternoons during the season. Out of 605 children brought before Birmingham Juvenile Court in 1911 for non-indictable offences, 132 were charged with playing football in the streets. Playing football in the streets was a non-indictable offence so frequent at weekends that a number of boys' club workers in London agitated for the opening of football pitches in the city's parks and open spaces on a Sunday - a move which alienated several of their clerical supporters. Betting on the results of League football matches had also increased by the 1900s, encouraged by the rash of football papers, and this was commonly seen as a most serious feature of adolescent life by concerned youth workers.⁽³⁰⁾

No subject aroused youthful enthusiasm as much as football, nothing was so hotly discussed or so accurately known and the ordinary boy's hero was invariably one of the members of his local team. 'Don't do much work of a Saturday morning always talking about football', wrote a seventeen-year old apprentice silversmith in his diary. 'Went to a football match with our shop and Cape Hill Mission. I ran the line for them and shouted them up a bit'. A Bolton woman testified to the hazardous nature of playing street football in the years before the First World War:

The boys congregating in groups, particularly playing football, and we - the younger elements - had to be on guard for the bobby coming because, you see, you were liable to be fined for playing football in the street in those days, you know. And so we were placed at different corners to watch out for the bobby and we used to give the call, you see, if we saw a bobby approaching and then of course the lads all scattered in all directions.

The son of an engineer in Bristol remembers playing street football with lamp-posts as goals and a ball made out of rags and wet paper - 'we used to put everything we had into it' - and also that this harmless street game inspired in him a particular fear of the police:

That was the only thing that did frighten me when I was a boy, you couldn't even go quarter of an hour, half an hour, and a policeman would walk through the street, you know If you were doing something you didn't ought to be, like playing football or kicking a tin around, if he could get near enough with his cape, he'd cover you with it. See, you were sort of frightened of them.

Attendance at a Saturday afternoon football match played in a vast stadium did not necessarily exclude time spent playing football with friends on some vacant space away from police attention. An adolescent working in a Birmingham factory making the wire handles for lard pans spent most of his Sunday playing football:

Had bread and bacon and two cups of tea for breakfast. Got up at 9.50, got ready and went off. I went for my friends and we went on some waste ground and played football until about 2 o'clock went home. In the afternoon we gathered together and saw some lads who live the other end of our street and asked them if they would play us at football, this was agreed and we went on the ground and kicked off we were the winners of the match by a list of 8 goals to 5. After that we went to the coffee house and stayed there for a while and then went home to tea at 6.15.⁽²¹⁾

Another popular street game associated with adolescent youth was 'pitch and toss', regularly persecuted by the forces of law and order since it commonly involved gambling, if only for a few halfpennies. A small mark or 'jack' was agreed upon by the players present and a line drawn at a certain distance from which to pitch the halfpennies alternately towards the 'jack'. When all participants had 'pitched', the boy whose halfpenny was nearest the 'jack' had the first toss, that is, he collected all the money pitched in his hand and tossed them in the air. The players eagerly scanned the ground: for those halfpennies that lay 'heads' upwards were the spoil of the first 'tossing', while those remaining were collected by the second, who tossed and then collected his spoil and so on until the halfpennies were all lost and won. The boy whose halfpenny were furthest from the 'jack', of course, got the last and least opportunity in the game of 'pitch and toss'. One elderly woman looking back on her childhood in Bolton in the late 1900s recalled:

And Sundays they used to play 'pitch and toss' at the corner of the back street, groups of them, tossing a penny into the circle, and again that was supposed to be our job, they called it 'nicksing' (looking out) for the police. And I remember, they were often fined, and on one occasion they had to go to court, and you know the whole neighbourhood clubbed to pay the fines and they went and took it all down in ha'pennies.

Sundays were a popular day for the game since many players had a halfpenny to gamble and, once they had started working, no longer attended Sunday School which was considered 'unmanly'. Street games such as 'pitch and toss', apart from offending against sabbatarian feeling, were liable to be broken up by the police in their anxiety to make the pavements fit for the urban middle class to promenade along - by depriving them of all signs of life and activity.⁽²²⁾

Local police forces in London harried the players of 'pitch and toss' by putting on Special Constables to detect and

arrest street gamblers, assisted by their local knowledge of the most likely venues for the game. In 1912 Thomas Holmes, a local police court missionary (forerunner of the probation service), described how the police went about their capture of some of the dangerous criminals involved:

.... they enter the little unclean street at each end. Now for the supreme excitement; they are observed by the watchful eye of a non-player, who is copperless. There is a rush for the halfpence, some of which the non-player secures. There's a scamper, but there is no escape; the police bag them, and innocent boys who join in the scamper are bagged too. The police search the ground for halfpence, find a few which they carefully pack in paper, that they may retain some signs of dirt upon them, for this will be invaluable legal evidence upon the morrow. There is a procession of police, prisoners and gleeful lads who are not in custody to the nearest police-station.

As this account implicitly suggests, police arrests for such non-indictable 'crimes' as gambling in the streets by adolescents and children was beginning to bring the police into a certain amount of disrepute before 1914. Their efforts to break up adult 'tossing rings', which were centres for much more 'criminal' large-scale gambling, met with more public approval. In Sheffield during the 1920s gang wars were even fought for the control of 'tossing rings' which provided, if anything, a much simplified form of 'pitch and toss'. Coins were simply tossed, spinning, into the air and bets were made on the proportion of heads and tails, or vice versa, as they fell to the ground. Street corner society was not, then, restricted to harmless children's games but, in certain urban areas at certain times, could overlap with a genuine criminal 'milieu' or delinquent subculture.⁽²³⁾

The adolescent courting ritual of the 'monkey parade' provides an example of the socialising functions within the working class community performed by the street as a meeting place. For in most urban areas there existed, by some common consent, one or more streets to which working class youth flocked on weekend evenings to meet casually for an hour or so of walking, joking or general flirtation with the opposite sex. The daughter of a wheelwright living in Camberwell, south London, remembers parading along in the local park at weekends until seeing, 'a boy to get off with, and if you saw one you liked you looked back and they'd follow you and all that business, well that's how we had our bit of fun that way, yes.' Such, concisely defined, was the purpose of the 'monkey parade' in most towns and cities. Before 1914 the 'monkey walk' from Aldgate to Bow in London's East End or Oldham Street in central Manchester played a role in the ritual of introduction for working class couples which has been replaced by an entirely different set of meeting places - discos, pubs and youth clubs. As seen by the middle class outsider, a kind of 'rowdy innocence' prevailed on these occasions in Manchester:

From Hulme, from Ardwick, and from Ancoats they come, in the main well-dressed, and frequently sporting a flower in the button-hole of their jacket. But the motive is not so much that of meeting their friends, as of forming an acquaintanceship with some young girl. Girls resort to Oldham Street on a Sunday night in nearly as large numbers as the boys. (The boys) exchange rough salutations with the girls, who seem in no way less vigorous

than the boys themselves, and whose chief desire, one would think, was to pluck from the lads' button-holes the flowers which many of them wear.

These adolescents often appeared rough and noisy at first sight and passers-by were sometimes pushed and jostled by little gangs of boys parading along the street. Hence police harassment along Oldham Street eventually led to the older adolescents moving to Market Street or Stockport Road in Manchester for their courting and until 10 p.m. on Sunday evenings these streets were thronged by the youth of both sexes.⁽³⁴⁾

In Woolwich, south east London, crowds of young people promenaded along the garrison parade ground in their Sunday best while engaged in the same informal courtship ritual:

Yes, sometimes you'd get half a dozen girls all together and - half a dozen boys and - of course - they usually tried to - connect in some way or other. Drop a handkerchief or - something of that sort or - trip over. No, you don't have a wolf whistle in those days. Of course, you got very, very adventurous, perhaps you'd pull a girl's hair or something of that sort, and then she'd turn round and - well, it all depended (on) who she was. She might give you a mouthful, she might be quite polite. But - it was a case of - you - you used some subterfuge to - you saw anybody you particularly liked. But - I don't know that I did really, I was not much of a one for - it was not until after I was in the Army that I got - interested in girls, and then I wasn't particularly.

In Bedminster, near Bristol, the 'monkey parade' up and down Castle Street was, 'like coming out of a football match', as remembered by the son of an iron foundry worker born in 1898: 'loads of men and women up and down well that's what a lot of them was up there for, looking for a wife (laughs)'. Clearly, particular streets or parks or open spaces were allocated the function of providing the 'monkey parade' on weekend evenings and this was recognised by the urban adolescent community of a particular locality as their chosen meeting place. Thus what to the casual middle class observer may have appeared aimless standing around or parading along the street did, in fact, perform an important function in terms of either leisure or courtship for the average working class adolescent. 'Far from being the entirely degraded element deplored by social writers of the time, (the street group) had certain values of which bourgeois society knew nothing', points out Robert Roberts:

For those young workers too immature, inhibited or indifferent to join what few boys' clubs there were, the group constituted an open-air society, a communal gathering which had great importance socially, culturally and economically. By tradition, membership stood hedged around with restrictions, all unformulated: indeed participants were hardly conscious of a bond. Generally, all boys after a few weeks at work were eligible, though upper-working-class parents frowned on their sons' entering except perhaps to join in football games.⁽³⁵⁾

Boys' Clubs and the Cadet Movement

In the second half of the nineteenth century, middle class activists, churchmen and social reformers, sought to reshape

working class adolescent leisure by providing an alternative world of 'reformed' recreations which would attract youth away from commercial entertainment and street games. Thus the movements discussed in this section were adult led and organized, with some adolescent participation, and were primarily intended to keep boys and young men off the streets and to engage them in some form of healthy, 'manly' activity which would work off much of their excess energies. The boys' club movement grew out of the pastoral work of the mid-nineteenth century churches in London and was a logical extension of the Working Men's Clubs of the 1850s and 1860s. Its debt to the latter is evident from a paper on Youths' Clubs and Institutes given to the 1863 Social Science Association meeting in Edinburgh by the Revd. Arthur Sweatman, future Archbishop of Toronto. This seminal paper discussed the problem of working men's clubs that were frequently invaded by teenage boys who, when allowed entry, annoyed the adults or disrupted sessions by monopolising the billiard tables. Sweatman's proposed solution proved to be the creation of the Youths' Clubs and Institutes of the 1860s aimed at adolescents who had left elementary school and were employed as junior clerks, office and errand boys, apprentices or shop assistants. The first recorded experiments along these lines were, in fact, made by the Revd. Henry White at Dover in 1857 - then at Charing Cross, London - followed by Charles Baker in Bayswater a year later. The latter was probably the first boys' club rather than institute but only its name and that of its manager has survived.⁽³⁶⁾

Youths' Institutes were started for adolescents too young for Mechanics' Institutes or Working Men's Clubs but not considered poor enough for Ragged Night Schools or refuges for the destitute. Their original educational purpose was absorbed into the developing state school system of the 1870s and so they increasingly came to have a less pedagogic function. The most successful early Youths' Institute that we have some information on is the Islington Youths' Institute, opened in October 1860 at St. George's Hall, Richmond Road, Islington, whose activities, attendances, scale of fees and so on, are fully described by its founder, the aforementioned Revd. Arthur Sweatman, then minister of St. George's Church. A decade or so later, the boys' club model of wholly recreational facilities had emerged in London to displace the Youths' Institute idea, although a few of the latter lingered on until the 1900s. The Cyprus Boys' Club started in 1872 on the north side of the Camberwell New Road in the vigorous Anglo-Catholic parish of St. John the Divine, Kennington, is a fairly well-documented example of the coming trend. It also offers a striking contrast with the more 'respectable' Youths' Institute on the south side of the Camberwell New Road which the Revd. Thomas Elsdale had started to educate the mostly lower middle class youth of the district. The membership of the Cyprus Boys' Club consisted of about seventy cab-washers, ostlers, coster boys and crossing-sweepers, that is, it catered for much 'rougher' local adolescents than the Youths' Institute on the other side of the road. We know from Waldo McGillicuddy Eagar's indispensable *Making Men* (1853), a history of boys' clubs, that the Cyprus Boys' Club flourished in the 1880s, with such leisure pursuits as Sunday outings, a drum and fife band, a coffee tavern and regular drill. Thus there is clear evidence that the boys' club movement grew out of the Youths' Clubs and Institutes idea of the late 1850s and 1860s and was then displaced by a purely club or recreational model in the 1870s and 1880s.⁽³⁷⁾

During the 1880s the 'youth movement' idea was also becoming much more visible in British society with: the spread of the settlement movement from the Universities and the creation of the boys' club network in London; a remarkable flowering of boys' clubs, led by Manchester, in the northern mill towns and in 1883 the creation of the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow, the world's first voluntary uniformed youth organization. Public school and University 'missions' or settlements took up the boys' club method from 1880 onwards as a method of extending to the 'deserving' poor such public school qualities as 'esprit de corps' and muscular Christianity - often referred to in their literature as 'character-building'. The first recorded boys' club set up in London by a public school and not by a church or a clergyman appears to have been the Mallard Street club, a 'rough' boys' club, run from 1880 onwards by Eton College in its Hackney Wick 'mission district'. This boys' club experiment was soon followed with a great deal of initial enthusiasm by other public schools: Marlborough in Tottenham (1882); Harrow in its Notting Dale 'mission' (1883); Charterhouse 'mission' (1884) in the notoriously 'rough' Tabard Street area of South London; Wellington College with its boys' Clubs in Walworth (1885), the hub of south London's coster life; and Rugby with its home 'mission' in Notting Hill (1889), which came into being as a boys' club. Public schoolboys were encouraged by sympathetic housemasters to bring their supposed qualities of natural leadership and gentlemanly behaviour to bear on the impoverished, 'brutalized' and thus socially unpredictable working class young of the 'mission' areas. This would require a genuine social commitment and dedication to improving the conditions of the urban poor which could be strained by the social chasms often separating a club leader from his boisterous charges. Basil Henriques, ex-Harrow and Oxford, became a convert to the club idea, on reading Alexander Paterson's **Across the Bridges: or Life by the South London Riverside** (1911). He went to work for the Oxford and Bermondsey Mission and then to Toynbee Hall settlement before 1914. Henriques is unusually frank in his memoirs, written when Warden of a large East End Jewish settlement, in admitting to the difficulties of communication between the university graduate such as himself and the ordinary working boy in Stepney or Bermondsey.⁽³⁸⁾

The son of a carpenter living in the East End of London in the 1900s recalled practically living at the Eton Manor Boys' Club, a lay offshoot of the Eton College Mission, from the age of fourteen to sixteen. This club was run by young bachelor gentlemen from Eton who lived practically nearby in a big house in Hackney Wick. The club possessed almost palatial premises funded by the school, including extensive playing fields, a library and a games room. 'That was our life really for Hackney Wick, it was well known and well noted', as the interviewee put it:

There'd be three or four hundred children there you know, and I daresay on average them days there'd be a hundred there every night. Yes. It was - well used, you know, and you - you met better class boys (and played games) such as draughts and chess - in the library, reading, you know what I mean. And - I think it helped to fetch you along, you know.

(Did you feel as though it had an influence on you?)

Yes, I think so, mixing with 'em and that you know, you

try to get to 'em, you - you go a little bit cleaner, a little bit smarter and - perhaps you join in a debate and - you know.

In choosing how to spend his free time, that is, the urban working class adolescent was also selecting a future social role to play and helping to define his attitude to those in authority and his own self-identity. The socially aspiring boy could be 'fetched along' through membership of a boys' club or a cadet company run by public schoolboys and based on a mission. George Acorn, for example, who joined the Webbe Institute Boys' Club run by Oxford House in the Bethnal Green of the late 1890s, was attracted to the club because it had a reputation for sport and athletics. The Webbe also had a cadet corps which George joined despite his mother's protests and soon he began to 'put on airs', abandoned Saturday nights at the local music hall, gave up gambling, joined the local Christian Endeavour Society and was well on the way to becoming a 'respectable' journeyman cabinet-maker. 'The permeation of the lower classes by settlements is a splendid thing. The best way, I think, of raising the tone of East End life of all the methods I have seen applied', concluded Acorn in **One of the Multitude** (1911).⁽³⁹⁾

University-based settlements followed on from the public school missions in setting up boys' clubs and their accompanying cadet corps. Thus in 1885 Toynbee Hall started a trend among University settlements in London by opening the Whittington Boys' Club in Leman Street, Whitechapel, for sixteen to twenty one year olds. In 1886, encouraged by the peripatetic Sir Francis Fletcher Vane (1861-1934), Canon Barnett, the first Warden, started the East London Cadet Corps attached to the Tower Hamlets Rifle Volunteers. Toynbee ostensibly expressed the radical spirit of Baliol College, Oxford, rather than that of militarism but this did not prevent the Hall's quad becoming a barrack-square - to the annoyance of some of the more pacifically inclined Residents. This cadet corps was one of the first attempts in London to use the idea of cadet training to appeal to working class boys as recreation rather than as a form of pre-service training. Until 1886 cadet companies could not be raised independently of the Volunteer units for which they provided recruits, under War Office guidance, and hence were mostly confined to the public schools. 'There is no organization which I have found to influence so powerfully for good the boys in such a neighbourhood', wrote housing reformer Octavia Hill of a company of working class cadets she ran in her Notting Hill rent-collecting area:

The cadets learn the duty and dignity of obedience; they get a sense of corporate life and of civic duty; they learn to honour the power of endurance and effort and they come in contact with manly and devoted officers These ideals are in marked contrast with the listless self-indulgence, the pert self-assurance, the selfishness and want of reverence, which are so characteristic of the life in a low district.⁽⁴⁰⁾

The East London Cadet Corps based at Toynbee was followed in 1889 by the Southwark Cadet Corps, started by an ex-Toynbee Resident, William Ingham Brooke, and based on the Red Cross Boys' Club in that borough. Brooke proudly proclaimed to his benefactress Octavia Hill that, 'military enthusiasm is the prevailing spirit in the Red Cross Street'. In 1891 the Southwark Cadet Corps absorbed the

Eton Mission Cadet Company in Hackney and the East London Cadet Corps in Whitechapel to form the first known cadet battalion drawn entirely from the sons of the London working class - the 1st. London Cadet Battalion. Almost all the cadet companies found in London in the 1890s and 1900s were based on working boys' clubs and these, in turn, were associated with either a public school mission or a University settlement of some kind. In 1890, for example, a Haileybury School had launched a boys' club in Stepney but enthusiasm for mission work in the London slums soon abated and from 1897 the club was converted into a more manageable cadet company with obligatory drill and discipline. The future Labour Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, was commissioned a second lieutenant in this Haileybury-run company and he credits the experience this gave him of life in Stepney for his subsequent conversion to socialism. (In 1911 Attlee's brother Laurence raised a new company for the battalion in Islington). The alacrity with which cadet companies such as these were adopted to control unruly working class adolescents through the military methods of drill and discipline would seem to deny much of the public school rhetoric of Christian brotherhood and social reconciliation which pervaded the early days of the settlement movement. Manly companionship with the public school officers and gentlemen who were their leaders was instead expected to instill civic virtue and 'esprit de corps' into the 'lower ranks' of working class adolescents. Until 1910-11, when Haldane converted the cadets into feeders for the Territorials, military training was promoted as a counter-attraction to working class street culture and potentially corrupting commercial forms of entertainment.⁽⁴¹⁾

Leisure and Adolescent

This paper has argued that, well before the mid-twentieth century and the creation of a specifically teenage culture, the leisure of the adolescent was perceived by middle class observers as different in kind from that associated with the adult. The leisure of the young in Victorian and Edwardian Britain was invariably identified by authority with moral temptation - as was the leisure of lower class adult males. Incorrect choices of adolescent recreation were seen as the source of all subsequent delinquent behaviour in the individual. Fears for the corruption of 'innocent' youth may have arisen from the relative autonomy and anonymity of urban-industrial life which offered the young a freedom from paternal supervision - of whatever kind - that had not been so readily available to their village predecessors. London, for example - before the introduction of state schooling in the 1870s - possessed large numbers of poor children, close to being either beggars or thieves, roaming the streets beyond any form of adult control. Unlike the cities of the industrial North, there was little demand for child and teenage labour in London until late in the nineteenth century. The Victorian evangelical middle class and sections of the 'respectable' working class in the metropolis became correspondingly anxious about the lack of control being exercised over juvenile forms of recreation. Not only this, reformers and youth workers held a persistent belief that commercial forms of leisure provision were a dangerous menace to the moral welfare of the young. 'I am quite clear in my mind that our cities would be infinitely better without these cheaper (music) halls which the working boy frequents', fulminated the Revd. Henry Pelham, Domestic Chaplain to the Bishop of Birmingham, as late as 1914: 'The influence of the crowd, the suggestiveness of the performance and the spectacular appeal to his excitement or emotionalism are rotten to the

very core. An occasional visit may do no harm, but the boys usually become habitués, and it is in this that the evil lies'.⁽⁴²⁾

A consistent theme which the preceding pages have shown to run throughout middle class comments on adolescent forms of leisure, therefore, is the danger of moral corruption from almost any form of commercial entertainment - ranging from the early Victorian penny gaff to the Edwardian picture palace. 'A sense of shock at the emerging patterns of mass communications popular culture', writes Geoffrey Pearson, 'has been the characteristic response to any new developments in popular culture'. Each new arrival, such as the penny theatres in the 1830s, the music halls in the 1850s, or the moving pictures in the late 1890s, represented a threat to the predominant leisure hegemony of the respectable classes. Adults also clearly felt that allowing the young to purchase their own choice of relaxation provided inadequate opportunities for proper socialization in a rapidly changing urban-industrial environment. Now that the new Smilesian mid-Victorian entrepreneurial ideal and its morality - which place such a high value upon the disciplines of work and self-improvement - was seeking to replace competing class ideologies as much through the control of leisure as by any other process, time spent on the streets or at the penny gaff came to represent only unconstructive play or potential delinquency to the middle class. Thus there was a danger, from the point of view of the prevailing social orthodoxy, that a substantial proportion of the young would be left without either moral protection or adequate supervision during their hours of freedom from the school or the work-place. Moralistic adult attitudes towards certain forms of juvenile recreation clearly have a lengthy historical pedigree and persist even to this day among those who exercise power over the lives of the young. 'The Bench looked with some disfavour upon youth's involvement with commercial activities and with very great distaste upon any involvement with the street', remarked a sociologist in 1979 of his visits to Juvenile Courts in the north east of England.⁽⁴³⁾

The insidious threats to the moral health of the nineteenth century adolescent supplied by commercial entertainment or street corner society, could only be combatted by the provision of alternative, non-alcoholic, church-based or 'rational' forms of leisure. Thus the quasi-military brigades or cadet companies of the late nineteenth century intended to offer, 'a counter attraction to the low Music Halls which are now so much resorted to for want of more edifying relaxation'. And so boys' clubs or reading rooms were set up as an alternative to commercial forms of leisure but within a controlled moral environment:

It was decided to offer a counter-attraction to the pernicious places of amusement surrounding this district, in the shape of a Coffee and Reading Room for the elder boys and girls on Monday evenings, where they could have a comfortable, warm, light room in which to read and amuse themselves with innocent games, under the supervision of their teachers.

Thus a major target of the organizers of boys' clubs and their related cadet corps became the elimination of working class street culture and the provision of adult-led, morally healthy alternatives to commercial forms of leisure provision. It is also no coincidence that youth organizations and clubs should have emerged at a time in British history when adolescence was coming to be seen as a distinct social category.

ory, with its own peculiar problems of physical and social adjustment which both the established authorities and the churches wished to regulate and control. It was, however, the more evangelical Christians - whether Nonconformists or Anglican - who were to have the most forceful impact on late Victorian attitudes towards the training of the young. Thus, in many British cities, the attempt to come to terms with the new 'problem' of adolescence was made through the agencies of evangelical Christianity and assumed the forms or methods of military training and discipline.⁽⁴⁴⁾

It is an open and historically unexplored question whether or not the recreational activities which so appalled moralising students of adolescent behaviour in the cities might have succeeded must as adequately as the voluntary uniformed organizations or boys' clubs in offering a legitimate basis for the leisure-time social education of the young. Churchmen and public school settlement workers were too intent upon providing an alternative world of 'reformed' recreations which would help to immunise their young charges against both the alleged moral degeneracy of their own street culture and the corrupt appeals of an embryonic leisure industry whose final arbiter was commercial profit. It is also open to question how far leisure in the period under discussion was as deliberately age-specific as the forms of leisure selected here, such as penny gaffs and boys' clubs, have tended to suggest. Thus popular entertainment forms like the cinema were clearly not restricted to particular age-groups, although before 1914 children and adolescents must have provided nearly a third of the audience. Equally, going to football matches was not just confined to adolescents and young men but also appealed to the middle aged and elderly, albeit the former were the more active participants in games of street football. It is also unlikely that adolescents organized themselves separately from their families to go to the seaside before 1914, but many poor boys would not have seen the coast-line except through membership of age-specific summer camps run by boys' clubs, brigades and scouts. This paper of course, has only selected those forms of recreation which tend to confirm the isolation of the adolescent from the leisure activities enjoyed by individuals at other stages of the life-cycle. Drinking and gambling were shared by different age groups in the past before legislation made this kind of leisure activity more difficult for the young. The emphasis given here to non-specific adolescent forms of leisure has been made, therefore, more as a corrective to a purely class-based interpretation, rather than in an attempt to replace it with some sort of theoretical approach based upon the concept of generations. What is needed in the future is a more pluralistic approach to the history of leisure and popular culture which embraces social, generational and regional differences and sets them all in their proper historical context.

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reviews

TRAINEES JOIN YOUR UNION

Labour Research Department
78 Blackfriars Rd.,
London SE1 8HF.
15 pence.

Do the subjects of YTS and unions a) turn you off; b) switch you on; c) confuse you? Whatever your reactions youth workers can't afford to ignore the relationship between YTS and union. YTS, whether we like it or not, it's part of the lives of young people and they need skills and information to assess the experience. To many young people unions will seem at best an irrelevance, at worst a threat. The presentation of unions both in the media and by trade unionists themselves leaves much to be desired. Raising questions about unions and YTS is part of the threatened area of work by youth workers on political education and participation. In this context, the recently revised and updated pamphlet for young people prepared by the Labour Research Department is a very useful tool for youth workers.

Like the previous edition it has Question and Answer format about trade unions and YTS: beginning with 'Why do I need a union when my pay is fixed by the Government' and ending up with 'How do I know which union to join'. The new pamphlet improves on the old by its presentation; an additional Question and Answer and other minor amendments.

The presentation is improved by being easier to read and the use of photographs of young people instead of cartoons. The additional question is 'what about when I leave the scheme?' This is really important, but perhaps the answers given are not exactly right: '...if you leave early, you could face financial penalties from your employer, your union will help you resist them....' While some employers may have tried to demand repayment for expenditure, on clothing or tools for instance, the more important and widespread practice are the Government imposed penalties for leaving a scheme early (40% benefit for six weeks) which happened to nearly 7000 young people in the first half of 1984, for instance. This is an issue unions could take up but it would be an advocacy or support role in the Tribunal system rather than at the workplace. The other major area which could have been treated in the answer to this question is the role of unions in challenging inequalities between young people: who gets jobs at the end continues to reflect race, gender and 'qualification' discrimination. In fact as a whole the pamphlet does not deal with the role of unions in dealing with sex and race discrimination, 'favourites' and 'scapegoats' (arbitrary discipline): all those everyday experiences of young people which often stand in the way of trainees getting together to change their situation collectively.

The pack rightly emphasises the lack of legal protection that young people have and hence the necessity for trade unions. Even so, the pamphlet could mention the rights that young people do have and the role that unions can play in making sure they get them. This omission does not really matter given that a number of unions, trade councils etc. have produced 'Rights Cards' covering this and they could be used together.

As a bare minimum anyone who comes into contact with young people faced with YTS should be familiar with the points made in the pamphlet and at 15p a copy it is a handy summary of the arguments. However it should not be beyond the resources of youth unemployment projects, trade unions, trade councils etc. to buy it in sufficient quantities to distribute to young people.

The pamphlet is not the only resource on trade unions and YTS available to workers with young people and ideally it should be used alongside other materials. These materials are often not widely known but are well worth getting hold of e.g.

1. Most major unions have written policies on the Youth Training Scheme: they often include negotiating points for schemes.
2. Most of the relevant unions have free or low subscription rates for YTS trainees and special recruitment material, some of it very good.
3. There are an increasing number of materials for trade union education with young people, including material especially for YTS. As well as material from the TUC and the 'Rights Cards' mentioned earlier, there are a growing number of videos which are useful: the excellent 'Rights wot Rights?' produced by Birmingham Trade Union Resource Centre; 'It's about time' produced for Oxford Trades Council and the video produced by NUPE Northern division are already being distributed. 'Girocity' produced in Birmingham for Channel 4 and a follow up to 'Rights wot Rights?' should be available very soon.
4. There are a number of initiatives to improve the approach and responsiveness of trade unions to young people. As well as 'funded projects' in Newcastle, Sheffield, Birmingham and London, trade unions and trade councils and some regional TUC education officers have been active.

The crucial requirement now is for Youth workers in particular to be involved with trade unions in using what is available, in an appropriate way, to develop this important aspect of participation at a time when in housing, the legal system, employment, the social security system, education and youth service etc. young people's rights, and the rights of those who work with them, are being eroded.

John Eversley

Dave Harker

FAKESONG

The manufacture of British 'folksong' 1700 to the present day

Open University Press

ISBN 0 335 15066 7

£8.95

pp.297

Anyone who has attended a folk club will be familiar with the upwardly mobile dungaree throats who warble evangelically through some rustic myth that will keep the peoples' music alive. Workers' culture? According to the basic premise behind this book, the songs that these people sing are, by and large, the results of an extremely selective and sanitised approach by middle-class collectors and antiquarians. Whilst there is no doubting that these collectors of 'folk' music did a valuable job, their collecting was biased not towards a real study of the music, but rather to the bourgeois notion of a 'national' culture. Harker describes this manipulation as 'mediation' - "not simply the fact that particular people passed on songs they had taken from other sources, in the form of manuscript or print, but that in the very process of so doing their own assumptions, attitudes, likes and dislikes may well have determined what they looked for, accepted and rejected". His aims are to "show why these people mediated songs, who they did it for, and how their practices and the results of their mediations related to more general cultural and historical tendencies and developments".

The essential basis of Harker's theoretical approach is based on the Marxist-Leninist concept of 'Second Culture' when a society is split by class there is not one all embracing culture but rather two cultures:- the dominant culture of the ruling

class and the culture of the exploited class attempting to challenge the power of the class in control. Any attempt, therefore, to rationalize a 'national culture' becomes reactionary, for the ruling class dominate both the material and intellectual forces of society. It is from this viewpoint that Harker attempts to analyze the work of major and not so major 'English-speaking song mediators' whose collecting and publishing is generally centred around workers' song culture.

Harker uses a concise and clear method of analysis in his consideration of the work of the various 'mediators'. He is able to achieve this by his arrangement of the chapters under sub-headings that consider:- the person; aims; ideas; sources; editing. This allows him to fully integrate his subject into an historical context, out of which song collecting began and continued, so that he is able to relate that what these collectors were, was closely connected to what they did. For example, Thomas Percy who collected 'old heroic ballads' for his 'Reliques of Ancient English Poetry', benefited from a patronage that ran from his old Oxford college, through a duke and an earl to the king as he progressed from being a Northamptonshire vicar to the Bishop of Dromore in Ireland. He had contacts within the literary world of London and at Oxford and Cambridge and "his less than onerous church duties allowed him... to pursue his antiquarian literary interests in conjunction with London booksellers and publishers as a profitable sideline". Here was a rich and important member of eighteenth century bourgeois society who had an allegedly national 'hobby' which appealed to 'readers of taste' within the rising bourgeoisie. Such is Percy's confidence in his 'ruling' position that the fragmentary nature of a lot of song collecting could quite easily be 'filled' up by a person from another culture "expressing that culture's notions of beauty". As Harker understates: "preservation was not far short of expropriation".

Two themes running through the book are the patronizing attitudes of these mediators and their social contemporaries set alongside the rising use of capitalist ideals which see a culture fit for manipulation as a saleable commodity. Folksong, having been discovered at the cost of a few pints of beer, is seen to become the 'property' of the collector who then 'cleans' it up to improve its market value to 'polite society'. Harker is able to state that by the end of the nineteenth century with the formation of the Folk Song Society, these mediators of song had, in fact, become involved with "the early stages of a new level of struggle to impose onto the working class, what was 'good' for them, from the standpoint of the ruling class, and of capital".

With the entry of Cecil Sharp into the world of collecting folksong, Harker is able to home-in on the unscientific and selective work of a man, whose "politics were essentially those of limited reform, from above, by a self-elected minority". For Sharp, songs were some sort of living organism, the 'type' of which, he could recognise: "We know a folk tune when we hear it or we don't; and the kernel of his theory remains the anthropomorphic characterization of song". Sharp, Harker suggests, de-humanizes and de-individualizes the process of collecting songs from singers with "no sense of their own artistry, creativity, innovations or even their social role as singers" because he (Sharp) can only contrast their songs with those "from the civilised and highly individualistic bourgeois culture of which he formed a part". The great irony is that this restoration of the workers' heritage meant that "people like Sharp had first to appropriate it, sift and winnow, and then dole back as and when they saw fit".

One of the saddest and most elitist aspects of song

collecting that Harker shows is its (bourgeois) assumption that 'real' folk music stopped with industrialization. To Sharp and his contemporaries, the writing of folksong had ceased by the middle of the nineteenth century. Harker rightly suggests that this prejudice against the growing urban milieu led to a concentration on folk music that was seen as coming from some pre-industrial golden age of shepherds and hey nonny nays - a past where the individual was paramount. Songs of community, commemorating the struggles of the working class may have been acknowledged to have existed, but that is not to say they were ever accepted. How could they have been accepted? They were written after some arbitrary date after which no folksong could have been written. Unfortunately this kind of ridiculous temporal criterion become one of the Sharpist laws of collecting and has probably meant the loss of some of the earliest urban community songs that never made it to broad sheet or chapbook.

Such is the ubiquitous influence of Sharp and the bourgeois 'folksong consensus', that Harker can argue persuasively that even the great (and problematic) Bert Lloyd, for all his socialism, was unable to break away from the preconceptions he had between the 'homely ballads' and a lot of the material he found miners singing in 1951/52 - "moth eaten stereotypes of the standard popular song, with its blubbering self pity". The problem was that using Sharp's criteria very few of the miners' songs could be seen as folksong, "yet he (Lloyd) insists that what the songs represented was what he terms 'Industrial folksong', which could be more or less near to tradition". The difference between Lloyd's concept of 'industrial folklore' and the ideas of Sharp, was that Lloyd was not confined to a rural past but aware that the "creation of folksong has passed almost entirely into the scope of the working class of the towns". When Harker discusses Lloyd's Topic album "The Iron Muse", whose sleeve-notes stated that the working class was only "dimly aware of its own self-made cultural heritage", and that one of the aims of the record was to encourage the writing of new industrial songs, he adds an astute after thought: those who wrote these new songs "were often as not school teachers, people with university degrees, and assorted petty-bourgeois individuals. Labouring men and women are conspicuous by their absence from the ranks of song-writers who gained access to Topic L.P.s".

That the working class no longer have any great interest in folk music, must surely be seen, as Harker argues, as a result of the bourgeois assimilation of working class culture - the 'national' fantasies of collectors who were able to remove folksong from the dialectical context of its creation into the unfortunate realms of academe. As a result of this kind of activity over the last three hundred years, the terminology of collectors like 'folksong', 'ballad', 'tradition' is seen by Harker as nothing more than 'conceptual lumber' that "help to mystify workers' culture in the interests of bourgeois ideology and therefore of capitalism east and west".

This is a valuable piece of research that allows the reader to see more clearly why the working class creators of folk music were not allowed to be part of their own story. The more traditional (sic) clubs of today, like the keepers of Cecil Sharp House and the English Folk Dance and Song Society still retain an apparently temporal and political proximity to, and fetish for, nineteenth century attitudes. Bedecked with tankard, fair-isle and beard, they are safe in the fantasy that 'their' attitudes to 'their' hobby has nothing to do with the alienation of the working class from what, in historical terms, is a music stolen from the workers' culture. This book begins to set the record

straight on how this theft occurred. Roll over Cecil Sharp and tell Bert Lloyd the news.

Paul Hansen

LEISURE SERVICES FOR DISADVANTAGED PEOPLE

Association of Metropolitan Authorities, 1985
36 Old Queen Street,
London SW1H 9JE.

£4.00

pp.44

"In support of those who would otherwise be denied access (to services) which the community at large has come to take for granted. The Report offers a number of practical recommendations to Local Government which could lead to a new strategy for action". - (foreword)

If that sounds promising to you, you're in for a big disappointment. By any definition, the numbers of 'disadvantaged people' in Thatcher's Britain is growing fast and local government has considerable scope for offering support and encouragement to these sectors of the population. Indeed central government's resentment of this local countervailing power seems one of the main motives behind ratecapping.

So, what we need is a lively and provocative document, bursting with radical new ideas! What we've got is smug, bland and stodgy: some unimaginative and poorly written officers' reports clumsily stitched together, and grossly over-priced by any standard. But perhaps it's not aimed at the general public? Well I'm sure local councillors and other officers have got better things to do with their time than wade through this: even examples of good practice that are quoted do not include any contact addresses to find out more information, and only the sketchiest of clues as to staffing and funding of the projects.

A definition of disadvantage is never given, just a list of 'awkward' groups: handicapped and elderly people, unemployed people, ethnic minorities, single parents, youth, children under 5, delinquents and young offenders - and no mention here for gays and lesbians! At times there seems to be a circular argument that the disadvantaged = those in need of Local Authority care. Thus one of the most coherent statements in the paper is the assertion that:

"the quality, nature and awareness of recreation provided could be an influential factor in determining whether or not a person might require the additional care of social services e.g. - young unemployed persons or juvenile offender". (p.5)

No hint is given as to how the authors have arrived at their priorities, but it is all too clear that the process did not involve asking the consumers what they wanted, let alone finding and encouraging them to take part in planning and organizing activities themselves - although this might be the very thing that would build up much needed skills and confidence.

Instead we are solemnly given lists of ideas such as playschemes, Gateway clubs, adult literacy, toy libraries and (wait for it) 'ethnic minority youth workers', as if they were new rather than the bright ideas of twenty years ago. In Doncaster we learn that the elderly can take part in swimming, dancing, keep fit, voluntary work and outings - but there is nothing to tell us how many take part, how much they pay, what role they have in deciding on activities, who helps run the groups etc. In

Waltham Forest we are told there is a special Youth Service Daytime Provision Unit (YSDPU) for short) which aims:

"To develop programmes of social, educational and recreational activities designed to meet the needs of the participants and to offer young adults opportunities to meet with their peers". (p.38)

Such as what?

Of course there are some useful points, but even these are not very thoroughly discussed. As an increasingly unfit nonsporting person who is easily intimidated by the competitive atmosphere pervading most sport/leisure centres, I wholeheartedly agree that 'they should be portrayed as offering opportunities for enjoyment rather than merely centres of excellence'. (p.12) Similarly the authors draw attention to the fact that many subsidy arrangements and special sessions for disadvantaged groups only underline their 'differentness' and increase the stigma they experience.

One way out is simply to have general 'off peak' reduction which most of the 'target groups' would be in a good position to benefit from. In Nottingham for example some of the special 'drop-in' centres for the unemployed are not well patronized, whilst the County Council's subsidised family bus travel to country parks etc. is very well used and appreciated.

And some of the examples of good practice are very intriguing: the sound playground for blind and handicapped children in Islington, the Asian women's swimming clubs in Birmingham, the mobile family day centre run jointly by Social Services, Community Relations and the Asian Women's Association in Redbridge. One particularly liked the way Waltham Forest Gateway had 'tried to break the image of the mentally handicapped youngsters always being at the receiving end of charity' by not only fundraising for clean water supplies in East African villages but going on an expedition there to deliver the equipment they'd bought in person. BUT no address if you want to find out more!

Ian McHugh.

Judith Bury
'TEENAGE PREGNANCY IN BRITAIN'
The Birth Control Trust
27-35 Mortimer Street, London W1N 7RT
£3.50

Penny Windsor
'OUT OF SIGHT'
A study of young womens lives on a Swansea Estate.
Youth Enterprise, Swansea.
Further copies available from Penny Windsor
86 Terrace Road, Mount Pleasant,
Swansea, South Wales.

Both of these studies are topical in the light of the issues surrounding the recent controversial Gillick case in the High Court and the ruling affecting the supplying of contraceptives to young people under the age of sixteen. The other factor that emerges from the two reports is the plight of young women in a society that offers them little choice of support in terms of education, employment and the opportunity to determine and control their fertility and reproductive role.

There are many myths about teenage sexuality that amount, at times, to a 'moral panic' e.g. that young people are sexually promiscuous and that this is escalated by sex education in schools and the influence of the media compounded by the availability of abortion and free contraceptive advice. Dr. Judith Bury, whose experience

includes working as a medical officer for the Brooke Advisory Clinic in Edinburgh and who is extremely well informed about the sexual activity of teenagers, successfully explodes these myths. Her study is an interesting combination of the demystification of statistics on teenage sexuality and pregnancy and a prescription for more appropriate contraceptive counselling and support for young women who decide, for whatever reason, to have a child. She demonstrates that the rate of teenage pregnancy has declined since the early 1970s and by a thorough compilation of existing statistical evidence portrays teenage sexuality in a far less alarming way than it is often presented in the media. The majority of young people (half women and two thirds of men) have sexual intercourse before the age of twenty but this is often within the context of an established relationship. Teenage sexual activity is often sporadic and circumstantial and when this is linked with young women's ambivalence about their sexuality (the old double standards still persist!) a conscious decision to use a reliable contraceptive in advance of the sex act is admitting that she is sexually active; this is often a major step for young women.

Dr. Bury makes the important distinction between early teenage pregnancy (13-16 years old) and the older teenager of eighteen or nineteen. It is in the former category in particular that socio-economic factors are an important factor e.g. young girls in care, who often have a poor self-image, are more likely to become pregnant and as these are the group most at risk since the Gillick case Dr. Bury's study is even more relevant.

Penny Windsor's analysis of young women living in a council estate in Swansea, of their hopes and ambitions and their day to day lives is equally pertinent and topical. It is qualitative research at its best although it is based on a small sample of eighty young people, fifty nine of whom were young women. Sponsored by Youth Enterprise, Swansea, the project was concerned with the sixteen to twenty five year old age bracket and examined school, work, marriage and parenthood as well as leisure, hopes, ambitions and fears for the future. Penny Windsor's background as a community worker in Swansea and her experience of and access to young people are obviously an important advantage for a realistic portrayal of life for young people today. She has chosen to concentrate on the young women in her study and its title "Out of Sight" reflects what amounts to their invisibility in terms of educational and employment provision. The study is full of heartfelt statements about the reality of their marginality in the economic and political spheres, and their desires to break out from the constrictions of life in a depressed inner city area. Their ambitions and hopes for the future appear simple; a house, a car, a holiday etc. but as Penny Windsor so rightly stresses these are only simple achievable ambitions for young middle class people.

Like Dr. Bury's study, "Out of Sight" is prescriptive; it suggests strategies for including young people in general and young women in particular in decisions about provision for the community. As a result of her work it is hoped that a full-time community worker will be employed to implement some of her recommendations - the sort of feedback and results that action research should provide.

"Teenage Pregnancy in Britain" makes recommendations too; that young people should be encouraged to seek advice on contraception and sex related matters in clinics especially designed for them; that sex education in schools should continue (80% of parents in a recent survey approved of using schools for this purpose) and should include not just factual but attitudinal informa-

tion. Both studies realise that changes at a micro level will only achieve piecemeal, ad hoc reform and both recognise the problems attached to encouraging change at a macro level in a society that, more and more, is retreating into individualism.

Helen Cairns

Edwin J. Thomas
DESIGNING INTERVENTIONS FOR THE HELPING PROFESSIONS
Sage Publications, 1984
ISBN 0 8039 2300 7 (hbk)
ISBN 0 8039 2301 5 (pbk)
£31.00 (hbk) £15.50 (pbk)
pp.301

The review editor asked me to do a 1,500 word commentary of this book. Given that I am in "the helping professions" and am centrally concerned with systems building and designing interventions, I enormously looked forward to reading the book, while wondering how I could confine my comments to so few words.

In the event, I find this book almost impossible to review. It seems to be the result of a subject in search of an author and an author in search of a subject, but each missing the other. To take the subject matter first:- there is nothing new about interventions. People have been intervening in each other's lives systemically, systematically and otherwise for a long time. However, Thomas is right in insisting that we now use the term "intervention" in a more positive way and that, therefore, there is some sense in exploring the topic to see whether its constant elements can be analysed and presented in a conceptually and empirically coherent way.

In pursuit of this he divides the book into four parts. The brief first one brings out the possible contributions of different disciplines for intervention design. Part 2 analyses the anatomy of helping strategy in terms of objectives, targets and rules in intervention; assessment and intervention planning; intervention methods, implementation, monitoring and the relationship between behaviour theory and intervention theory. Part 3 discusses design and development of intervention and Part 4 concentrates on selected tools and techniques. There are not, therefore, many topics that Thomas has left out.

However, a close reading of the book reveals that some subjects are treated in much more detail than necessary (e.g. "generation processes in innovation") whilst other more significant topics are dealt with very superficially (e.g. "assessment" methods). Moreover, for a British audience the book is strewn with unnecessary jargon and wordiness which seriously clogs up the text. The style of writing is turgid and wholly unrelieved by touches of lighter prose, which would not be out of place even in such a subject.

More seriously, what troubled me as I was reading through was - who is the book for? Certainly not for someone who, for example, aims to set up a system to improve inner city areas; provide better youth services or determine what he should do about a particularly refractory youngster. If he came to this book for help he would find a series of abstract concepts which are obviously relevant but give hardly any clear ideas of how to set about designing interventions. He would also be puzzled by the apparent inclusion of some material, for example concerning "assumptions about helping behaviour". However, the evaluation of his assessment of the problem, for the alleviation of which he was designing intervention, is hardly covered.

On the other hand, an academic who looked at this book to see which parts could be used for teaching purposes, would be puzzled by the abundance of subheadings but extraordinarily superficial coverage of the actual material.

So, yes, there is a subject matter of designing interventions which warrants presentation to people who have to help others, but that requires a more clear conceptual map than has been used by Thomas. Indeed, in the light of my own work in this area, I find Thomas's approximation to a conceptual map confused, and confusingly complex.

And yes, Professor Thomas knows a great deal about aspects of interventions but, sadly, he has not been able to convey it in a coherent form that is usable by either the professionals or those who teach them. So, much promise but little fulfilment.

Masud Hoghughi

BEATING UNEMPLOYMENT - A Practitioners Handbook
Community Initiatives Research Trust,
140A Gloucester Mansions, Cambridge Circus,
London WC2H 8PA
ISBN 0-950961-60-4
£2.50

Readers of this journal will be well aware that youth and community organisations, both voluntary and statutory, are now inextricably bound up with employment issues. This poses two basic problems for professional workers: where to obtain advice and support in developing real jobs or viable occupational alternatives and the provision of training for youth and community workers to engage in such activities. Although some basic training agencies address unemployment issues as an integral part of their course, the extent to which alternatives to unemployment are addressed is scanty to say the least. Youth and community workers usually find themselves "in at the deep end" with little knowledge of what can and is being done around the country. For those who have been in fieldwork practice for more than ten years or so, the problem is even greater since unemployment barely figured on the training agenda until the advent of the Youth Opportunities Programmes in the early 70's. "Beating Unemployment" is an excellent contribution to the literature that addresses the above mentioned problems. The title is, in some respects, a misnomer since it does not address the political and macro-economic preconditions that are required to significantly reduce unemployment. However, in fairness to the authors, they do point out that the purpose of the book is to enable practitioners in the jobs debate to make positive steps in generating meaningful economic activity and create real employment under existing conditions with currently available resources.

The book is in three parts. The first section takes a general look at a wide range of interventions that are taking place throughout the U.K. and identifies the major national agencies offering support. It also locates these projects comfortably within the wide spectrum of often confusing and contradictory approaches to dealing with unemployment. Some of these approaches are soft alternatives to real jobs and others are hard nosed attempts at creating market oriented enterprises. The second section explains the development and operation of seven case study projects in the U.K. Although they are rather brief (some hard-pressed readers may find this an advantage) the authors do cover the essential points-origins, aims, where help was obtained, funding, and so on. The authors also make some observational

notes on the strengths and weaknesses of each project.

There is however a tendency to overstate the positive attributes of these projects and minimise the difficult and often protracted negotiations associated with the promotion of such projects. In my experience many projects in this field do not stand up to rigorous examination. On the other hand we must acknowledge that this is pioneering work in a difficult socio-economic climate.

The third section, and in my view quite rightly the largest, is a resource package; where to obtain grants and loans, advice and support, and training for employment projects. It lists and describes a wide range of both statutory and voluntary bodies that can help, giving national and local contacts. It is not a definitive list but one of the most comprehensive and useable ones I have come across.

One of the great attractions of this publication is the excellent use of graphics throughout. Picture coding and bold type for key phrases and contacts makes it easy to use for hard-pressed fieldworkers seeking access to key information. There is also a first class topic index to cross reference all three sections.

It is worth noting that "Beating Unemployment" is published by the Centre for Employment Initiatives (CEI) on behalf of the Community Initiatives Research Trust. The CEI was formed in the early 80's as an independent non-profit making organisation to monitor and co-ordinate the development of locally based enterprises, often promoted as Community Business Ventures, throughout the U.K. More recently they have examined similar experiments in Europe, Australia, and the USA. Two of CEI's founder members, Colin Ball and Rodney Stares, were part of the research team that produced the Calouste Gulbenkian report "Whose Business Is Business?" That research was undertaken at the request of the Minister of Employment, then James Prior, who at that time was encouraging a tripartite effort between government (the M.S.C. to be precise), Industry, and the Voluntary Youth and Community sector to promote Community Business Ventures. Prior was moved to the Northern Ireland office and a harder line pursued by government. Ball and Stares retained their commitment to the theme of that work and the CEI is a manifestation of that commitment. "Beating Unemployment" therefore comes from a respectable stable and should prove a sound basic resource book for workers in this field.

Having said that there is always the problem of such material becoming rapidly dated. Existing resources are continually being changed, new provisions (particularly at local level) are always being introduced, new and better projects are created almost daily, and existing projects collapse or move location. Resource publications of this type, therefore, can only serve as a "snapshot" and as a basic introduction to the state of the art in local employment development. For this reason serious practitioners in this field should also subscribe to the CEI's bi-monthly magazine "Initiatives". This provides updated information on legislative and resource changes that are taking place, reports new project developments from around the country, and reviews new publications in this field.

"Beating Unemployment" does however bring together a wide range of information in an easily useable form and should be regarded as a good starting point for any agency concerned with unemployment issues.

Pete Smith

Steve Bruce
FIRM IN THE FAITH
Gower Publishing Ltd., 1984
ISBN 0-566-00705-3
£14.50 (hbk)
pp.227

The main purpose of Bruce's work is to look at the reasons why conservative Protestantism has persisted as well as it has and where it has. He makes his own personal stance quite clear from the outset. He is writing as a sociologist and an atheist. Yet he chooses to keep the amount of sociology in the book to a minimum because he wants to be accessible to the more general serious reader. The book is not therefore structured around a particular sociological theory but deals with discrete aspects of conservative Protestantism such as its history, present strength and organisation and its changing relationships with politics, rock music and science. Because Bruce does not believe that conservative Protestantism poses any major threat to liberal democracies, the book does not gear itself towards either a critique of conservative Protestantism, or to making policy suggestions for containing or combating it.

What Bruce does do is to offer the general reader an insight into what conservative Protestantism is and why it has not been as badly affected by recent religious decline and malaise as mainstream liberal Protestant denominations. In his arguments he challenges some of the generally accepted views about this form of belief. For example, although conversionist activity may be important for conservative evangelicals, this is not because it is essential for gaining recruits, new members generally being the children or spouses of existing members. Rather, such activity has valuable side effects such as increasing cohesion and commitment, and may also strengthen a church's socialisation processes. Bruce quite clearly rejects the explanation of conversion at crusades as being the result of emotional manipulation by the evangelist, producing decisions which would not have been made in the 'cold light of day'. Bruce argues that crusades are routine, predictable affairs, attended mostly by church-goers, which do not induce fear or hypnotic-type states. Conversion is something which the actor accomplishes for himself. It is a rational, meaningful change forming the culmination of a learning process.

In similar vein, Bruce argues towards the end of the book that the conservative Protestant's tendency to see conspiracies and hidden patterns in every aspect of life is "entirely reasonable and consistent with beliefs about the world that make him a conservative Protestant" (p.201). The conservative Protestant should not therefore be 'explained' in terms of psychological theories such as the authoritarian personality. Indeed Bruce sees the cognitive style of the conservative Protestant as consistent with and similar to that of basic empirical science, in the sense that the notions of having an authoritative body of knowledge and empiricism are common to both science and Protestant evangelicals. The conservatives are now even using science to show that creation is plausible and argue, with new found confidence, that Darwinism is bad science. In all this Bruce seems concerned to demonstrate that conservative Protestants are not necessarily irrational fanatics but that their beliefs and world view are internally consistent and reasonable. He is more equivocal about any explanatory connection between conservative politics and evangelicals. He examines the United States with its Moral Majority, Scotland, the Ulster of Ian Paisley and, briefly, South Africa. He concludes that the only viable generalisation is that there are fundamental themes which are at home in both political conservatism and conservative Protestantism.

As Bruce's work grew out of some earlier research into campus Christianity, it is not surprising to find one Chapter, (4), focussing in detail on the relative fates of the Student Christian Movement (SCM) and the Inter-Varsity Fellowship (IVF). Bruce documents the rise of the conservative IVF and the almost complete collapse of the increasingly liberal SCM during the 1970s. The tight and specific belief system of the conservative produces consensus and concerted action which, in turn, facilitate the kind of strong organisation one observes in the IVF. Diffuse, liberal belief systems, on the other hand, are said to be prey to fragmentation of identity and dilution of purpose.

Bruce therefore offers the reader several strands of explanation for the success of conservative Protestantism through a predominantly descriptive format. These are interesting and thought provoking but are not systematically brought together into a clear conclusion at the end of the book. One is not therefore altogether sure what the major factors for persistence are, as opposed to what are just current characteristics of conservative Protestantism. Despite his avoidance of sociology Bruce's arguments should induce the reader to consider one of the pervasive problems of sociological analysis namely, the veracity of actors' accounts. How far should one believe self-explanation before looking for explanations external to the actor? This is particularly problematic when dealing with religion - do people believe just because they have become convinced of the 'truth', or do they turn to religion in response to crises or gaps in their lives? Bruce, in his treatment of crusades and conversions in particular, clearly comes down on the side of the value and integrity of actors' accounts.

In general the book is easy to read and informative, covering a wide range of literature, with a good bibliography, although unfortunately there is no index. It is however, as Bruce fully intended, a book for the serious general reader, rather than the sociologist or policy-maker.

Annette P. Hampshire

Michael Brake
COMPARATIVE YOUTH CULTURE
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985
ISBN 0 7100 9898 7
pp. 228
£6.95 (paperback)

The term 'youth culture' was first coined as long ago as 1942, by the American sociologist Talcott Parsons. He used it to refer to American high school culture, with its athletes, football jocks, prom queens and cheer leaders. More commonly, 'youth culture' conjures up the post-war British teddy boys, mods, rockers, skinheads, hippies and punks. These bizarre costumed figures have been paraded before an outraged public by the mass media, producing comments like those of 'a family doctor' writing in the Evening News of 12th May, 1954:

"Teddy boys....are all of unsound mind in the sense that they are all suffering from a form of psychosis. Apart from the birch or the rope, depending on the gravity of their crimes, what they need is rehabilitation in a psychopathic institution".

Similarly unbalanced judgements were later made about other youth cultures. Arguably, the teddy boys etc. were all 'delinquent' subcultures in that a lot of their members really did break the law. But delinquent subcultures are not the only ones which young people create. Most young people pass through adolescence without identification with any particular style: they are the 'respectable' youth, the conformists or 'straights', from whom

the more delinquent elements strive to distance themselves. Then there are the 'cultural rebels': the beatniks and hippies who differed from the teds and skins in being, on the whole, more middle-class, highly educated and committed to cultural values. Finally, the political groups which have mobilised young people - from the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament to the Students for a Democratic Society to the Black Panthers - have subcultural as well as clearly political features.

Michael Brake, in 'Comparative Youth Culture', discusses these four varieties of youth culture (delinquent, respectable, cultural and political) and nods in the direction of anti-racism and anti-sexism by including chapters on black youth and girls. He points out that most youth subcultures are 'masculinist' in the sense that "sub-cultures are male-dominated" and that "youth culture is very concerned with problems of masculinity". Girls are "peripheral" to the subculture or figure as "possessions" of their boyfriends. Literally and metaphorically, girls are pillion passengers.

At this point, it should be noted that 'Comparative Youth Culture' is, in fact, the same book as Michael Brake's earlier 'Sociology of Youth Culture and Youth Subcultures' re-titled, re-written in parts, some sections re-arranged and a few new pages added to the ends of some chapters. New pieces include a few pages each on the 1981 riots in Britain, religious cults such as Krishna Consciousness and Jim Jones' Peoples' Temple and short sections on punk women and girls and delinquency. Finally, there is an entirely new chapter on youth culture in Canada which gives the distinct impression that there is no youth culture to speak of in Canada. "Canada has borrowed its youth cultures and kept them safely within the realms of fashion". Retaining an economic optimism not found in the U.S.A. or Britain, Canada has not found it necessary to scapegoat its youth as symbols of all that is wrong with society. There is "no hegemonic crisis" in Canada: "no profound public anxiety over the future of the country's prosperity, or loss in its support of the state". It sounds as though the slogan for Canadian youth culture, like Canadian politics, is 'bland is beautiful'.

Those who have read Brake's previous book may as well stop here. Others may read on and note that Brake is following Stan Cohen and the authors of "Policing the Crisis" in relating youth culture to a 'hegemonic' crisis in society - a crisis of the authority of the state and its institutions. Young people are scapegoated as modern 'folk devils' during 'moral panics' which sweep across society, fanned by television and the press. Fear of violent gangs, muggings and drug abuse are displacements and projections of widespread anxiety about society as whole. But this is not the only thing Brake is saying.

His argument is that "subcultures arise as attempts to resolve collectively experienced problems resulting from contradictions in the social structure". Subcultures generate "a form of collective identity from which an individual identity can be achieved outside that ascribed by class, education and occupation". The 'solution' that subcultures offer to structural problems is 'magical' because it is a solution at an ideological level. Subcultural analysis is a valuable tool in sociology because "subcultures negotiate between the interpersonal world of the actor and the dynamics of the larger elements of social interaction". Subcultural analysis puts forward role-play as an active ingredient in the dialectic of actor and social structure. It shows, at the structural level, how culture is mediated and generated by a collectivity of social and, at the existential level, how meanings are used to project image and support identity.

Through subcultural analysis, then, we can see how youth cultures pose an ideological solution to class contradiction and 'collectively experienced problems'.

There is some considerable vagueness, however, about what these problems are. They are "often class problems experienced generationally". So, which ones? Brake mentions the "meaningless, poorly paid and uncreative" jobs for which young people are trained but it remains unclear which other particular problems he has in mind. By implication, he is saying that problems of status, family, education and work (or unemployment) are being 'solved' by the creation of an expressive identity outside of school, work or class. So, "the working-class girl imitating cultural heroines such as Marilyn Monroe feels she is part of a specific 'classless' group of other girls who look like Monroe". Other subcultural identities aspire to a similar classlessness.

Brake does not really argue his argument. He does not take issue with other theorists or put forward plausible objections to his argument and show that they fail to hold water. He states in his preface that we need to develop a socialist culture that retains the progressive, culturally plural elements of the subcultures whilst counteracting the reactionary racist and sexist elements. But this is nowhere developed in the text. And the notion of subcultures as collective, 'magical' solutions to class problems is not adequately argued, either. For, if the solution to the problem is 'identity' and the solution does not in fact solve the problem, (for how could an identity address issues of low wages, regimentation at school and work, unemployment?), then why relate the supposed 'solution' to the problem at all? Why talk of 'solutions' and 'problems' for that matter? The argument would not suffer if the reference to 'problems' was sliced out completely. In fact, this is what Brake does when he points out what is undoubtedly true - that subcultural identity is "expressive" and that subcultures offer a "meaningful way of life during leisure". One feature of this expressive identity is style. Brake usefully analyses style into three components:

- * Image: costume, hair-style, jewellery, artefacts;
- * Demeanour: gait, posture, expression; "what the actors wear and how they wear it";
- * Argot: a special vocabulary and the way in which it is delivered.

Style is drawn together in a process of 'bricolage': symbolic and concrete objects are taken and re-ordered in a new context to present a fresh meaning. The teddy boys, for instance, in what Geoff Pearson has called a "remarkable act of cultural smash-and-grab", took long 'Edwardian' drape jackets marketed for fashion-conscious city gents and combined them with ducktail haircuts, drain-pipe trousers, thick-soled shoes and thin ties to create an image with which no city gent would want to identify. The cultural object acquires a new meaning in a new context. A swastika worn by a punk has a different meaning to a swastika worn by a nazi.

Subcultures, then, are actively created by young people out of the cultural elements available in the wider culture. However, whilst Brake rightly rejects the view of the Frankfurt School and F R Leavis, that mass culture is standardised and passively consumed, he also follows Simon Frith, author of "The Sociology of Rock", in acknowledging the commercialism of youth culture. Some youth cultures are more commercial than others, of course, and one of the most commercial must have been the Teeny Bopper culture of the 1970s which Brake discusses in his chapter on girls. Perhaps because of the prevailing masculinism of

youth cultures, girl culture became a "culture of the bedroom", as Frith called it: "where girls meet, listen to music, and teach each other make-up skills, practise their dancing, compare sexual notes, criticise each other's clothes and gossip". The Teeny Boppers had a pop star focus - magazines, posters, t-shirts etc. were marketed - to the point where 'Osmond-baiting' became one popular way for older brothers to wind up their younger sisters. Interestingly, the current pop idol for girls aged ten to fifteen is a woman, Madonna, who offers an aggressive, 'go-getter' role-model, rather than a demure or passive one.

Another consequence of masculinism is that "sub-cultural studies of youth never mention homosexuals" but, seeing as Brake does not have much to say about gay culture either, we can do no more than register the point. A final and ironic consequence of masculinism is that, where girl gangs exist, and, as Brake says, there has been little research into them, they tend to fight other girls rather than fight alongside the boys.

Brake's chapter on 'black and brown' youth covers the Zoot Suit Riots of the early 1940s in Los Angeles, in which chichano 'vatos locos' ('crazy guys' who favoured oversized trousers and ducktail hair-cuts) were attacked by white American sailors. Brake moves on to look at rude boys, Rastas and Asian youth in the U.K., noting the new resistance of Asian youth to racial attacks. Earlier in the book, Brake has said that "most youth subcultures, unless they have an articulate political element, are not in any simple sense oppositional. They may be rebellious; they may celebrate and dramatise specific styles and values, but their rebellion seldom reaches an articulated opposition". Given this concern, it is a pity that he has missed out the acquittal of the Bradford Twelve in 1982, following a long campaign in their defence. "Black youth culture" he concludes, "contains an inflammable rebellious element, drawing upon a heavy mixture of religion and politics, combined with a deviant, quasi-criminal hustling style which, fed constantly by oppression, could become a serious political response". This sentence manages to be patronising, inaccurate and insulting at the same time. Most black youth, like most white youth, are 'straight' and respectable, not 'deviant', 'quasi-criminal' or 'hustling'. Whilst it is not possible to write about social phenomena like youth cultures without generalising, this particular generalisation leans dangerously close to the stereotype of black youth held by the Sun and the police.

The quote also typifies the 'goldfish bowl' approach of the whole book. Because most of 'Comparative Youth Culture' consists of summaries of academic writing, the young people themselves are drawn in as examples, rather than flesh and blood people with a life of their own. Brake has examined a great deal of material on youth culture but his book remains almost purely descriptive. He does not develop his notion of a plural, socialist culture or argue the analysis of subcultures as collective, 'magical' solutions to class problems. There is nothing new in the descriptions of the well-known delinquent subcultures. All the most colourful lines in the book are quotes from other people. But what makes the book really dull is the lack of a polemical argument. Consequently, 'Comparative Youth Culture' is a worthless book, politically speaking, though it makes some points that can be used to defend young people from the excesses of moral outrage.

Pedro Conner

S. Kobrin and M. Klein
COMMUNITY TREATMENT OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS

Sage Publications 1983

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£30

p. 341

Community Treatment of Juvenile Offenders traces the national effort to de-institutionalise status offenders in the United States during the late seventies. A growing trend saw a clear distinction between types of youth entering correctional institutions, delinquent juveniles and status offenders i.e. youths who have been charged with violations that would not be criminal if committed by an adult. Such offences cover incorrigibility, beyond control, runaways or those youths seen to be in need of supervision. Growing federal concern focussed on the latter group whose placement in detention centres and juvenile institutions was seen to exacerbate the growing problem of delinquency control. Status offenders, it was felt, would be more likely to re-enter 'normal life' if dealt with via community based alternatives to juvenile correctional institutions dealing with criminals.

Throughout the seventies, legislation was imposed to de-institutionalise this section of the delinquent population which culminated in the 'Federal Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act' 1977. The objectives of the Act were to remove status offenders from detention facilities and correctional institutions and prevent their re-entry by providing community based alternatives through the use of existing youth agencies and the development of youth services.

In this book, Kobrin and Klein publish the results of a multi-million dollar evaluation team who mounted one of the largest evaluation programmes ever undertaken into the effects of a specific social policy. The team mounted, the D.S.O. experiment (De-institutionalisation of Status Offenders) which asked, did the de-institutionalisation policy work? In their findings, Kobrin and Klein discuss in length the evaluation programmes in eight locations in the U.S.A. - the problems in mounting any extensive evaluation project and the actual difficulties in collating data and results. The evaluation team found that in all eight receptive sites problems of implementation of policies occurred from the beginning.

Political opposition to the aims of the programme was evident from the outset in many counties as was a general reluctance to offer any real alternatives to incarceration. Nevertheless, the experiment found that a 43% decrease in detention of status offenders occurred as a direct result of the Act, and that this percentage of the population was dealt with by existing community based provision.

The authors argue whether this impressive reduction should be regarded as success. They ask what was the Act really trying to do? If de-institutionalisation was the aim, then it is not enough to remove status offenders from institutions but to remove them from the juvenile justice system altogether. Alternatively, if delinquency control was the aim then there is little evidence to argue that de-institutionalisation is more effective than incarceration. Certainly the D.S.O. evaluation team found no evidence that community based programmes had any marked effect upon recidivism rates. From this viewpoint the project was seemingly based on false assumptions. Kobrin and Klein however, rightly argue that de-institutionalisation programmes on any level have strength on moral and ethical grounds. If institutions are no more effective in dealing with status

offenders than community provision - then the latter is clearly preferred.

The book leads the reader to question the implementation of social policies in general and those specific to this book - de-incarceration. They question whether such policies exist:-

- a) on moral or ethical grounds - that incarceration cannot be justified in terms of a moral obligation of society to its disadvantaged
- b) because they are an effective means of reducing delinquency trends
- c) because they are a cheap alternative to incarceration.

If we examine each in turn we find that the first two hold little substance in actually bringing about legislation. Policies of de-incarceration have been fought for over many years by various pressure groups and sections of the population who feel that institutionalisation is not the answer to our society's problems. Rarely though is legislation ever passed on grounds that something is unethical.

Similarly deincarceration policies have not proved to be significantly any more effective in dealing with young offenders than institutions. The introduction of such policies then, cannot be based upon data to support this against institutions. We are left with the last option which unfortunately has a lot in its favour. If institutions, which are extremely costly, cannot have any more significant effect upon young offenders than community alternatives - then the latter is logically to be preferred. Any policy maker would support the system which costs the least bearing in mind that the results are similar.

Britain has followed policies of deincarceration of young offenders for many decades which culminated in the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act - in which Intermediate Treatment was first conceptualised. It was treatment for young offenders which was community based, emphasising cure rather than prevention and care rather than control. It recognised that the majority of delinquents were so, not because of a totally deviant mind, but because of environmental and social conditions in which the young people lived. This majority, should not therefore be placed in institutions and punished. The policy was seemingly based on a moral and ethical argument. Yet in 1983 the government expanded Intermediate Treatment and mounted a comparable programme to the D.S.O. experiment - in which millions of pounds was made available to intensive Intermediate Treatment projects - operating as a direct alternative to care or custody. Little evidence exists that such schemes are any more successful in decriminalising youth than incarceration and yet the funding is there. Certainly the schemes are justified in terms of huge savings made in keeping young people out of costly detention centres and C.H.E.'s. It begs the question if this is the most important reason why I.T. became a piece of major social legislation.

Kobrin and Klein suggest that far too often social policies exist because of this whilst paying lip service to the wider moral and ethical views prevalent in our society. The authors leave us to question whether a fourth reason exists. They argue that legislation usually comes about due to general trends in society. Kobrin and Klein argue that the D.S.O. experiment came about due to a growing trend towards deinstitutionalisation in youth, and not because such a programme was backed by statistical evidence that it was more effective in dealing with the delinquency problem.

Similarly it could be argued that I.T. schemes in Britain followed a general trend to deincarcerate

youth, and it became viable when huge savings were to be found. The authors argue that very few social policies are based on well researched evidence and that evaluation of such policies is for the most part ineffective as all research and analysis usually takes place after implementation of policies rather than before. This whole issue led me to question policy making generally, Kobrin and Klein offer this very important message to policy makers - that even the best evaluation team can only evaluate the policy as it has been implemented. Evaluation does become in far too many cases, a token exercise.

Overall I found the book hard going and certainly not one which could be picked up and casually read. The book contained many pages of data and statistical analysis meaning little to a non-statistical mind. In retrospect however, I felt that with the factual evidence in front of me I was reassured that every angle had been covered and I was confident that the conclusions were drawn from well researched data rather than assumptions based on flimsy evidence. The in-depth discussion of the evaluation techniques also brought home to me the complexity of such a large evaluation project.

The real value in the book lay in the issues relating to young offenders which I have raised in this review. I felt that the authors led me to question the whole issue of policy making and offered a very good message to policy makers. For me it once again raised the whole question of treatment of young offenders. Time and again we argue that deviance is in the main created by poor environmental and social conditions, and that the individual is merely a victim. Yet this part of the theory is always forgotten and the individual becomes the focus of change. It is the child whom we treat and we leave other elements untouched and unchanged. This leads us to question the whole concept of deincarceration policies, their purpose and the interests they serve.

Judith Cocker

Scott H. Decker (editor)
JUVENILE JUSTICE POLICY -
Analysing Trends and Outcomes
Sage Publications
ISBN 080392195 (pbk)
£10
pp. 168

This is a book I probably wouldn't have made time for unless I'd been asked to review it. With so much to keep up with, a volume of research papers on issues in American Juvenile Justice Policy comes low down on the priorities scale. Having said this, I'm glad I read it because it raises important issues relevant to the current juvenile justice debate in this country.

The two major themes of the book are 'decriminalisation' and 'diversion'. With the recent ADSS report renewing calls for a system of family courts to replace the juvenile court, and the Home Office circular on cautioning, and experiments in inter-agency 'panels', likely to lead to a plethora of diversion schemes, there's a lot to be learnt from American experience.

I wouldn't say that this book makes a major contribution to the debate. It's too unevenly balanced for a start. The first third of it could easily be lost. But the sections on decriminalisation and diversion are well worth reading whether from an academic/research or policy/practitioner viewpoint. Not because the papers provide any pat solutions. But, on the contrary, because they raise questions about the dangers associated with the implementation of well-meaning concepts in juvenile justice. As such, the papers bring a wel-

come note of caution (!) to the current trend towards a justice model of delinquency and to the enthusiasm for a variety of diversion schemes.

The Kent (1966) and Gault (1967) Supreme Court decisions were crucial in affirming that the 'treatment' objectives of the juvenile court should not supercede a juvenile's right to 'due process' of law. These decisions, and American experience, influenced the Childrens Rights and Justice for Children lobbies in the country and are very much part of the current justice v. welfare debate. Indeed, provisions in the 1982 Criminal Justice Act (e.g. for determinate custodial sentences, mandatory legal representation, etc.) reflect the move towards extending legal aspects of due process to young people.

In America these 'due process' decisions spawned a wave of research into the true dynamics of decision making (i.e. 'the latent effects of policies, programmes and innovations') which unfortunately led to some uncomfortable conclusions. Much of the research indicated that both the implementation of the due process concept, and the expansion of diversion schemes, frequently led to the opposite result of what was originally intended! The research is not conclusive, but the lesson to be learnt is that it is vital to have clear objectives and practice guidelines for translating policy concepts into effective action before rushing headlong into setting up any new scheme. A simple and obvious requisite, but one which is often ignored!

Regarding the specific content of the book I would advise anyone with limited time to avoid Chapters One and Two. Unfortunately these take up one third of the 160 pages. Chapter One is an interesting but not essential rundown of American juvenile justice policy since 1607. It's comforting to see that American attempts to develop a consistent juvenile justice policy are even more confusing and complicated than our own. Chapter Two is only for those armed with a researchers Dictionary of Jargon. Whilst it was interesting to read that the MGE (Multigoal Evaluation) approach addresses paradigm and operational strategy and aims to utilize both the deductive and inductive paradigms, I became diverted by the OASIS (Ongoing Activity of Seeking Information and Selection), found myself stuck in GLUE (Goals Left Unevaluated) and ended up C.A.B. (Confused and Bored!). The author's comment that without clearer evaluations the decline of support for liberal correctional reforms places diversion at risk of becoming a noble idea that didn't work is fair enough. Unfortunately her proposed research model does little to advance the state of the art.

It was a relief to move onto the main two sections of the book comprising research papers on decriminalisation and diversion. It is here that the connections between research, policy and practice become apparent. In America the jurisdiction of 'status offender' was created in the 1960's to separate 'welfare' cases (e.g. runaways, truants, 'incorrigibles'!) from the stigma and penalties applied to 'criminal' offenders in the juvenile court. However, as in this country, much criticism was subsequently levelled at the impact that treatment measures made upon status offenders (c/f Thorpe et al's critical research into the use of 1969 C.Y.P. Act Section 7(7) Care Orders). Pressure has therefore built up to remove the category of status offender altogether from juvenile court jurisdiction.

The chapter by Brooke Spiro focuses on research into a sample of PINS (Persons In Need of Supervision) and J.D's (Juvenile Delinquents). (I've had to resist bopping round the office asking staff how many PINS and J.D's they're working with

right now!). This research demonstrated that the Court dealt with both groups in a similar fashion, thereby giving credence to those who criticised the juvenile court for not distinguishing enough between status and criminal offenders. However, the research also showed that both categories of young people had very similar backgrounds in terms of severe disadvantage and family stress. The author concludes that removing status offenders from the court's jurisdiction could result in youngsters with very real problems losing access to services that provided them with significant support. This issue is central to the welfare v. justice debate in this country. Would the diversion of a significant number of clients from the juvenile court (or from I.T. if a strict 'heavy end' model is adopted) lead to a weakening of financial commitment to informal methods of welfare support? Brooke Spiro brings political realities to his research when arguing the benefits of the financial clout of law and order concerns. "Public and political concern about crime and community safety provide the (juvenile court) system with more leverage in contending for funds than the Social Services currently possess". A statement particularly valid here when one considers that Intermediate Treatment is one of the few growth areas of service provision at a time when central government policies are dictating that other 'welfare' services be drastically cut.

Jill McKelvy's research into 'Runaways' is an interesting follow-on to the previous chapter because Washington State is unique in having removed status offences from the juvenile jurisdiction court. In place of coercive and directive 'treatment' by court order for status offenders, Washington has adopted a Code of voluntary, co-operative service support through a system of crisis intervention projects for children and parents. This was in preference to a family courts model. The voluntary, non-coercive model was preferred by providers of the crisis intervention services. Whilst they recognised that a minority of the most difficult, disruptive runaways were frequently 'lost' to the service, the concept of the 'just deserts' model maintains that laws should be made for the majority and not exceptions from the norm, or else the exceptions would become the norm. The research did not tackle the issue of whether decriminalising status offenders would lead to less provision for children and juveniles most in need of services, but concludes that "this concern may be the most critical factor in obtaining a balance between the legal rights of youth and the moral obligations of society".

The final three chapters deal with research into the impact of diversion programmes. I found this of considerable interest as (like many other authorities) we are currently considering establishing an inter-agency formal diversion scheme.

The general conclusion on research into diversion schemes in America over the past 15 years appears to be that they can and frequently do lead to net widening. Whether this is a positive or negative finding depends very much on the nature of the 'net' and your perspective on whether welfare support automatically equates with social control. Schur's concept of radical non-intervention is frequently mentioned in this book and has had considerable influence both here and in the States. However, it is a view that is becoming increasingly questioned by those who argue that it can too often be equated with radical neglect! Whether social intervention/support is 'good' or 'bad' will frequently depend on policies and practices at a local level.

Certainly one of the positive conclusions drawn by Finn-Aage Esbensen in his research is that diversion does not lead to net widening if a scheme is applied carefully. He uses a systems flow method of research to examine the impact of a diversion

decision upon other sentencing decisions in the juvenile court. Encouragingly he finds that diversion did lead to a reduction in juveniles appearing before the court (c/f Wellingborough and Northants schemes) although he did not tackle the extent to which they may have been diverted into other areas of social control.

An interesting finding in another of the chapters is that the implementation of a diversion programme led to a reduction in the number of cases previously dealt with by the juvenile court by way of 'dismissal' or 'consent'. This re-affirms the need to consider the impact of a diversion decision on the rest of the juvenile justice system, e.g. could a diversion scheme lead to less use of Absolute or Conditional discharge disposals? However, again this research met one of its crucial objectives, i.e. it led to a reduction in juveniles appearing before the courts. The question of the influence of external factors on schemes (e.g. cutbacks in police officers stationed at schools, removal of truancy officers, etc.) is also raised as an influence on numbers processed by the courts.

The general conclusion I drew from the section on diversion was to proceed with great caution! The concept of diversion has many supporters, by no means all easy bedfellows. There is the humanitarian aim to avoid the negative aspects of involvement in the juvenile court - labelling theory is a strong influence here. But diversion is also politically attractive because it offers a potentially cheaper and more effective way of dealing with minor delinquents. In this respect many American schemes have been criticised for focussing on very minor first offenders dismissed as 'cream-puff' cases (almost as cutting terminology as Mickey Mouse I.T.!). Certainly one area some English schemes have pioneered is 2nd, 3rd and 4th cautions or cautions for 'serious' offenders. The danger of the net widening effect is very real and this book raises important questions about the need to set clear objectives, criteria for referral and targets for evaluation. Morris (1976) explains net widening as a result of the inherent conservatism of criminal justice decisions - whenever an alternative disposition is created that lies in severity between two other dispositions the clients for the new alternatives are likely to come disproportionately from the more benign sanction. A familiar criticism of the early development of I.T.!

Another issue raised by the final paper's research into influences on decisions to divert is that non legal factors (e.g. sex, neighbourhood, race, age) can be more important in influencing a decision than the legal matter of the offence committed. Here the concept of due process does not necessarily apply and discretion in decision making remains an important issue.

The real value of this book lies in questions it raises about forces that are currently shaping juvenile justice developments in this country. The general issue of justice for children and the due process or just deserts concept is very much alive. The welfare/justice pendulum is currently swinging towards the latter approach. Although this book is research orientated some of the papers do raise the question of the political/financial elements of criminal justice which affect provision of Services. Diversion schemes are taking off in this country - in America there is a danger that they have lost credibility.

This book raises issues which must be tackled here if the concepts of decriminalisation and diversion are to realise their true potential, i.e. to steer young people away from a damaging juvenile justice system whilst at the same time ensuring that they have voluntary access to any welfare support services they may need.

John Blackmore

B. Caul et al. (eds).
**THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM IN
 NORTHERN IRELAND,**
 Ulster University, 1983.

B. Caul et al. (eds)
**ALTERNATIVES TO RESIDENTIAL CARE
 AND CUSTODY,**
 Ulster University, 1984.

These two monographs were produced by the Ulster Polytechnic which was incorporated in October 1984 into the U.K.'s first 'polyversity', self-styled as The University of Ulster. This experiment in social policy is indicative of a tendency on the part of the British Government to experiment with social institutions in Northern Ireland where there is no effective system of political representation. The Black Report (**Report of the Children and Young Persons Review Group, H.M.S.O. Belfast, 1979**) is another example of this propensity to initiate new policy directions in the beleaguered province. Fortunately, the government's prescription for reform of the juvenile justice system here proved less amenable to implementation than its plans for higher education.

Resistance to the imposition of the recommendations of the Black Report, which advocated a criminal justice or punishment model in relation to the treatment of the young offender, has been expressed in a lively debate within the province. While Northern Ireland's politicians have been involved in a more productive debate about ideologies of intervention and impact of the Black Report. These two monographs are the product of that debate which has particularly devolved on the annual meetings of The Northern Ireland Intermediate Treatment Association (N.I.I.T.A.). N.I.I.T.A. has become something of an umbrella organisation for people concerned with juvenile justice. The D.H.S.S. (N.I.) through a series of research seminars and occasional papers has also made a very constructive contribution to the debate. In this respect Northern Ireland provides

an excellent example of what can be achieved by practitioners through public dialogue on social policy issues. The outcome of this debate has been to blunt the cutting edge of some of the Black Report's more authoritarian provisions - notably the recommendation for a single secure custodial facility for 120 boys and girls. Bill Griffiths, Northern Ireland's Chief Probation Officer declared, with some exaggeration, at N.I.I.T.A.'s annual conference in 1984 that "Black is as dead as the newspaper wrapping yesterday's fish and chips". It is certainly true that the radical attempt to restructure the Province's juvenile justice system along the lines of a criminal justice or punishment model has been significantly curtailed. However, critics of the Black Report have equally failed to move the Province in the direction of an alternative model. This should now be their major objective.

While the first monograph **The Juvenile Justice System in Northern Ireland** is preoccupied with developing a critique of The Black Report, the second monograph attempts to examine **Alternatives to Residential Care and Custody**. Leading British I.T. theoreticians have contributed, notably, David Thorpe and Andrew Kerslake. Thorpe's contribution reflects his concern with the 'heavy end' of juvenile offending and his legitimate desire to avoid over-lapping with the youth service. Kerslake in an article provides one of the most cogent attempts to delimit the I.T. concept to date is more iconoclastic in his presentation and consequently more useful. I.T. is not a 'sacred cow' but a mould which may be suitable for England and Wales (and that has not yet been proven). I.T. has been totally rejected in the Republic of Ireland and may very well be unsited to Northern Ireland's conditions.

It is regrettable that the organisers of N.I.I.T.A. have ignored the Scottish system - a country which they have more in common with both culturally and economically. There is a growing body of systematic evidence which flatly contradicts the

highly subjective criticisms of the Scottish welfare model by the justice proponents. However, Northern Ireland which is palpably the most deprived region of the U.K., with a devastatingly high level of child poverty, has the opportunity to develop its own responses to juvenile crime. (Juvenile crime is relatively low by English standards in Northern Ireland). No part of the U.K. has yet attempted to apply a community model. Such a model would start with combatting deprivation rather than controlling its victims. While it may be utopian to imagine that any British Government (least of all the present one) would have the political will to adopt such a strategy this should not invalidate its consideration. Critics who point to the personalist aspects of offending may legitimately argue that this offers little in the way of dealing with the child who has broken the law. The response might be that there is both a need to decriminalise all but the most serious offences and to close custodial facilities. Society gains nothing by incarcerating children unless they are dangerous and need to be incapacitated. Practitioners ought to make the public aware of this truth. Politicians (notably of the Right) who feed off moral panic about crime induced by the press certainly will not.

It will be interesting to see whether Northern Ireland's child care practitioners can rise to the demands being made on their ingenuity and integrity. The new North-South Child Welfare Forum whose inaugural conference took place at Derry in June 1985 may provide the appropriate venue for taking the debate further. Both parts of Ireland are currently reviewing their juvenile justice systems. It is to be hoped that they will grapple with the problems surrounding the development of an indigenous juvenile justice model on an island which has a young population and an unenviable level of social deprivation. More monographs like these are needed.

Fred Powell

Council for Education and Training in Youth and Community Work Publications

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letters

Dear Editor

John Springhall (Leisure and Youth 1830-1914, Youth and Policy No 14 Autumn 1985) finds it difficult to avoid the assumption 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". His sources (and his assumption) are at odds with contemporary remarks and evidence which I discovered during a recent piece of work I undertook on the early history of youth work with girls in Manchester.

The remark also raises questions about the kind/amount of leisure which was available as far as working class girls were concerned in the home: apart from the severe lack of space in down-town housing for anything that amounted to leisure, there was also the pressure and expectation on girls to relieve the strain on their mothers. No wonder that girls in Ancoats found it attractive to leave home as soon as they could afford the 6d per week to rent a room of their own.

Expectations aside, there is this oft-repeated statement that there was no evidence that girls were to be found on the street corners during their leisure hours. Ashton and Young (British Social Work in the Nineteenth Century) state this, yet I found considerable contemporary evidence to the contrary including contemporary statements which show every bit as much worry about the moral dangers which girls faced on the streets as that facing boys. Like the boys' club workers, it was this which prompted the earliest youth workers to begin their efforts.⁽¹⁾ It was a big enough phenomenon in Manchester for Spy, a contemporary alternative magazine, to feature the "Ancoats Belles", in prose and in cartoon, at the corner of Union Street on a Saturday at One p.m.⁽²⁾ It was these "rough millgirls" of the Spy drawing that the doyenne of work with girls in Manchester, Mary Browne, was talking about when she first went down to work in Ancoats in the late 1860's.⁽³⁾

Maude Stanley writing about youth work in London in 1890 is concerned to note that the children were 'precocious' in social questions and that working girls sought their recreation where they could find it "by loitering about the streets after dark when work is over".⁽⁴⁾ Lily Montague, who founded

the West Central Jewish Club with other Jewish ladies, after the turn of the century described a picture of city streets crowded with girls with a dangerous craving for excitement.⁽⁵⁾ Maude Stanley further goes on to graphically describe the occupations of the girls while on the streets in London as "looking in shop windows, the passing by the glaring gaslit stalls in the evening markets" as well as the visit to the music halls, the cheap theatres, the gin places, the dancing saloons and the wine shop. She sees these as counter attractions to the girls' clubs which might appear dull in contrast.⁽⁶⁾ An artisan's wife, who had lived in Ancoats, Manchester, until her 21st year, notes in 1904 essentially the same set of recreational pursuits for girls. She comments that working girls found the tea parties and songs and recreations of the Sunday Schools and clubs as "awfully slow" for her contemporaries preferred to go to Belle Vue (a leisure campus) on their Saturday afternoons off and go to the cheap music halls such as the Star on Pollard Street.⁽⁷⁾

I would not disagree with John Springhall's comment about the need for more studies of girls' activities. My studies seem to indicate that they were there, even if consequently they have been somewhat ignored in contrast to the work which has been done in relation to boys. This is particularly galling in terms of the history of youth work since one of the founders of boys' clubs in Manchester stated most definitely towards the end of his life that he got his ideas for starting his club from the girls' club which had been started in Ancoats some twenty years earlier.⁽⁸⁾ Even more significant of recent priorities is that this statement has been in print and available for over thirty years, yet has not been highlighted.

- (1) Maude Stanley, *Clubs for Working Girls* (London 1890) Page 13 "to counteract the dangers of the streets".
- (2) Spy, September 12, 1891.
- (3) Our Own Gazette: YWCA.
- (4) Maude Stanley: Page 12.
- (5) Lily Montague: *The Girl in the Background*, article in E J Urwick *Studies of Boy Life in our Cities* (London 1904) Page 238.
- (6) Maude Stanley: Page 12.
- (7) E Hadden: *Women's Recreation in Ancoats* in St Paul's Literary and Educational Society Jubilee Volume 1904 Page 305.
- (8) Paul Schill: *History of Ardwick Lads' and Mens' Club* 1935 quoted in W Eagar: *Making Men* (London 1953) Page 281.

Yours sincerely,
Sandra Leventon

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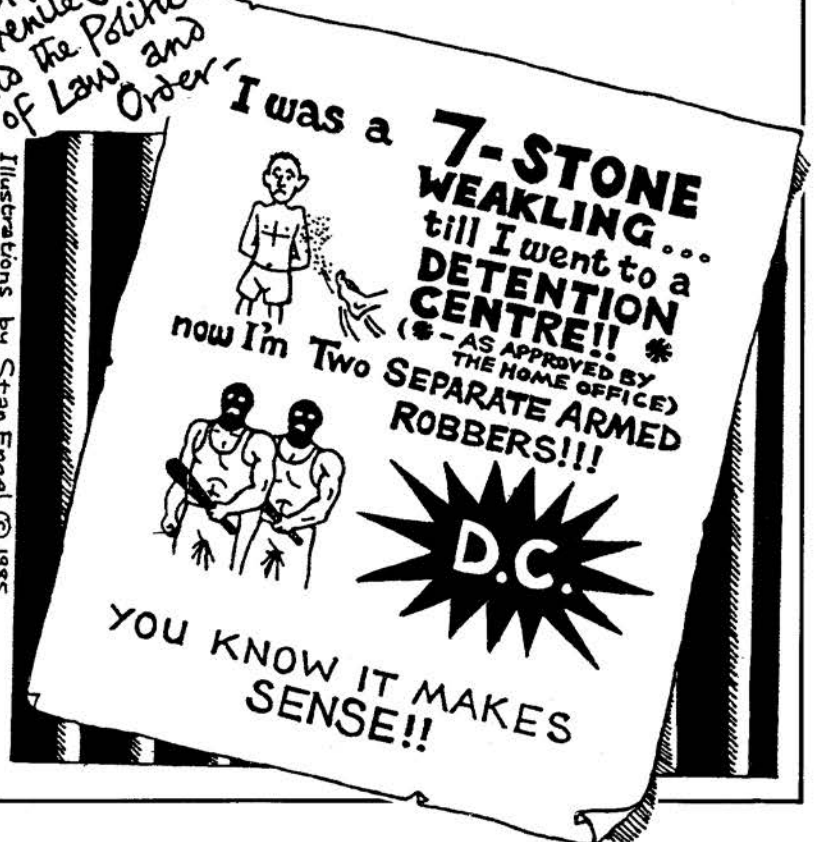
Andrew Rutherford; University of Southampton, Dept., of Law.

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*Custody,
Juvenile Justice
and the Politics
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analysis

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.

'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.

The column this quarter is given over to the changes in benefit rates effective from Mon. 25th November. As with last year the East End Citizens Rights Centre is producing its popular pocket sized "Quick Guide to Benefits Rates", which is available the above address at 12p. per. copy plus postage.

NEW BENEFIT RATES FROM 25th NOVEMBER

Supplementary benefit

Normal Requirements	Ordinary rate	Long term rate
Couple	£47.85	£60.00
Single Householder	£29.50	£37.50
Non Householder over 18	£23.60	£30.00
16-17	£18.20	£23.00
11-15	£15.10	
under 11	£10.10	
Savings limit for claims -	£3.000	

Additional requirements

	Lower rate	Higher rate
Heating	£2.20	£5.45
Central Heating 1 - 4 rooms	£2.20	
5+ rooms		£4.40
Estate Rate Heating	£4.40	£8.80
Diet	£1.60	£3.70
for those on kidney machine		£10.65
or actual cost if more		
Baths (each bath over 1 per week).	30p	
Blindness	£1.25	

Over 80	25p
Attendance Requirements (up to)	£20.45
Laundry minimum weekly cost	55p
Non-Householders rent addition (21+)	£3.90

Wear and tear on clothing -	weekly cost
Hospital fares -	weekly cost
H.P. essential items -	weekly cost
Furniture storage -	weekly cost
Domestic assistance -	weekly cost
Single payments capital limit	£500

Housing Benefit

Needs Allowance

Single person	£47.70	Couple/Single Parent	£70.20
Each Child	£14.50		
Single (handcapped)	£53.20	Couple (both handicapped)	£78.25
Couple (1 handicapped) or Single Handicapped	£75.70		

Earnings Disregard

Occupier -	£17.30
Spouse -	£5.00

Non-Dependant Deductions

	Rent Rebate/ Allowance	Rate Rebate
18 or over but under pension age, unless covered below.	£7.80	£2.60
Pensionable Age or over, on S.B.; 18 or over and sole income after 56 days consists of 1 or more of U.B., sickness Benefit, Maternity Benefit, Child Benefit or One Parent Benefit; 16 and 17 not on S.B., Y.T.S. or S.D.A. and Child Benefit not being paid.	£2.80	£1.10
16-20 on S.B., 16 and 17 on S.D.A., on YTS training, some full time students.	NIL	NIL

Family Income Supplement

Prescribed Income Level 1 child in family	Maximum Amount Payable 1 child in family
under 11 - £97.50	under 11 - £25.00
11 - 15 - £98.50	11 - 15 - £25.50
16+ - £99.50	16+ - £26.00
Each additional child	Each additional child
under 11 - £11.50	under 11 - £2.50
11 - 15 - £12.50	11 - 15 - £3.00
16+ - £13.50	16+ - £3.50

Contributory Benefits

	Self	Adult Dep.	Each Child
Unemployment Benefit	£30.45	£18.80	-
Sickness Benefit	£29.15	£18.00	-
Maternity Allowance	£29.15	£18.00	-
Retirement Pension	£38.30	£23.00	£8.05
Earnings Limit for Retirement Pension	£75.00	-	-
Widows Allowance (1-26 weeks)	£53.60	-	£8.05
Widows Pension (after 26 weeks)	£38.30	-	£8.05
Widowed Mothers Allowance	£38.30	-	£8.05
Invalidity Pension	£38.30	£23.00	£8.05
Age Related Increase with Invalidity or Industrial Injury Unemployability Supplement.			

When incapacity began:-

Before Age 40 -	£8.05
40 - 49 -	£5.10
50 - 59 (men) -	£2.55
50 - 54 (women) -	£2.55

Non-Contributory Benefits

	Self	Spouse	Each Child
Severe Disablement Allowance	£23.00	£13.75	£8.05
Invalid Care Allowance	£23.00	£13.75	£8.05
Attendance Allowance	Higher Rate	£30.60	
	Lower Rate	£20.45	
Mobility Allowance	£21.40		
Guardians Allowance	£8.05		
Child Benefit	£7.00		
One Parent Benefit	£4.55		

Statutory Sick Pay

Earnings before tax	S.S.P.
£33.50 - £52.99	£30.00
£53.00 - £70.99	£37.20
£71+	£44.35

Lump Sum Grants

Maternity Grant	£25.00
Death Grant	£30.00

Industrial Injuries

Disablement Benefit (100% assessment)	£62.50
Unemployability Supplement	£38.30
Special Hardship Allowance (Max)	£25.00
Constant Attendance Allowance	£25.00
Exceptionally severe	
Disablement Allowance	£25.00

Industrial Death Benefit

Widows Pension (1-26 weeks)	£53.60
Widows Pension (Higher Rate)	£38.85
Widows Pension (Lower Rate)	£11.49

'Monitor for' this issue:

Sunderland Community Resource Centre

Richard Jenks

Karyn Gill

Sarah Morgan

Steven Phillips

Mark Rough

Code

All sources are Official Report (Hansard).

Headings are as published

The following code describes the references used.

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

All items are available through our Copy Service

V72 N53

Young People WA

Mr. Deakins asked the Sec State Employment if, in evaluating the relationship between the earnings of young people relative to adults and their employment prospects, account is taken of the structure of employment demand and available labour supply.

Mr. Peter Bottomley: The conclusion that the employment prospects of young people are adversely affected by the high cost of the labour relative to adults was reached after evaluating the results of a number of studies including work on the structure of employment demand and available labour supply. Some studies do suggest that employment structure and labour supply affect demand for young workers. Such results are not, however, inconsistent with the findings on youth's labour costs.

V72 N55

Mode A Youth Training WA

Ms. Clare Short asked the Sec State Employment what proportion and number of locally-approved mode A youth training places are organised by private training agencies for the areas covered by the following are manpower boards: (a) Birmingham and Solihull, (b) Greater Manchester, (c) Coventry and Warwickshire, (d) London North, (e) London North East, (f) London South East and (g) London South West.

Mr. Peter Morrison: The information requested is in the following table. The figures relate to the situation at the end of December 1984.

Area	Total contracted Mode A places	Contracted places private training agencies	Private training places of total Mode A Percent.
Birmingham	7,425	2,593	34.9
Greater Manchester	11,809	2,517	21.3
Coventry and Warwickshire	3,807	1,447	38.0
London North	2,762	800	29.0
London North East	4,089	1,131	27.7
London South East	3,514	1,770	50.4
London South and West	3,370	80	2.4

V70 N35

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Sheerman asked the Sec State Employment what plans he has to extend the youth training scheme to two years.

Mr. Peter Morrison: We have no immediate plans to extend the youth training scheme in this way, and eligibility rules for the scheme in 1985-86 were announced on 12 November 1984. However, various proposals for the enhancement of provision for 14-18 year olds are currently being considered.

Ms. Short asked the Sec State Employment how many young people have refused to take up the offer of a place on youth training schemes since the scheme was launched.

Mr. Peter Morrison: The total number of refusals is not available. The number of people reported to the unemployment benefit service, in the period 1 September 1983 to 30 September 1984, the latest date for which figures are available, for refusing a youth training scheme place was 2,308.

V71 N40

Apprenticeship Training Schemes WA

Mr. Irving asked Sec State Employment what consideration he has given to ways of providing greater encouragement to industry to expand apprenticeship training schemes for young people with particular regard to high technology jobs; whether he has any proposals to put to Parliament on this matter; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Peter Morrison: The development of new technology gives rise to changed training needs for young people and adults alike. One of the main objectives of our adult training strategy is to secure an adequate supply of people with up-to-date skills to meet the demands of new technologies, upon which economic growth must be based. The primary responsibility for meeting skill needs rests with employers, who are best placed to determine their future skill requirements, including those for new technology. We have therefore recently launched a campaign to raise awareness among employers of the need for training and retraining.

With regard to young people, the Government continue to make support available through the youth training scheme, both for young people undertaking the first year of long-duration skill training including apprenticeships, and for information technology centres, which are making a positive contribution in equipping many young people with new technology skills.

V71 N43

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Sheerman asked the Sec State Employment how many young people are expected to enter in 1985-86 on the basis of the eligibility rules announced on 12 November 1984.

Mr. Peter Morrison: On the basis of the eligibility rules announced on 12 November 1984, it is estimated that there are likely to be some 385,000 entrants to youth training scheme programmes in 1985-86.

V73 N59

Child Benefit

Mr. Nicholas Winterton asked the Chancellor of Exchequer to what level per week child benefit could be raised if both (a) it were taxed and the proceeds of taxation were allocated to raising its level and (b) the married man's tax allowance were reduced to the rate of a single man's for men below retirement age and the savings allocated to raising the levels of child benefit.

Mr. Moore: If the changes had applied in 1984-85, the increase in child benefit would have been about £5.50 per week. It has been assumed that scale rates of supplementary benefit for dependent children would also have been increased by a similar amount.

Comprehensive and Selective Systems

Mr. Marlow asked the Sec State Education if he will list all local education authorities in England, indicating in each case whether, (a) a fully comprehensive system operates, (b) a fully selective system operates, or (c) whether some combination of selective and comprehensive system operates.

Mr. Dunn: Information is not available in the form requested. Some local education authorities, while not maintaining any grammar schools, do maintain some schools which fall into the category of "other secondary" schools and cannot therefore be regarded as being fully comprehensive. The table shows those authorities which at January 1984 maintained no grammar schools and those which maintained at least one grammar school. All authorities maintained at least one comprehensive school.

System of secondary education in England—January 1984

LEA	No. Grammar Schools	No. of Grammar Schools maintained by LEA
Barking	*	—
Barnet	—	2
Bexley	—	2
Brent	*	—
Bromley	—	2
Croydon	*	—
Ealing	*	—
Enfield	—	1
Haringey	*	—
Harrow	*	—
Havering	*	—
Hillingdon	*	—
Hounslow	*	—
Kingston-upon-Thames	—	2
Merton	*	—
Newham	*	—
Redbridge	*	2
Richmond-upon-Thames	*	—
Sutton	—	4
Waltham Forest	*	—
Inner London	*	—
Birmingham	—	8
Coventry	*	—
Dudley	*	—
Sandwell	*	—
Solihull	*	—
Walsall	—	2
Wolverhampton	*	1
Knowsley	*	—
Liverpool	—	2
St. Helens	*	—
Sefton	*	—
Wirral	—	4
Bolton	*	—
Bury	*	—
Manchester	*	—
Oldham	*	—
Rochdale	*	—
Salford	*	—

LEA	No. Grammar Schools	No. of Grammar Schools maintained by LEA
Stockport	•	—
Tameside	•	—
Trafford	—	8
Wigan	•	—
Barnsley	•	—
Doncaster	•	—
Rotherham	•	—
Sheffield	•	—
Bradford	•	—
Calderdale	—	7
Kirklees	—	1
Leeds	•	—
Wakefield	•	—
Gateshead	•	—
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	•	—
North Tyneside	•	—
South Tyneside	•	—
Sunderland	•	—
Isle of Scilly	•	—
Avon	—	2
Bedfordshire	•	—
Berkshire	—	6
Buckinghamshire	—	14
Cambridgeshire	•	—
Cheshire	•	—
Cleveland	•	—
Cornwall	•	—
Cumbria	—	1
Derbyshire	•	—
Devon	—	10
Dorset	—	7
Durham	•	—
East Sussex	•	—
Essex	—	8
Gloucestershire	—	11
Hampshire	•	—
Hereford and Worcester	—	1
Hertfordshire	•	—
Humberside	•	—
Isle of Wight	•	—
Kent	—	28
Lancashire	—	5
Leicestershire	•	—
Lincolnshire	—	15
Norfolk	—	3
North Yorkshire	—	7
Northhamptonshire	•	—
Northumberland	•	—
Nottinghamshire	•	—
Oxfordshire	•	—
Salop	—	2
Somerset	•	—
Staffordshire	•	—
Suffolk	•	—
Surrey	•	—
Warwickshire	—	5
West Sussex	•	—
Wiltshire	—	2

V73 N66

Young People (Training) WA

Mr. Amess asked the Sec State Employment what has been the number of young people in all training schemes by year since 1977.

Mr. Peter Morrison: The number of young people entering training schemes in each financial year since 1977 is given in the following table:

	Entrants to training schemes for young people							
	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	*1984-85
Youth Training Schemes†	—	—	—	—	—	—	370,220	380,000
Training for Skills‡	35,742	35,002	18,256	20,146	21,400	25,212	374	440
Threshold Scheme/	379	579	874	1,750	1,460	1,386	1,358	1,175
Unified Vocational Preparation//	—	—	—	4,500	6,034	10,000	240	—
Total	36,121	35,581	19,130	26,396	28,894	36,598	372,192	381,615

* Latest estimates

† the youth training scheme commenced in April 1983 and covers 16 and 17-year-old school leavers and some older disabled leavers.

‡ The training for skills programme provides support for both apprentices and adults. The figures relate to 16 to 19-year olds and cover first year apprentices (up to 1982-83), redundant apprentices and unplaced award holders.

// The threshold scheme provides computer training for 17 and 18-year-olds

// The unified vocational preparation programme has been superseded by the youth training scheme.

V74 N70

School Curricula (Wealth Creation and Enterprise) WA

Mr. Michael Forsyth asked the Sec State Trade and Industry if his Department will take steps to ensure that school curricula give due weight to the importance of wealth creation and enterprise.

Mr. Trippier: The responsibility for school curricula rests with my right hon. Friends and Secretaries of State for Education and Science, Scotland and Northern Ireland, as well as the local education authorities, and individual schools. My Department's industry-education unit has, however, been responsible for a number of initiatives designed to improve young people's understanding of the wealth creation process.

We have to this end strongly supported the schools curriculum industry project, which, through a network of co-ordinators in England and Wales, encourages curriculum developments, with the aim of creation in schools.

We have encouraged industry-education activities by supporting local and national projects and working closely with a number of agencies and link bodies. We have provided resource materials for use in schools (for example the video series "Foundations of Wealth"); and sponsored conferences (for example the Careers Research and Advisory Centre conference "Education for Enterprise" in 1984).

We have set ourselves four specific targets for Industry Year 1986: every secondary school to have links with at least one industrialist or commercial company; every secondary school to have its own mini-company; every LEA to have an individual or body with clear responsibility for promoting school industry links; and every LEA to introduce technology as an examinable subject. Many of these activities are joint initiatives with industry, other Government Departments, and others active in this area.

We are also giving increasing priority to the development of entrepreneurial attitudes among young people.

Teacher-Pupil Statistics WA

Mrs. Virginia Bottomley asked the Sec State Education if he will list average teacher-pupil statistics for Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development countries.

Mr. Dunn: The available information is as follows:

	Year	Pupils per Teacher	
		Up to 1st level*	Up to 2nd level†
Australia	1981	20.1	16.6
Austria	1982	17.7	13.5
Belgium	1981	19.4	n/a
Canada	1979	19.0	n/a
Finland	1982	15.0	14.8
France	1981	22.0	n/a
Greece	1980	23.9	22.3
Ireland	1981	28.4	n/a
Italy	1981	15.9	13.4
Japan	1981	24.2	n/a
Luxembourg	1982	14.5	n/a
Netherlands	1982	19.3	17.5
New Zealand	1975	19.2	n/a
Portugal	1975	19.9	n/a
Spain	1981	19.2	n/a
Turkey	1981	27.5	26.0
United Kingdom	1982-83	22.1‡	17.8//

* For all countries except the United Kingdom the figures relate to pupils undertaking education in schools up to about age 11.

† For all countries except the United Kingdom the figures relate to pupils undertaking general education in schools plus students attending similar level courses in colleges.

‡ Nursery and primary schools only.

// Schools only.

V74 N74

Child Benefit WA

Mr. Williams asked the Sec State Social Services if he will estimate the cost of (a) increasing child benefit by £1 per child per week and (b) increasing child benefit by £3 per child per week in 1985-86, giving the gross and net full year costs.

Mr. Whitney: The estimated full year cost of increasing child benefit by £1 a week in 1985-86 would be £640 million gross or £490 million net. The corresponding figures for a £3 a week increase would be £1,920 million and £1470 million.

Grammar Schools WA

Mr. Freud asked the Sec State Education how many grammar schools have (i) closed and (ii) merged as a result of falling school rolls in areas which have retained selection in each year since 1979.

Mr. Dunn: Closures of grammar schools in areas retaining selection, where the proposals were made solely as a result of falling school rolls, have arisen only where my right hon. Friend or his predecessor approved proposals for amalgamations. Since 1979 the number of grammar schools which have merged or will amalgamate as a result of approved proposals and determinations by local education authorities is as follows:

Number of grammar schools involved in mergers	
Year	Number
1979	Nil
1980	2
1981	2
1982	5
1983	Nil
1984	6

British Youth Council WA

Mr. Merchant asked the Sec State Education and Science what funds his Department gives to the British Youth Council, for what purposes; and what funds his Department gives to other voluntary organisations connected with youth.

Mr. Brooke: The grants made by the Department to the British youth Council are provided for educational purposes. The 1984-85 grant allocation is £107,750. Grants to other voluntary youth organisations are expected to amount to some £3.5 million in 1984-85.

Grammar Schools WA

Mr. Freud asked the Sec State Education whether he will list in the *Official Report* proposed closures of grammar schools which have been refused by his Department since 1979, in each case stating the local education authority and year of decision.

Mr. Dunn: The following table lists proposals to cease to maintain grammar schools which my right hon. Friend or his predecessor have rejected since May 1979.

List of Grammar Schools (Proposed closures rejected by Secretary of State)		
Date	LEA	Name of Grammar School
18 February 1980	Kirklees	Batley Grammar for Girls
9 February 1981	Birmingham	Bishop Vesey's Grammar School
5 August 1982	Shropshire	Newport Girls' Grammar
2 December 1982	Cumbria	Heversham Grammar
20 January 1983	Wolverhampton	Wolverhampton Girls' Grammar
16 February 1983	Gloucestershire	Marling School
		Stroud Girls' School
21 April 1983	Wiltshire	Bishop Wordsworth Boys' Grammar
		South Wiltshire Girls' Grammar

*List of Grammar Schools
(Proposed closures rejected by Secretary of State)* *Continued*

Date	LEA	Name of Grammar School
10 May 1983	Cumbria	Whitehaven Grammar School Workington Grammar School
14 July 1983	Gloucestershire	Pate's Grammar Cheltenham Grammar
10 August 1983	Lancashire	Bacup and Rawtenstall Grammar
14 November 1983	Calderdale	The Heath School The Highlands School The Princess Mary School The Crossley and Porter School
22 February 1984	Gloucestershire	Colwell School for Girls Denmark Road Ribston Hall High School Crypt Grammar School Sir Thomas Rich's School

Children's Nurses WA

Mrs. **Renée Short** asked the Sec State Social Services (1) how many nurses hold the Royal Society of Children's Nurses qualification in each region; how many children's wards are in charge of a nurse without that qualification;

(2) how many training places for Royal Society of Children's Nurses there are in each region; and whether there are any plans to increase the number of such places.

Mr. **John Patten**: The hon. Member would appear to be seeking information about nurses holding the registered sick children's nurse qualification. We are advised by the English National Board of Nursing, Midwifery and Health Visiting that the number of training places in each region for the qualification are:

	Number
Northern	20
Yorkshire	50
Trent	180
East Anglian	20
North West Thames	130
North East Thames	270
South West Thames	100
South East Thames	75
Wessex	20
Oxford	30
South Western	20
West Midlands	100
Mersey	220
North Western	240

It is for individual health authorities to determine the number of training places they require and also the need for nurses with the RSCN qualification in the light of local needs and circumstances.

Schoolchildren WA

Mr. **Eastham** asked the Sec State Employment how many convictions there were in the years 1980 to 1984 for illegal employment of schoolchildren.

Mr. **Peter Bottomley**: The responsibility for the enforcement of legislation relating to the restrictions on employment of children in "industrial undertakings" (such as factories, construction sites, mines and quarries and so on) and agriculture falls to the Health and Safety Executive. The number of convictions obtained by HSE Inspectors for child employment offences in these undertakings is as follows:

	Convictions
1980	18
1981	5
1982	10
1983	*8
1984	*1

* Provisional.

V76 N93

Youth Training WA

Mr. **Gordon Brown** asked Chancellor of the Exchequer on what basis he has concluded that the difference between net costs and gross costs in the introduction of the second year of youth training is £60 million in 1986-87 and £150 million in 1987-88.

Mr. **Peter Rees**: The Budget Statement explained that the additional expenditure on the youth training scheme will be partly offset by saving in Social Security payments and by the ending of the young workers scheme. The difference between net and gross costs for 1986-87 implicit in the statement was £80 million.

V77 N100

Nursery Education WA

Mr. **Skinner** asked the Sec State Education if he will now introduce legislation providing free state nursery education for all children under five years of age; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. **Dunn**: The Government's aim, that their plans for local authorities' expenditure should allow provision attributable to under-fives education to be maintained in real terms, as stated in the recent White Paper "Better Schools", is as realistic an aim as can be expected in the foreseeable future. Within this level of provision there is scope for local flexibility and for improvements in quality and cost-effectiveness.

Nursery School Places WA

Mr. **Skinner** asked the Sec State Education how many nursery school places were available in 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983 and 1984.

Mr. **Dunn**: The numbers of pupils attending maintained nursery schools in England in 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, and 1984 were 48,477, 48,456, 48,154, 48,989, 49,551 and 49,406, respectively. Information on the number of nursery school places is not available; these figures represent the nearest equivalent - the number of places filled.

Handicapped Children WA

Mr. **Alfred Morris** asked Sec State Education if he will make statement on implications of the decision of the NASUWT to advise teachers not to accept handicapped children into mainstream schools unless resources are made available to provide proper care for them; and whether, in the light of this decision, he is now prepared to make resources available for the full implementation of the Education Act 1981.

Mr. **Dunn**: My right hon. Friend would depreciate any discrimination against a child, whether in the provision of education or otherwise, on account of his or her handicap.

If a child who has special educational needs and is the subject of a statement under the Education Act 1981 is to be placed in an ordinary school, that placement must be compatible with his receiving the special educational provision that he requires, as specified in the statement. If a child is not the subject of a statement, his admission to a county or voluntary school is governed by the provisions of sections 6 and 7 of the Education Act 1980.

The Government have already made available additional resources to assist with special aspects of special education. We shall continue to look for other ways in which further funding might be found.

Children (Visiting Policy) WA

Mr. **Wood** asked the Sec State Social Services if he will make a statement on his policy towards the visiting of children in care and living with their families.

Mr. **John Patten**: We have reviewed this issue following the tragic death of Jasmine Beckford and the Chief Inspector of the Social Services Inspectorate has now written to all local authority Directors of Social Services in England advising them on the discharge of their responsibilities for these children. The text of his letter follows. It lays particular emphasis on the visiting of children who are subject to a care order or parental rights resolution but allowed to live at home with their family.

Good practice requires the regular and frequent visiting of such children. How often will depend on individual circumstances. The effect of paragraph 4 of this letter is to secure that, for example, children under five would be visited not less often than every six weeks, but in many cases visits would need to be much more frequent, indeed daily if necessary.

The Social Services Inspectorate propose an early inspection of the supervision of social workers in the assessment and monitoring of children in need of protection.

Following is the letter:

To Directors of Social Services

Dear Director

CHILDREN IN THE CARE OF A LOCAL AUTHORITY AND PLACED WITH THEIR FAMILIES

Grave public concern has been expressed about the circumstances of the death of Jasmine Beckford. I am writing to you at this stage, before a formal inquiry has begun, about a subject that is causing particular anxiety: the arrangements for ensuring the well-being of children in the care of a local authority subject to a care order or a parental rights resolution who are allowed to live with their own families.

2. The local authority has in such cases the powers and duties of a parent or guardian. Returning the child to the family must clearly be part of a planned process of rehabilitation. That process must include sufficient oversight to confirm that the child is likely to flourish and that its welfare is likely to be promoted by a permanent return to its family.

3. I am writing therefore to remind you of your responsibilities for such children and the essential requirement for social workers to visit and see such children in order to ensure their safety and well-being. A child should not be placed back with its family unless such visits can be ensured and a child's placement should not be changed by the parents without the local authority's agreement.

4. There is no specific legislative requirement concerning frequency of visiting such children. Nevertheless, conscientious discharge of the local authority's duties and of good professional practice demands regular and frequent contact between the responsible worker and the child, particularly in the early weeks of a child's return home. It may appear that frequent visiting is no longer necessary when the discharge of a care order or the rescinding of a parental rights resolution is being contemplated and but I strongly recommend that the frequency of visiting should not be less than that prescribed by Regulation 21 of the Boarding-Out of Children Regulations 1955.

5. Local authorities have a statutory duty to review the cases of all children in their care at least every six months. I recommend that, where a child in care is placed with its family, the placement be reviewed by a social services manager or appropriate professional officer within 2-4 weeks and thereafter as necessary. This review and subsequent reviews should examine all aspects of the child's well being and should include first hand reports by the social worker of visits to the family with particular reference to the physical and emotional development of the child, so that the authority can take an informed decision as to whether or not the child should remain with its family. The review might also wish to consider if there is a need for additional support to the family.

6. Social workers who have day to day responsibility for such children should be provided with the necessary support, guidance, supervision and management. You may wish to consider in addition administrative procedures to ensure that effective mechanisms exist to arrange for the removal of a child if necessary.

7. The purpose of this letter is to concentrate attention upon a small group of children who may be particularly vulnerable. You and your colleagues bear the heavy responsibility of identifying the individual children concerned and of acting appropriately. I hope that my recommendations will strengthen the implementation of policies of rehabilitating children in care with their natural families.

Yours faithfully,

W.B. UTTING,

Chief Inspector,

Social Services Inspectorate

V78 N107

YTS WA

Mr. **Janner** asked the Sec State Employment to what factors he attributes the low percentage of young people of Asian and West Indian origin in MSC mode A schemes.

Mr. **Peter Morrison**: A number of different factors have been identified in research undertaken by the University of Bristol's school of advanced urban studies and by the Commission for Racial Equality which may account for a relatively low percentage of Asian and West Indian young people entering mode A of the YTS. In order to ensure that its policy of equal opportunities is fully implemented the MSC has drawn upon the recommendations of the University of Bristol and the Commission for Racial Equality.

School Leavers

Mr. **Barry Jones** asked the Prime Minister what proportion of young people left school at (a) 16 years and (b) 18 years in (i) Wales, (ii) England and (iii) Scotland in 1984.

The Prime Minister: The information is as follows:

School leavers in the academic year 1983-84
Leavers as a percentage of the numbers in the age group†*

Leavers aged‡	Wales percentage	England percentage	Scotland percentage
16	66	67	43
18	16	17	22

* Provisional data for England and Wales.

† School leavers expressed as a percentage of the population in the age group.

‡ Ages at 31 August 1984 for England and Wales; 31 December 1984 for Scotland.

V78 N109

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. **Lawler** asked the Sec State Employment if he will list those trades unions which have refused to allow the opportunity for young people on the Y.T.S. to work alongside their members.

Mr. **Peter Morrison**: I am glad to say that the vast majority of trade unions support the YTS and are co-operating in its operation. A small number - such as the Union of Communication Workers, the National Graphical Association, the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades, the Society of Civil and

Public Servants and the Civil and Public Servants Association - have either refused to accept the scheme or sought to impose conditions on their support. This has meant that some young people have been deprived of the full range of training opportunities.

Juveniles (Reconviction Rates) OA

Mr. Barron asked the Sec State Home Department what are the latest reconviction rates for juveniles attending detention centres.

Mr. Mellor: About 70 per cent. of juveniles discharged from detention centres in England and Wales in 1980 were reconvicted within two years.

Mr. Barron: does not that show that the philosophy behind the government's thinking in relation to juveniles who do wrong is not working? Would not it be a lot better if the Government concentrated on giving juveniles real jobs in society so that they felt that they were playing a more valid role instead of leaving them to roam the streets and end up in detention centres?

Mr. Mellor: Those cheap and tendentious observations are somewhat undermined by the fact that in each of the years of the Labour Government the reconviction rates were higher than those I have just given.

Mr. Alex Carlile: Given the lack of success of the detention centres, will the Minister agree that it is time that statutory funding was provided for intermediate treatment for juveniles throughout Britain, bearing in mind the evidence of success of such schemes?

Mr. Mellor: The hon. and learned Gentleman will know that we are attracted to intermediate schemes and that the Department of Health and Social Security has recently put some £15 million into developing intermediate treatment facilities throughout Britain.

V78 N113

Youth Training WA

Mr. Sheerman asked Sec State Employment what assessment he has made of the relative value of mode A YTS and mode B YTS, respectively, in making the transition from school to work.

Mr. Peter Morrison (*pursuant to his reply*, 7 May 1985, C.356): One of the main aims of the YTS is to help young people make the transition from school to work. Most places on the scheme are sponsored by employers under "mode A" of the scheme as this provides the most realistic introduction to working life and generally the best prospect of employment. However, there is a continuing need for "mode B" schemes, particularly in areas where there may be a shortage of employer-led schemes.

The MSC conducts sample surveys of young people who leave the scheme. The results of young people who leave the scheme. The results to date show that leavers from mode A schemes are significantly more successful in finding work than their counterparts in mode B.

V77 N103

Primary Schools (Science Teaching) WA

Mrs. Reenée Short asked the Sec State Education what proposals he has to enable primary school teachers to improve science teaching in primary schools; and what resources he intends to allocate for this purpose.

Mr. Dunn: The Department and the Welsh Office have recently published "Science 5-16: A statement of policy", which sets out the Government's views on future developments in science education in primary and secondary schools. It sets as objectives that all pupils should be properly introduced to science in the primary school and that all class teachers in primary schools, without exception, should include at least some science in their teaching, making use of their colleagues' specialist knowledge and experience as necessary.

The policy statement calls for a sustained and co-operative effort under the leadership of the LEAs to meet those objectives, and describes some of the action being taken at the national level to assist that effort. For example, primary science is to be one of the areas within the education support grant scheme. Fifty-two LEAs in England will receive education support grant from September 1985 to three-year programmes of action to improve the effectiveness and relevance of primary science teaching. Total expenditure in these LEAs over the three years will be some £10 million, and an extension of the primary science education support grant scheme in 1986-87 is under consideration. The Association of Science Education is being commissioned to undertake an evaluation of the primary science ESG programmes, to disseminate information about successful practice and to draw up guidelines of future developments. Primary science is also one of the fields receiving support under the inservice teacher training grants scheme. These and other developments at the national level are matched by substantial and rapidly growing interest at the local level, with many significant initiatives under way.

Young People (Pay)

Mr. Nellist asked the Sec State Employment if he will estimate the average rates of pay for 16, 17 and 18-year-olds including those on Governments training schemes, for the years 1979 and 1985, expressed at (a) 1979 prices, and (b) 1983 prices.

Mr. Peter Bottomley: Estimates of the earnings of 16, 17 and 18 year-olds are available from the "New Earnings Survey". This gives information for employees only and this will only include those on Government training schemes who have employee status.

The table shows earnings for April 1979 and April 1984 (the latest date for which survey results are available) deflated using the retail price index.

Average weekly earnings of full-time employees whose pay was not affected by absence
Great Britain April

Age at 1 January	1979		1984	
	(a) 1979 prices £	(b) 1983 prices £	(a) 1979 prices £	(b) 1983 prices £
16	34.7	53.9	33.7	52.3
17	40.8	63.3	39.0	60.6
18	49.8	77.3	48.3	74.9

Children in Care WA

Mrs. Renée Short asked the Sec State Social Services if he will list the number of children who have been in social services care in the west midlands region in each year since 1979 and the number of staff who have been employed to look after them during the same period.

Mr. John Patten: complete information is not available in the form specified. Information on the numbers of children in the care of each of the local authorities in the west midlands region at 31 March 1983 and 1984 (where available) is given in the table. Information relating to 30 September 1983 on the numbers of staff employed by their social services departments to look after children in care who are accommodated in maintained/controlled community homes is also given. Information for previous years is given in the Department's annual publications entitled respectively "Children in Care of Local Authorities - England" and "Staff of Local Authority Social Services Departments - England", copies of which are in the Library.

Other categories of staff, for example, social workers, are also involved with children and young persons in care, but it is not possible to determine how much of their time is devoted to such children. These other categories of staff are enumerated in my other reply to the hon. Member today.

West Midlands (Local Authorities)	Children in Care		*Staff Maintained/ Controlled Community Homes
	As at 31 March 1983	As at 30 September 1984	1983
Hereford and Worcester	855	807	227.2
Shropshire	630	632	89.2
Staffordshire	1,343	1,306	N/A
Warwickshire	585	N/A	91.7
Birmingham	2,873	N/A	857.6
Coventry	738	678	182.4
Dudley	355	332	49.7
Sandwell	253	211	99.3
Solihull	63	N/A	51.0
Walsall	534	477	70.0
Wolverhampton	635	589	N/A
Regional Total	8,864	N/A	N/A

N/A: Not yet available

* Expressed in whole-time equivalents.

V77 N105

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Stuart Holland asked the Sec State Employment (1) on what criteria the MSC evaluate local requirements for YTS places;

(2) whether the MSC evaluate local requirements for YTS places on both a borough basis and Inner London education authority divisions;

(3) what consideration is given to the academic or non-academic content of the school leaving population in M.S.C. evaluation of local requirements for youth training scheme places;

(4) whether local job opportunities are related to training facilities for the incoming labour force in YTS Schemes.

Mr. Peter Morrison: The number and type of YTS places in each locality is determined in consultation with local careers services, on the basis of estimates of the number of young people likely to require places and their training needs, and with local job opportunities kept in mind. In London such planning is undertaken at borough and Inner London Education Authority division level.

Mr. Stuart Holland asked the Sec State Employment whether the MSC is making provision to monitor the proportion of places taken up in mode A schemes by (a) inner city, (b) black and (c) female young people.

Mr. Peter Morrison: Statistical information on the participation of ethnic groups and female youngsters in the youth training scheme is recorded on the MSC computerised management information system. This system is based on local authority districts and does not, therefore, specifically record information about inner cities except in the case of London, where all the inner city boroughs are local authority districts. The information is regularly monitored by MSC staff.

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Higher Education WA

Mr. Forth asked the Sec State Education what is the approximate number of students in higher education engaged on (a) arts and humanities courses and (b) on courses in science, engineering and technology.

Mr. Brooke: The numbers of home students enrolled on higher education courses in 1983-84, the latest year for which information is available, was as follows:

Subjects	Great Britain	
	Full-time and sandwich	Part-time*
Arts and humanities	303,500	101,400
Science, engineering and technology	216,300	134,000

* Excluding 76,000 Open University students of whom approximately half were following arts and humanities courses.

Mr. Hirst asked the Sec State Education what representations he has received on the Green Paper, The Development of Higher Education into the 1990s; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Brooke: Although my right hon. Friend is beginning to receive representations on the issues raised in Cmnd. 9524, the majority are not expected until later in the year. Such representations will be taken into account in the further formulation of policy for the future development of higher education: the Government hope to be able to make a further statement of their intentions in 1986.

Education Costs

Mr. Roger King asked the Sec State Education what is the current public expenditure on education per child; and what was the figure in 1983, 1981 and 1979, all at current prices.

Sir Keith Joseph: Local education authorities spent £915 per pupil in 1983-84, the latest period for which actual figures are available. The corresponding figures for 1981-82 and 1979-80, both in 1983-84 real prices, are £865 and £790. Real terms are the cash terms for each year adjusted by the gross domestic product deflator at market prices with 1983-84=100.

Primary and Secondary Education WA

Mrs. Virginia Bottomley asked Sec State Education how many primary and secondary places there are now in the maintained education system in England; and what is the full cost of maintaining these places.

Mr. Dunn: In January 1984 there were estimated to be 4.85 million primary places and 4.16 million secondary places maintained in use by local education authorities in England. The cost of maintaining these places in the financial year 1983-84 was £571.8 million in primary schools and £741.4 million in secondary schools.

Education Budget WA

Mr. Ashdown asked Sec State Education in what areas of the education budget he is seeking to make economies.

Sir Keith Joseph: I am concerned that the resources available for education generally should be used economically and effectively throughout the service. For example, the Government's plans for education expenditure by LEAs in 1985-86 assume economies in the provision of the school meals service, in caretaking and cleaning and through continuing progress in the removal of surplus school places, so as to target resources to best educational effect. These and other opportunities for efficiency savings will be no less crucial in later years for which provision for education, like other aspects of public spending, is currently under review as part of the annual survey.

Educational Maintenance Allowance WA

Mr. Freud asked Sec State Education what would be the cost per academic year of providing an educational maintenance allowance to every pupil aged between 16 and 19 years in full-time education at the weekly rate of (a) £26.25 and (b) £27.30 for 40 weeks and subjecting the allowance to tax as part of the parental income and part of the income sum in calculations for family eligibility to social security.

Sir Keith Joseph: Approximately (a) £460 million and (b) £480 million after allowing for deductions in respect of child benefit and existing education maintenance allowances and grants to 16 to 19-year-olds in nonadvanced further education. Tax and social security benefits are dependent on individual circumstances and it is not therefore possible to make generalised assumptions in relation to them.

The Gillick Judgement

Introduction

The recent decision in the House of Lords, in what is called the Gillick case, has brought to a conclusion the question of whether medical professionals can advise and treat under 16 year old girls with contraceptives without their parents knowledge and consent. The Lords, in a 3 to 2 decision, found against Gillick - famous mother of 10, five being girls under 16 - who was trying to make such advice unlawful. Nevertheless, Lord Scarman, one of the five Lords hearing the case, explained this present case was a beginning, not the conclusion of a legal development in a field not yet fully explored and although the plaintiff might lose the appeal she had performed a notable public service in directing judicial attention to the problems arising from the interaction of parental right and a doctor's duty in a field of medicine unknown to our fathers but of immense consequence to our society.

The Ruling

Of the five, Lords Scarman, Fraser and Bridge supported advice giving and Lords Brando and Templeman dissented. According to Lord Fraser the central issue was whether a doctor could ever, in any circumstances, lawfully give contraceptive advice or treatment to a girl under 16 without her parent's consent. Although advice and treatment are essentially medical matters, this issue also raised moral and social questions, which made them more difficult to tackle.

The three strands of the argument raised were:

1. Whether a girl under the age of 16 had the legal capacity to give valid consent to contraceptive advice and treatment, including medical examination.
2. Whether giving such advice and treatment to a girl under 16 without her parent's consent infringed the parent's rights.
3. Whether a doctor who gave such advice without the parent's consent incurred criminal liability.

Lord Fraser felt that firstly, a girl under 16 could consent providing she had sufficient understanding and intelligence to know what such advice and treatment involved. Secondly, as far as parental rights were concerned, they existed not for the benefit of the parents but for the child, and the degree of control that should be exercised again depended on the understanding and intelligence of the child.

Thirdly, the doctor would only give advice to under 16 year olds without parental consent in exceptional circumstances and the doctor had to be satisfied of the following five points:

- 1) The girl would understand his advice.
- 2) He could not persuade her to inform her parents or to allow him to inform the parents.
- 3) She was very likely to have sexual intercourse with or without contraceptive treatment.
- 4) Unless she received contraceptive advice and/or treatment, her physical or mental health or both were likely to suffer.
- 5) Her best interest required him to give her contraceptive advice or treatment or both without parental consent.

Whether a doctor who gave such advice or treatment without consent was likely to incur criminal liability (e.g. by aiding and abetting the criminal offence of unlawful sexual intercourse) depended on the doctors intentions, and the presence or absence of parental consent was irrelevant in determining the criminal liability of the doctor.

Lord Scarman concurred, and pointed to relevant societal factors that had a bearing on the decision such as the increasing independence of young people and the changed status of women which had to be taken into account; he thought that unless and until Parliament intervened, the courts should establish a principle flexible enough to enable justice to be achieved by its application to the particular circumstances placed before them.

Dissenting Opinion

Interestingly enough, Lord Brando, in dissenting, said the issue was clearly a criminal law question. Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl under 16 was a serious criminal offence so far as the man was concerned. Therefore it followed that for any person to promote, encourage or facilitate the commission of such an act might itself be a criminal offence and must in any event be contrary to public policy. That applied equally to a parent or doctor or social worker (or Youth Worker, we might add). The other dissenter, Lord Templeman, said a girl under 16 did not possess the power in law to decide for herself to practise contraception. It was up to the parents or the doctor to decide.

Majority Decision

In reaching the majority decision, the Lords moved the law forward along already well established lines, i.e. the increasing recognition of young peoples' ability to decide questions for themselves, and the balance increasingly tipping in favour of the young person's rights as opposed to the parent's rights to possess and control them. But as Lord Scarman said, this decision forms the beginning of the questions, not the conclusions, and as he pointed out, it is still open to Parliament to enact a bill around these issues. Therefore it is important for people such as Youth Workers and professionals involved with young people, to be aware of the issues and the legal questions raised.

Relevance for young people

Most importantly, this legislation lifts the barrier to young girls seeking and being given contraceptive advice and treatment. Figures provided by professionals involved in this area already point to the disastrous results of the previous Gillick Court of Appeal ruling. Dr. Diana Birch, in charge of school health in the Camberwell area of South London found that in 1984 there were 11 schoolgirl pregnancies in her area, whereas in the first 10 months of

1985 there were 33, 11 of these were from one school alone (The Times, Friday 18th October, 1985). Unfortunately, clinics such as Brook Advisory Clinics that publicly offer advice to young girls, say that the damage caused by Gillick may take time to heal, and they are worried about getting their patients to come back.

Secondly, the criminal liability of a boy who knowingly has intercourse with a girl under 16 has not changed. The male partner is committing a criminal act, and depending on the ages of either partner, that action could have very serious legal consequences (Ss 5 & 6 of the Sexual Offences Act 1956).

Relevance for youth workers and other professionals.

It is no longer unlawful for doctors or other people whose work brings them into contact with young people, to give them information, leaflets or advice about contraception, or to give contraceptive treatment to young girls under 16 without parental consent. However, the ruling is clear that it considers it would be "most unusual" for such advice to be given in the absence of parental knowledge and consent, and it clearly lays down a doctor's duty to consider 5 material points (see above under THE RULING) before finally taking the decision to treat a girl with contraception in that absence.

Considering Mrs. Gillick's tenacity on this question, we should not underestimate the possibilities of a parent taking issue with a doctor on this legal point where a girl has been given treatment without parental knowledge. Also, the judgement has not given consideration to the role of other professionals, such as youth workers, in the question of advice and treatment to under 16 year olds. In the absence of any guidance to the contrary, there is always the possibility that the five point rule could be held to apply to other professionals as well.

Many doctors, and others, have pointed out that, given the pressure that most G.P.s are under, with a full waiting room and many patients to see, it is unlikely they could give proper time and attention to these points. Nevertheless, the status quo of before the Gillick Court of Appeal ruling has been restored, and doctors can exercise their judgement to give such advice. It would make sense for any adult concerned with young girls to encourage their knowledge of the new ruling and the availability of contraception and advice, especially if they consider them to be at risk of pregnancy.

Other Issues

This case throws up many and various questions and issues, some legal and some moral and social:

Double Standards - The age of consent only exists for girls, which represents one aspect of differential treatment for young men and young women; is this discriminatory? It is ironic that a judgement that so profoundly affects young girls and women should be taken by five men.

Age of Consent - What should the law be? Should the age of consent be lowered, or abolished for girls (there is none for boys except in homosexual relationships)? Should there be a staggered age relationship, thus making it not illegal for a man to have sexual intercourse with a girl of any age so long as he is no more than 2 years older than her? This approach attempts to look at the question of power, exploitation and inequality of control in relationships, but this begs a further question:

The Boy's Responsibility - Many women are concerned at the lack of emphasis on the boy's part in the sexual act and his responsibility for the likely outcome of that act. Ironically, even when the Gillick Court of Appeal ruling was in force and girls could not get advice and treatment legally, sheath contraceptives were (and always have been) freely available from chemists and slot machines. Yet this anomaly was ignored, which points to the focussing of the issues onto the girl as victim and not enough on the sexual act as a relationship between two people. Youth workers and other have a duty to raise these questions with young people, especially boys, in an attempt to get attitudes to the male role changed.

Parental Role - Lord Fraser said in the Lord's ruling that it was notorious that children of both sexes were reluctant to confide in their parents about sexual matters. In the absence of a parent with which to discuss such important questions, a Youth Worker could, and should perhaps, provide a confidential and supportive role to girls and boys. It is important to discuss the issues generally, to help make young people aware of contraceptive availability, and possibly to bridge the communications gap between child and parent, which more than likely will not be bridged by the doctor.

In Conclusion

As Lord Scarman said, the changed status of women has had profound effects on legal questions: a girl is no longer the chattel of her father, to do his will until her husband takes over. But yet abuse of women and girls, particularly sexual and physical violence is common, and unwanted pregnancies remain a problem for women. How can the law allow for women's greater freedom while still offering protection from exploitation, particularly at the hands of men? To quote Lord Scarman again, this is just the beginning of the question, and if legal and other professionals concerned with youth issues are not careful, Gillick and others like her will be back, catching them unawares and unprepared, with private members bills attempting to turn the clock back.

The wider implications of this ruling could and should be questioned by anyone concerned with young people - and that should mean all of us.

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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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