

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

**ISSN 0262 - 9798**

**NO. 17 SUMMER 1986**

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# YOUTH the journal of critical analysis AND POLICY

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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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Details and rates of advertising and circulation from: Youth and Policy, 13 Hunstanton Court, Ravenswood Estate, Low Fell, Gateshead NE9 6LA.

## SUBSCRIPTIONS

Youth and Policy, 13 Hunstanton Court, Ravenswood Estate, Low Fell, Gateshead NE9 6LA.

Annual Subscription (4 issues): £14.00

Students and unwaged £11.00

Individual copies: £4.00

Back issues (if available): At cover price

Overseas rate: £19 sterling

(includes postage at 'printed paper' rate)

Special terms for orders of ten or more, on request.

There is no special rate for institutions.

# thinking about intermediate treatment

JOHN PITTS

*There are fundamental assumptions built into I.T. as it is currently practised. This article examines the theoretical basis of these assumptions and offers a critique of their application.*

In this article I consider the ways in which we think about intermediate treatment (IT). If, as Barbara Hudson has suggested, the thinking of radicals in the juvenile justice industry "is still geared to the problems of the previous rather than the present era" then perhaps we should be thinking about re-thinking IT.<sup>(1)</sup>

The 1982 Criminal Justice Act placed many of the demands of juvenile justice radicals on the statute book. It was paralleled by a government handout of £15,000,000 for the development of alternatives to custody. This might suggest that IT is beginning to win the battle to keep young people in trouble out of penal and residential institutions.

It seems that with the 1982 Act the juvenile justice radicals won a number of battles. The battle for a juvenile justice system which emphasised just deserts over social need; the battle for recognition of IT as an alternative to custody at the Home Office and the DHSS; and the battle to separate the deprived from the deprived all seemed to have ended victoriously. It seems, however, that these battles were won against an enemy which is no longer a serious contender and that it was the real enemy which granted these concessions for its own reasons. Some battles were won but the war against the incarceration of working-class young people in trouble is being lost.

The concessions granted addressed problems and issues current when IT was born and during the early stages of its development. Times and problems have changed but IT still clings tenaciously to the theories, ideas, problems, and issues of a previous era. It is not that these theories, ideas, problems, and issues are of no significance, but rather that while they have become frozen into articles of faith for IT, in other areas they have been re-thought, revised and subjected to a critical scrutiny which has allowed development.

It may be that the beleaguered position of IT in a Law and Order era has promoted a growing dogmatism in which practitioners and commentators castigate one another for deviations from the true faith which, if adhered to, would bring IT's most radical ambition, the substitution of community-based responses, for custodial confinement, to frui-

tion.

It does seem that the proliferation of new grouping within IT; the periodic session of regional groups from the National Intermediate Treatment Federation, and the recurrent attempts by various groups to define the role of IT more and more narrowly, and all symptomatic of IT's mounting frustration with its own inability to realise its ambitions. There is a danger that this relatively new and embattled area of social intervention will lose sight of its own potential in its efforts to define and consolidate its orthodoxy. One of the most dangerous facets of this process is that it forbids participants to rethink the orthodoxy and in doing so precludes the possibility of exploring new directions and new initiatives.

## The Ten Commandments

This orthodoxy is an ensemble of beliefs, values, strategies and techniques adopted explicitly and implicitly by many workers and commentators in the field of IT. In what follows I attempt to give an account of this orthodoxy and its theoretical and philosophical roots.

### 1. *Juvenile crime is not a serious problem*

(a) because, when we calculate the proceeds of the sum total of juvenile crime or the costs in terms of damage wrought by juveniles, this pales into insignificance against a backdrop of organised and corporate crime;

(b) because the government, media, and public concern about juvenile crime is the result of a series of moral panics orchestrated various moral entrepreneurs and media hungry for horror stories with which to sell papers. These groups are periodically aided and abetted by the police.

### 2. *The helping professions are the major source of hindrance to young offenders*

(a) because it is in the nature of social work and social welfare that will constantly search for new needs and new causes of deviant behaviour far beyond the time and place of the particular deviant act;

(b) because social work by its equation of deprivation and deviance will attempt to intervene in the lives of non-ajudicated delinquents in an attempt to prevent delinquency. In doing this, it will serve to stigmatise new non-deviant populations and thus draw them into the juvenile criminal justice system through a process of guilt by association with social

workers doing delinquency prevention work. This is often described as the application of a "needology" which results in the "spreading of the net";

(c) because social workers in their Social Enquiry Report's (SER's), while ostensibly offering the court an opinion above the subject, based upon social and psychological scientific training, are in fact mainly offering a character evaluation - a moral judgement. Thus SER's may be seen as either a pitch or a denunciation or, indeed, a character assassination.

### **3 *Placing young offenders in residential or custodial institutions is a bad thing***

(a) because it fractures links with home, family and neighbourhood;

(b) because it forces the subject to take on an inmate identity, it spoils identity;

(c) because it increases the subject's rate of offending serves to project the subject into a deviant subculture thus promoting secondary deviance and projecting the subject into a deviant career;

(d) because it is costly and in the light (c) above, ineffective in achieving the objective of rehabilitation to a non-deviant mode of existence in the community.

### **4. *Placing young offenders in a community-based alternative is a better thing***

(a) because it avoids all the disadvantages itemised above;

(b) because it is less costly, and even if it is as unsuccessful as the residential or custodial institution in achieving rehabilitation, the failure is less expensive.

### **5. *Leaving the kids alone is the best thing - radical non-intervention is the most desirable to young offenders***

(a) because it avoids all the problems associated with the application of deviant labels by the heavy-handed agents of the state who serve to stigmatise the subject and worsen the problem to which they are purportedly the solution;

(b) because much behaviour which is the object of intervention by the police, education authorities, social workers, probation officers and courts, is no more than a relatively innocuous expression of working class youth culture which should be tolerated as a normal part of growing up;

(c) because since most interventions by powerful labellers tend to serve the professional interests of the labellers rather than the needs of the subjects, we must always be sceptical about the purpose of such interventions;

(d) because it costs virtually nothing.

### **6. *Welfare considerations should be banned from the Juvenile Court***

(a) because the consideration of deprivation, need and the determination of deviant behaviour by mysterious, intrapsychic or social forces serves to mystify the defendant and lay her/him open to the possibility of the imposition of prot-

racted treatments in residential establishments for offences for which an adult would receive a much less intrusive or restrictive penalty;

(b) because a consideration of guilt or innocence and the adversarial due process of law enables the greater possibility of proportionality, i.e. justice;

(c) because the child or young person has an innate sense of cause and effect and justice and (i) expects, and (ii) has the right to expect, punishment;

(d) because social workers are inept in their operations in court and lawyers, the police, magistrates and judges are not.

### **7. *IT must concern itself only with adjudicated offenders***

(a) because any excursions into work with girls as the objects of sexual abuse, non-school attenders, glue sniffers etc. is welfare or social work and is not the concern of IT which works only to prevent adjudicated offenders being locked up;

(b) because such net-widening may suck new populations into the system while limiting the opportunities for adjudicated offenders to be offered the alternative.

### **8. *In IT programmes credibility with the courts is more important than what you do***

(a) because IT is first and foremost a strategic intervention to keep young offenders out of care or custody. Since courts put people into care or custody anything which looks like a plausible alternative, and this may often involve including a punitive or overtly controlling element in the programme, may be tried to achieve the decarcerating objective;

(b) because programmes which begin to concern themselves with issues other than offending are in danger of drifting into the metaphysics of needology and denying the essential unproblematic normality of the subjects of IT programmes.

### **9. *The job of science is to quantify how much less harm we can do or have done, not to explain crime or devise cures for it***

(a) because in the entire history of criminology no effective technology of behavioural change has been devised;

(b) because the problem is clearly social reaction and the task is to find it and neutralise it;

(c) because practitioners need a science they can use to get the job done, not irrefutable metaphysics and intellectual speculation about the nature of human kind and the nature of the social world.

### **10. *The State is run by unsophisticated, unscientific, deaf idiots, who for some reason, keep making mistakes at the levels of policy or implementation. This has the unintended consequence of locking up even more young offenders. Our job is to tell them how to do their job properly***

(a) because politicians do not understand the dynamics of the juvenile criminal justice system;

(b) because if they did they would then be able to turn their stated objective, i.e. the minimisation of custodial confinement, into a reality;

(c) because if we can keep pumping them information about cost effectiveness, and evaluations which show effectiveness in terms of individual behaviour and systemic change we will win their hearts and minds.

I want to consider eight aspects of this orthodoxy critically in order to suggest ways in which debate and action in the field of juvenile decarceration may begin to confront the social and political realities of the mid-1980s.

### Juvenile Crime

Is it the case then that with a few exceptional instances to the contrary, juvenile crime is merely an innocuous and normal part of working class adolescent life? This assumption is at the core of much academic work and much practice in the IT field and leads to a non-interventionist stance.

Now the reality is that while young people from social classes four and five may well have been 'at it' for centuries, the form of juvenile crime changes from place to place and from time to time, and some manifestations of it are less innocuous than others. The widespread use of marijuana by young people in certain parts of South London is innocuous and is periodically over-dramatised by clumsy police intervention. The growing use of heroin, cocaine and barbiturates by other youths in other parts of South London is not and requires an effective intervention by agents of the state. Truancy, always a favourite pursuit of urban youth, may conjure up images of Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer going fishing. But, as Rutter and others have shown, excessive levels of truancy tell us something about the functioning or malfunctioning of particular educational institutions. Truancy, if it is persistent, also disadvantages young people in the courts and in a profoundly difficult job-market.<sup>(2)</sup> Truancy then, is a cause for concern.

Street crime has risen in volume since the mid 1970s. Even when we acknowledge the role of the police in developing moral panics about the issue and, even when we bring all the academic scepticism available to the official statistics, we have to recognise a serious increase in this type of juvenile crime. As Lee and Young have pointed out, if the 'mugging' panic is merely a result of the police framing black youth, why are they only framed for this offence?<sup>(3)</sup> Burglary is after all easier because it relies much less upon the identification of the culprit by the victim. The point they make is that unemployment bears disproportionately upon the most social disadvantaged and it appears to be the case that it is from precisely these populations that we see emerging crimes of poverty. Racial attack is not innocuous either and this tends to be a young man's game.

As Box and Hale have argued, there is no simplistic causal link between unemployment and crime.<sup>(4)</sup> The important independent variable is whether the victims see it as "avoidable suffering". It is more than arguable that growing numbers of urban youth do regard their predicament as an "avoidable suffering". They do see that the government, the State, has reneged upon its end of the social contract, and

some young people are increasingly prepared to innovate in order to secure the economic wherewithal to survive.

The debate within IT has largely ignored the victim. If juvenile crime was largely innocuous then why concern ourselves with victims? What is so often forgotten is that the radical non-intervention position and labelling theory tended always to emphasise status offences and crime without victims. When we are discussing juvenile crime in Britain in 1985, we are not primarily concerned with status offences or crimes without victims.

The reality is that we are talking about property offences and by and large offences against the property of other members of the working class. The most likely victim of street crime will be young, black and working class. If you are a single parent on an inner-city housing estate your social security money, your clock and TV are most likely to be taken by the boy next door.

This is no Robin Hood activity and it is no good pointing to the fact that juvenile crime is unimportant because the amounts are small. The amounts are small because many of the victims of juvenile property crime have precious little to steal - but it is a great deal to them. So what about the victims? What is our answer to be when asked by such as Becker "whose side are we on?". If we are on the side of the young, poor, working class offender, where do we stand in relation to his or her poor working class victim?

IT has by and large ignored crime and this dates back to the 1960's and the debate within radical criminological circles about whose side we are on. Thus a generation of academics and practitioners grew up with the orthodoxy that you do not discuss crime with the MAN because it is the MAN who creates crime by the application of pernicious labels. We therefore abandon the debate on crime and law and order to the Right and the consequences are now clear. It is the Right which defines the problem; it is the liberal centre and the Left, the place where IT lives, that is asked to come up with solutions to problems which it has chosen not to discuss because they were only fabricated problems, moral panics, shadows.

### Labelling theory/social reaction/and agents of social control

The theoretical perspective commended to, and espoused by, many people involved in IT is labelling theory and thus the decarcerating endeavour is heir to both the strengths and weaknesses of this perspective. The argument runs that: Working class youth are getting on doing what they do best, but that some of what they do best is for some reason mis-recognised by relatively powerful agents of social control who intervene, and publicly and dramatically stigmatise the young people by putting them through the courts. Once formally labelled in this way as 'delinquent', the young person is frozen in that role; his/her identity is spoiled and he or she goes on to act out the label. Thus there are socially disabling social psychological processes put in train which move the young person down the path of secondary deviance towards eventual induction into a deviant and institutional career. So the first issue here is that of social psychological damage.

The next question is who does it and how? The significant

social-reactors or agents of control are social workers, probation officers and the 'psy' professionals. It is they who mystify the subject's initial action by recourse to second order constructs derived from their psycho-dynamic professional repertoire. It is they who recast the subject's identity as a deviant one. The attack here is upon the ruthless imposition of individualistic, unfalsifiable psycho-dynamic interpretations of allegedly deviant behaviour and the attempt within this to individualise and problematise what is in fact culturally determined behaviour acceptable in its own milieu or "normative ghetto" but unacceptable to those repressive agents of the normalising power.

The next question is why and on whose behalf is it done, and here the explanation becomes more vague.

Beneath the veneer of psycho-dynamic theorisation (or needology as it is called) is seen to lie the real reason for the intervention. The increasing penetration of the subject's lives and identities by agents of control who strive to exert increasingly precise control, over the detail of those lives, is a consequence of moral entrepreneurship. What we seem to confront is a war of cultural attrition waged by middle class agents of control using ideas and procedures which are alien and incomprehensible to their working class subjects. The threat to the liberty and psychic equilibrium of working class youth is seen to come from a professional elite unfettered by answerability to government or the law who, in their voracious pursuit of professional self-aggrandisement seem bent upon putting the entire working class into treatment. The MAN is the social worker, the underdog is the working class young offender but an irony creeps in here, for as I have attempted to explain, beliefs about the role of the courts and the role of representatives of the people in central and local government, and the judges and magistrates they appoint, are the real guardians of the interests of the working class, the defenders of the people against a rampant helping profession.

So the state machine, or more specifically its professional personnel, not governments, not courts, poses the threat. It is the autonomy of professionals which is in question; it is the power they have seized from the State and taken for themselves which constitutes the barrier to decarceration.

The problems with this position are fairly clear. Do social workers in 1985 really wander around imposing psycho-dynamic explanations upon deviant youth? It is a strange moral entrepreneurship which has the entrepreneurs by and large avoiding work with juveniles as the rapid decline in care orders and supervision orders over the past decade indicates. In the wake of increasingly authoritarian criminal justice and penal policies emanating from governments from 1972 onwards, culminating in the 1982 Criminal Justice Act, which gave enormously increased powers to the Bench and set in train the most dramatic increase in the custodial sentencing of juveniles in the post-war period, can we sustain the twin fictions that the major threat to working class youth comes from social workers and that the courts are in fact the defenders of working class youth?

Social work practice has changed in the 25 years since the labelling theorists first put pen to paper. The theoretical

suppositions blandly attributed to social workers are seldom the ones which they hold because social work and social workers, like other professionals, have been changed by a changing world. We have passed through a period in which the crude assumption that social workers must always, everywhere, and inevitably, act purely as agents of repressive social control in relation to young people have had to be revised. Parker<sup>(5)</sup> has shown the ways in which the power and influence of the social work presence in the court is eclipsed by the power of the police and the Bench. Work on feminism and welfare has indicated the ambiguous nature of social work, showing that social work may constitute both a gain and a benefit for the client on the one hand and an unwarranted and oppressive intrusion into the life of that client on the other.<sup>(6)</sup>

While radicals in the juvenile justice industry continue to fight the "child-savers", the agents of creeping totalitarianism, the state in the form of the police and the courts, continue to equip themselves for the more effective containment of the unemployed ghetto. The legacy of the "soft-politics" of labelling theory is to prevent us searching in the most important places for the sources of social oppression.

### **The critique of incarceration**

The critique of incarceration developed within IT by the mid to late 1970s located its impetus in the actions of social workers and in social intervention. It was during this period that technologies of systems intervention were developed, most notably by the Lancaster Centre for Youth Crime and Community, to address the problem of the excessive confinement of young people in Community Homes (with education) (CHE), the erstwhile approved schools. This took the form of an analysis of where decisions were made, by whom, and to what effect, and the institution of 'gatekeepers' to prevent the excessive confinement. This strategy coincided with cost-cutting initiatives within local authorities themselves who were responding to government cut-backs and has resulted in a substantial reduction in the numbers of young people on care orders, under the offence condition of the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act, entering these institutions.

This important and progressive development was historically fortuitous in as much as it enabled local authorities to meet the twin objectives of developing humane policies for young people in trouble while cutting back on expenditure. Implicitly this initiative suggested that an impact upon the functioning of local authority social services departments would slow the progress of young offenders into the junior penal system, and it is possible to point to a number of areas in which this has been the case. It is, I believe, plausible to argue that the development of systemic interventions has done much to minimise youth incarceration in the CHE system.

The junior penal system, as a target for intervention, is however another kettle of fish. The Social Services Departments were malleable in as much as the interests of the decarcerations and those of the authorities with responsibility for incarceration were similar as were the values they espoused.

Spitzer has argued that capitalist societies experiencing economic crises are engaged in two distinct types of activity in relation to their deviant populations.<sup>(7)</sup> They must manage their "social junk" more effectively - hence the appeal of "community care" in the areas of mental health and mental handicap, but they must control their social dynamite. Box and Hale have argued that, particularly in the wake of the 1981 disturbances, the problem of "social dynamite" has become a concern for central government.<sup>(8)</sup> Whatever the reality, the Government is acting as if trouble will come from the unemployment ghetto and is depolying its resources accordingly. Thus as Hudson has argued, in as much as we ever experienced as period of government-inspired decarceration we are now, in the mid-80s, and probably from before 1979, in a period of incarceration.

The battle for the CHE's is all but won, but as the 1982 Criminal Justice Act and its aftermath suggest, the struggle now moves to a new and more difficult arena - the prison. The unfettered use of custody by the Bench in the wake of the 1982 Act also suggests a new, less approachable, less malleable, adversary - the Bench, a powerful body which successive governments have been unwilling or unable to control.

Yet the decarcerating movement, so vociferous in its assault upon social work, is virtually silent on imprisonment. The CHE bent in the face of a rational argument about the discrepancy between its stated objectives and its real outcomes. Perhaps those who ran the CHE's at the highest levels ultimately had no strong investment in their perpetuation - theirs was not a problem of containment of a real or imagined threat, theirs was not a concern for social discipline - but the prison is another matter.

This reality requires decarcerators to revise their strategy. For we have a decarceration movement without an abolitionist politics. An abolitionist politics contrasts the social function of prison linking it to the political imperatives of a state struggling to retain legitimacy for its policies by locating the problems it confronts in the lawless behaviour of working class youth.

This means that the decarcerators must revise their views on the sources of social reaction to, and the social oppression of, working class youth. To do this means a movement from a 1960s underdog sociology, to an analysis of the function for the state of the prison as a symbolic and actual disciplinary backstop in periods of economic crisis upheaval.

#### **Radical non-intervention**

The problems with the radical non-intervention position are threefold. It is based upon

- i) a romantic vision of community,
- ii) a static vision of subculture, and
- iii) a theoretically naive understanding of social reaction.

Radical non-intervention envisages a plurality of normative ghettos or subcultures existing side by side. Each has its own methods of self-regulations, patterned ways of containing that which is considered deviant in terms of the norms of the subculture, or normative ghetto. Problems arise, however, when a member of a normative ghetto, misrecognises, labels and intervenes ineptly in behaviour which, if left

alone would be adequately dealt with by other members of the normative ghetto. Hence the would-be social interventionist is enjoined the leave them alone, to leave them as it were to their own devices of social control.

This I would argue is a romantic view of the way the world fits together. Firstly it is not the case that members of different subcultures, social groups or social classes are unaware of overarching social norms and laws which bear upon all members of a society. Secondly it is not the case that the most deprived subcultures, social groups or social classes, have the means or the power to exert social control over their deviant members. Thirdly it is not the case that the ways of being or living in different subcultures, social groups or social classes are merely interestingly idiosyncratic, random and innocuous manifestations of a plurality of lifestyles or parts of the rich and varied tapestry of social life.

Subcultures or neighbourhoods which generate most action in the cops and robbers department will tend to be the most deprived. The cultures of these areas are dynamic developing out of lived realities of deprivation and injustice. There is no more clog dancing, Mother Kelly's doorstep is on the 14th floor of a condemned tower block. The very conditions which once bred support and solidarity when subjected to social change and increased economic pressure, spawn predatory individualistic behaviour. In the inner-city of 1985 most members of the working class who could escape, have escaped, leaving behind the very young, the old, the unskilled and the unemployed, whose social predicament is worsened by a rapidly declining economy.

Paul Harrison writes of Hackney

But it is not just the facilities that suffer: it is the solidarity of the community itself. Redevelopment, migration and the rapid turnover of people seeking better accommodation means there is precious little of that to start with. But crime dissolves it even further. The climate of fear engenders a defensive egotism of survival, in which everyone looks after themselves. A new code of ethics emerges: that thy days may be long, thou shalt not question strangers on the stairs; thou shalt not look if thou hearest screams or shattering glass; thou shalt not admonish youths for vandalism; thou shalt not admit to witnessing a crime; thou shalt not help the victim of an attack.<sup>(10)</sup>

Taylor sounds a similar note when he writes in 1981:

"Two years into the Thatcher government the fallacies in the political assumptions of the radical right are plain to see. The freeing of the market forces has resulted in a widespread sense of hopelessness and anger among large sections of the population who are now experiencing a level of unemployment and poverty far beyond previous expectations. The social relations that have resulted so far from being those of a disciplined individualism, resulted so far from being those of a disciplined individualism, have taken the form of collective insubordination in the inner city, militant self-defence by the beleaguered black communities (against police harassment and racist organisations alike), and, most ominously of all, the collective violence engaged in by skinheads and other poor whites against their Asian or

West Indian neighbours".<sup>(11)</sup>

If then the suffering is real, the deprivation is worsening and the social reaction from government increasingly authoritarian. Then how do we in conscience leave these non-communities to their own devices? The notion of pro-active crime control leads us I think to consider the worsening social situation in the unemployed ghetto which leads to the conditions outlined by Harrison and Taylor and to weave these observations into our abolitionist critique. The connection we can make is that the state, a state which has actively promoted the breakdown of order and the creation of anarchic social relations in the inner city, seems to offer only policing and prison as a remedy and as a means of sustaining its own legitimacy in the subcultures, social groups and social classes where its legitimacy is weakest and where the anticipated reaction is seen to be potentially the most dramatic. Radical non-intervention is more than benign neglect. In the present situation it is culpable negligence. What decarcerators must think about is the social and political interventions they can support and initiative as part of a politics of abolition.

### **Back to justice**

Decarcerators have embraced a back to justice position because it seemed that by replacing judicial or magisterial judgements and the adversarial tactics of due process for social work discretion based upon estimates of 'need' or 'best interest', the juvenile subject would receive less restrictive penalties which would be based solely upon questions of guilt and culpability. Thus those parts of the 1982 Criminal Justice Act which offered determinate sentences and legal safeguards from incarceration were welcomed as a progressive gain in an ambiguous piece of legislation.

In the event the power shift which the 1982 Act effected away from social work discretion to magisterial and judicial discretion has led to a rapid and substantial increase in the levels of youth incarceration. Hudson reports that this has been the US experience in which the reversion to due process was always accompanied by the lengthening of sentences and has led to larger penal populations and the induction of greater numbers of young people into the penal system.<sup>(12)</sup>

Box and Hale point out the ways in which magistrates have routinely subverted government attempts to limit penalties. Now that drunkenness and prostitution are no longer imprisonable offences, the Bench has responded by imposing exorbitant fines and this has resulted in offenders being imprisoned for non-payment. The Green Paper on weekend imprisonment drew the rejoinder from the Magistrates Association that they would use such provision as an additional penalty rather than as an alternative to full-time imprisonment.

The problem seems to be that governments through the 1970s and 1980s have given the Bench and the judiciary two messages. Home Secretaries as politicians have said we must get tough, while Home Secretaries as administrators of the penal system have asked for a minimisation of custodial confinement. The Bench and the judiciary have always responded to the first message and ignored the second.

In the light of the Ponting case, jury vetting, the Nationality Act and the Police Bill, it is clearly not beyond the power of this government to intervene to alter fundamental constitutional rights and restrict the power of the courts. They don't, Box and Hale argue, because the administrative difficulties the profligate use of the prison by the courts, causes, notwithstanding, the State needs the courts to act firmly in response to the perceived threat of disorder emanating from the unemployed ghetto. The control of social dynamite is more important than the temporary dislocations within the penal system.<sup>(13)</sup>

If this analysis is correct then the decarcerators did not, as they believed, have friends in court. The development within the IT industry of effective appeals procedures is evidence of this dawning realisation but perhaps more significantly Henry Giller, one of the authors of Justice for Children, who in 1979 had written of the social worker's Social Enquiry Report as a character assassination was, at the BASW conference in 1983, telling social workers that their presence in court was crucial if a young person was to stand a chance of getting any justice. IT must realise that due process and social justice are very different things in a class society.

### **IT as pragmatism**

In line with the espousal of a justice model it has been forcefully argued that IT should be a sentencing option to the courts and should offer a regime which is recognisable to the bench or the judiciary as a viable alternative to custody. This has led to the development of a correctional curriculum - a programme which focuses exclusively upon the modification and eradication of offending behaviour. In another form the pursuit of "justice credibility" has led to the adoption of tracking schemes in which young offenders are subject to surveillance by trackers who check that they are, where they say they are, and are doing what they say they are doing. Both rest upon assumptions, albeit very loosely formulated, about behaviour modification and conditioning which are of course at theoretical odds with the explanation of why they do it in the first place, which is of course rooted in labelling theory. But one suspects that the question of content or theory is a secondary concern - "justice credibility" is the key issue.

The question, and it is a genuine one, is to what extent the alternative have to resemble that to which it is an alternative before it is viable, and secondly, what is the point at which the alternative offered by IT has no merits over the CHE or DC beyond the fact that participants usually go home at night.

Recent research on the population passing through Rochester Youth Custody Allocation Centre suggests high levels of material, educational and emotional deprivation. Indeed one of the reasons many young people end up in institutions is because of this deprivation. The unpalatable fact is that quite often IT is not dealing with young people who are merely victims of inept professional intervention. A high proportion of IT's clientele are objectively deprived and profoundly disadvantaged. The question then is, to what extent should the programme of IT address need and deprivation? Now the decarcerating orthodoxy is that IT as a sen-



tence finishes when the sentence ends yet some young people, probably a disproportionate number will, if the experiences of some of the more sophisticated London projects are at all typical, make contact and develop a relationship with workers which will be one of the few stable ones they have. These are precisely the young people who will need an advocate, a guide, a friend and a defender, as they attempt to navigate a difficult path through adolescence in the inner city. Most people in the industry agree that more than enough resources are being ploughed into IT to do the job. Meanwhile the social wage in the form of welfare, the Youth Service and advice centres is being decimated by ratecapping and spending cuts. Increasingly IT is central government funded. Here there is a possibility (and this I know is a great heresy), of responding to need and doing some good - can IT allow this to happen?

### **The uses of social science**

The decarcerators having absorbed at some time the basic tenets of positivistic criminology and then abandoned them in favour of labelling theory now have no use for theory. The decline of the rehabilitative ideal in the 1960s marks the end point of their involvement with it. The "decline of the rehabilitative ideal" did not emerge from nowhere, it was not just rooted in the apparent failure of positivistic research and the technologies of change and rehabilitation which emerged from it. It was in fact part of a broader philosophical critique of social intervention. Namely it was, to an extent, the criminological version of a philosophical position which castigated all attempts to engineer a better world. This was a position which saw the attempt to establish a Welfare State as the "Road to Serfdom".

It was a position which saw the attempt to develop collective responses to social problems as totalitarianism. It was a position which celebrated individualistic freedom and individual choice. The vision of the world implicit in this philosophy of science was that the world was fundamentally OK because it was by and large the way people wanted it to be - we knew this because the world was the way it was because people had expressed their desires through choices made via effective demand, in the market place. The role of science within this largely OK world was to help iron-out identified anachronisms, irrationalities and the more overt manifestations of suffering. All that science could do was to evaluate interventions which strove to eradicate expressed discontents. It was a "value-free" process which eschewed any consideration of the social construction of positive betterment as totalitarian metaphysics. It was of course the science of Popper<sup>(14)</sup> and the philosophy of Hayek<sup>(15)</sup>. A minimal statist philosophy linked to a fiercely anti-theoretical methodology. Science was of a piece whether we investigated beans, tortoises or human beings. This science coincided precisely with the concerns of ethnomethodology and labelling theory. Both were inductivist, both asked the subject to "tell it like it is", but while one worked mainly for the MAN the other worked for the underdog. Out of this marriage of ideas grew the "less harm rather than more good" orthodoxy of minimal statism. The creeping incursions of labelling theory's zoo keepers of deviance found resonances in Hayek's Road to Serfdom and Popper's Open Society and Its Enemies. Both asked us to abandon second-order constructs like class and the state and concentrate on the expres-

sed desires of the subject. Both took the world to be fundamentally OK but prone to mistakes.

This was a set of ideas which led to a liberatarian notion of freedom in which the 1960s "if you dig it do it" philosophy finds an accommodation which classicist ideas of the '80s, the 1780s and the 1980s - the free man, exercising free will in the free market. This implicit libertarianism has made it hard for IT to link in with post-labelling thinking about social reaction and the debate about welfare vis-a-vis the state. For the movement beyond labelling theory and hypothetico-deductivism is by their own definition a movement away from science and into the speculative metaphysics of irrefutable theory and ideas.

So locked in the clutches of a philosophy of science which says if you can't measure it don't look at it, on the one hand, and one which requires us to listen only to the subject telling it like it is on the other, progress is seriously impeded.

What IT might consider is that the personal and the political world does not proceed by a process of conjectures and refutations - the role of ideas and their relations to action is a different one requiring speculations, judgement, rational guesswork, risk taking and a knowledge that ideas have many unanticipated consequences, and as Alinsky says, to be effective we must move with the action.

What must be recognised is that labelling theory and the psycho-dynamic orthodoxy which was the object of its attack are both just ideas, plausible ones but not immutable truths - rather springboards, bases, from which empirical, theoretical and speculative work must be done in order that our ideas become increasingly sophisticated. At present decarcerators continue to espouse theoretical positions which even their originators have subsequently revised.

### **The State**

What has been said so far suggests that the State in the shape of the Home Office and Home Secretary is not on the point of handling the response to young offenders over to the IT industry.

IT, historically, has acted as an adjunct to incarceration not as an alternative. At best government ministers have hedged their penal bets by pumping fairly minimal resources into IT hoping that it would take some pressure of a system that could not build prison places quickly enough.

The State in its law and order policies is not a benign neutral mechanism which can be changed by rational argument about the damaging effects of penal confinement. There have now been 7 deaths in Glenochil YCC and DC and any rational and humane government would on this evidence alone be taking steps to close the place down. Leon Brittan had before him his own research showing that the DC did not work, in fact it makes things worse - people in fact died of it. Yet in the face of this evidence magistrates were once again enjoined to make greater use of the DC and to this end Brittan said he would turn them all into short, sharp, shock centres, the original model of which was of course Glenochil.

No, the State in its law and order policies is not benign - it is going to show the social dynamite that it is a tough state and unemployed inner city working class young people are going to have to swallow their discontent or pay dearly for it.

The politics of influence will not shift this government. The only hope is for a vigorous oppositional abolitionist politics which links together the impact of the present government's social and economic policies with its penal policies. If IT is to engage in this task then the relationship between the State, it's penal policies and IT will have to be re-thought using second-order constructs like class, relative deprivation, consciousness and all those other things which labelling theory and hypothetical-deductivism and tracking systems, and the correctional curriculum and the back to justice movement, don't think are very important.

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Custody, Juvenile Justice and the Politics of Law and Order

# rural life - a hope for young people?

IAN JOHNSON

*This article sets out to identify in a colloquial style the special nature of rural youth work over against the urban models that prevail in both youth worker training and practice at present. It is a plea for special training for professional youth workers considering work in rural communities and a recognition that rural youth work is not simply urban work diluted but requires skills and has special priorities. This article is not based on statistical evidence - for there is none at this level - but on twenty years experience in the field of caring for and working with young people in the community.*

A group of young people from inner-city Bristol were asked what they understood by 'the country'. Their answers read like this:

- "It's where the rich live".
- "We go there for our holidays, but there's nothing to do".
- "I'm going to live there when I've made my money".
- "You don't have to work, there".
- "It's where old people live".

At their conference **Out to Grass**, Church of England Youth Officers were asked the question "Where is Rural?" Their answers included:

- "Where sheep outnumber people".
- "It's a state of mind".
- "It's where people feel isolated".
- "Where people know each other".
- "Where mobility is a problem".
- "Where the roads are narrow".

The Rural Theology Association held a conference at the Arthur Rank Centre at Stoneleigh in 1984 and the discussion had been going on for well over an hour when someone asked: "But where do farmers fit in?" We had been talking about the rural part of Britain with no mention of farmers except as the "they", who tried to prevent the countryside being a true place of recreation.

Every time those concerned with the quality of rural living come together there is a clear and insoluble problem. A definition of rural living and the problems associated with it is entirely different in Dorset from what it is in Lincolnshire, the Hebrides or North Wales. There are certain consistent statements that can be made, but the influences and 'problems' are different in each area. Mechanisation of farming is

reducing the number of people reliant on the land for their livelihood, and increasing the number of people living in rural areas who have no commitment to the environment of which their home is a part. High mobility means that almost every rural area is easily accessible to urban dwellers as a recreational facility. There is a rapid and increasing decline in rural public transport, which leads to serious restrictions on the mobility of the young and old.

In the South of England there are the specific problems of the retired escaping from the cities into the country and seeking to maintain a chocolate box image of that environment. This leads to high house prices, a lack of rural industrial development and a general lack of understanding of the continuing developmental needs of the community. In North Wales and some parts of England the conversion of farming accommodation into second homes for the wealthy had led to a decline of village community life and amenities. In many parts of the country there is a rapidly increasing tension between the demands of high technology farming leading to intensive methods and high productivity, and the expectation of the non-farming community that the countryside is a playground and a 'wide open space'.

The truth of the matter is that the majority of the population would like to live in the country (as an escape from city or suburban life) but that most people rate those living in the country as being less sophisticated, of lower status and needing less care than those living in the town. The anomaly of this thinking is that as soon as someone 'escapes' to the 'rural idyll' they try to build a mini-urban environment. The models of community-practice are urban models that are carried into the rural community and that community is squeezed and pressured to match the urban pre-conceptions. The doctor's medical practice is still based on the number of patients, making no allowance for the vast geographical area he/or she may have to cover, the rural vicar is still justified by the number of bodies in his building Sunday by Sunday, or number of candidates he is presenting to the Bishop for Confirmation apparently without consideration of the geographical fastness and diversity of the area. The local secondary school may have a catchment area of twelve miles radius. Extra-curricula activities based on the smaller non-bussing model of the city are therefore presumed to be an impossibility. The professional youth worker, where there is one, has a building which he/she must maintain plus all the constraints of self-justification through numbers that also

fall on the urban-based worker. To maintain self-esteem workers feel that they must match the urban worker's programme (for therein lies their 'raison d'être', and the weight of their training), be involved in sports leagues taking place fifteen miles away, offer trips to concerts and sports events, have internal leagues and specialist activity groups, be issue-orientated in group work and then to cap it all, they have to get the young people into their centres. "Their" centres. They are seen as their centres because they run the mini-bus out to a different set of villages each night. They arbitrarily set the programme because no young person is there often enough to feel he or she belongs and anyway, all too often, the youth centre is on the same campus as the secondary school and, if you leave there at four o'clock, who wants to claim involvement or travel for an hour back again at seven? To live and/or work in the country is to accept a different set of models about the structure, purpose and response to society. It is also to dismiss the Margarine Pot of purity that goes with rural thinking.

It is as important to get the young person into the town for new experiences as it is to get the urban-based youngster into the country. The idea of taking a group of young people from the town into a milking parlour to discover the smell of freshly milked cows appeals to many youth workers. This provokes two questions. How many rurally-based young people have had a similar experience? How many rurally-based workers would see it as equally exciting to take rural youngsters into the centre of the nearest city to discover the smell of burger bars or urban diesel fumes? The media present an image of rural life that is so far from truth that it undermines and devalues rural living to the point of ridicule. Any evening spent in front of Independent Television will be filled with healthy peaceful images of the country that provoke a hankering and longing that not only increases the sales of margarine, but also adds thousands to the prices of thatched cottages. A similar misrepresentation takes place about urban life. That same evening in front of the television will produce images of bright lights and excitement, wealth and escapism, equally as strong and misleading as any of the rural images. The first duty of any worker with the young, is to disavow them of these suggestive and sentimental images. The urban young have to learn to use the country as a positive part of their lives and the rural young have to see the city not as an escape from the boredom of the country, but as an equally integral part of their lives.

A large part of the problem for many young people in rural communities is that their parents have chosen to live there. When suburban and urban based young people express disillusionment with their environment their parents can sympathise and talk about having to be where they are. This is not so for the majority of young people in the country. Parents have deliberately shopped for a home in that environment, often it appears to their own disadvantage, in terms of travel to work, to shops and communication with family and friends. It is those without independent mobility who suffer. In the country friends made within school or at work can be twenty miles away during recreation time. With no transport there can be little hope of coming to terms with the rural environment.

Leaving aside advertising and soap-opera images of our society, there is a certain sharpness or even glamour inherent in

our inner-cities and their problems. Riot, deprivation and high unemployment figures have given the cities a high profile. There are issues involved. It is possible, even if unadvisable, to conduct urban youthwork on the basis of issues. Racism, sexism, unemployment and deprivation, to name but a few, can be assaulted as a style of work. The issues can consume the worker and involve the young, giving them an identity in a barren world. Unfortunately issue-based youth work can neglect those people not caught up in the issues and can lead to losing sight of the individual. It is possible to conduct rural youthwork on the basis of issues, but not nearly as easily, for the issues involved do not have the same high profile as in the cities. The Brixton Riots and the ensuing Scarman Report, the Toxteth riots, the Handsworth riots and such documents as "Faith in the City", as well as the sheer weight of numbers of unemployed young people, Youth Training Schemes and the topicality of racial discrimination have all added credibility to the problems of working with young people in the inner city. This credibility has been followed by money, expertise and community support for those attempting to tackle the problems on the streets. They may feel that too little has been done too late, and they may be right, but at least something is happening. This is not so for the rurally-based worker. As one policeman remarked, "It'll be alright if they're revolting in the country, they can stand one per field and shout". There is no political clout among rural young people - even sub-consciously - even if they organised themselves, for they are no threat. Distances are too great and enthusiasm for targets is too easily dissipated. Rurally-based youth workers can look with longing at their urban counterparts for the resources and media support that they receive.

The response to such a longing is not to build a model based on urban experience. It is to find a truly rural model that can stand alongside and be respected for the function that it fulfills in its own right. That model would not be a single one for the whole of the rural United Kingdom, any more than the inner city multi-racial youth centre shares the same model as the suburban, white, middle-class centre.

What is the purpose of working with young people in a rural community? It is to enable the client, the young person, to be a fulfilled and fully-participating member of society. That does not mean he or she is necessarily useful or amenable in an economic sense, nor manipulable in a political sense. What are the criteria involved in this process of enabling? It is at this point that we begin to move away from the single model. We also have to begin to define terms. A drive along a country lane at eight o'clock any winter morning will highlight one aspect of the problem of criteria. Every quarter of a mile or so there will be a frozen youngster standing at a lane-end, bag at feet, shivering for the bus, alone. Pass through a village and there will be small huddles of youngsters on every street corner, again waiting for the bus, but often fighting, bullying and suffering similarly from the wet and cold. The two situations, while having the same purpose in terms of the "why?" of youth work have different criteria for response. The deeply rural youngster, coming from an agriculturally based environment, has traditionally had a strong sense of family and of belonging to the 'family' of the farm. With the reduction in the number of workers on the average farm, loneliness has become an increasing prob-

lem. These young people, spread over a wide area, carry no weight statistically, and the economics of bringing them together on a regular basis does not make sense. There are splendid examples of Exmoor farmers who have turned their homes into youth centres one evening each week and made a real effort to bring young people together in that environment. These are few and far between. The first criterion is to enable each of those young people to overcome isolation and feel that they are a part of a society that understands them, needs them and to which they can make a contribution. This can only be done by having non-centre-based workers, highly-mobile, with an understanding of rural life, who have a total commitment to the thirty or forty young people in their area. In a sense it is mundane, in another it is a similar role to the parish priest of a century or more ago, but there is no other way to approach the problem.

The fathers of these young people meet at market, in their farming associations (NFU etc), at farm sales, and sometimes in the pubs. The mothers meet at Womens Institute, school parents association, or community organising committees. Parents meet together in community events and special groups. With high mobility the sense of rural community is considerably less geographical and far more interest orientated than a generation ago. It is rarely, if ever, that the parents' social or community grouping matches that of their adolescent children, such that relationships outside of school can flourish. It requires a great deal of investment in time and resources to enable the deeply rural young to learn to feel fulfilled in community.

The groups of young people on the street corners of a morning in the villages will face a different set of problems. Where as the deeply rural young person will have little sense of territory, for that is rarely threatened, the village youngster - at least the one with several generations of roots in that community - will have a deeply ingrained sense of pride or belonging to that community, to the point where sharing the school bus with the next village is a primary source of conflict. There are, of course, other young people as well. Not everyone has been born and bred in the village. There are those whose parents have moved in looking for work, those who have chosen to live rurally, while working urbanly, those who live with grandparents and those who have found work in the community from outside. Young people who come in from outside quickly develop a strong but shallow sense of loyalty to the community, knowing that their place in it relies more on parental will than on long-term roots. In the village young people very quickly become known by everyone. The village knows who is 'walking out' with whom, who is whose son or daughter, and therefore whether they are no better than they ought to be. There are very few secrets in a small community, and little opportunity to develop free from community expectations. There is no transport besides the school bus. There is nowhere to meet except in the now defunct bus shelter, and the only possible activity open to them is drinking in the local pub. Home is small, and often cluttered with derogatory brothers and sisters. At weekends the village can be cluttered with urban dwellers who come for recreation and cannot see how dull it all is. The elderly who have retired to peace and quiet seem to begrudge any sign of life or the twentieth century in the

community. The chances of finding a home, should anyone want to marry, are marginally more than nil, because prices are artificially heightened by external demands on the market. Wages, where work is available, are low, and transport costs are high, so commuting out from the town is impossible. To do anything worthwhile in one's spare time requires transport and that means parental agreement. Hence young people remain reliant on parents long after their urban counterparts are free to make their own decisions about activities and friends. The Careers' and DHSS Offices are so far away that it is a nonsense to try and use such facilities. Anyway the officer's sense of geography often leaves much to be desired in the minds of the young. The Post Office and village shop either have inflated prices or are closed, and anyway "they know who you are when you want to buy cigarettes under age". People in the town seem to believe you have a Utopia if you live in the country. They do not realise what it is like living on an agricultural industrial estate. The Local Authority will not spend money developing resources for five hundred people in a village, when there is a town of 100,000 ten miles away where election winning votes are cast.

The response to these problems is not to emulate the urban youth centre, or to recreate some hacked about urban project. There must be something distinctive and special about village youth work. The work must enable those involved to value the community of which they are a part, of motivating it to value the young as members of that community. Too often the village institutions are taken over by the incoming elderly with strong vested interests. They may not be run so efficiently by the local people, but at least they would be run by people who understand the nature of evolution within a community and the need for growth. The village based youth worker's first criterion is to enable the layperson - the volunteer - to function to their greatest potential in the community. The traditional resource of the village is its people. Many of them are made to feel inadequate by the incoming professional worker. This should never happen. Many people have made a great investment in the life of their community and they want to see that community grow, not be stifled by professionalism. In his book *Shadows of Adolescence*, Allen Kennedy does not pay due heed to the great investment made by adults in the world of young people in West Dorset. There are many traditions of good practice in rural communities that have been stifled by the incoming professional worker.

In Dorset, of the 1,100 youth groups registered with the County Youth Service, over 90% of them are organised through the voluntary sector. The County Youth Service sees itself as directly responsible for the "provision of advice, support and grant-aid to the Voluntary Sector including some 1000 registered youth groups and 16 county organisations". Over 20% of the annual Youth Service budget is granted to the voluntary sector, even though the county supports twelve youth officers and fifty full time workers. About 75% of the full time workers are urban-based, and there is a strong realisation that the voluntary sector maintains youth work in the rural communities. The volunteer struggling to make provision in the village, often at the expense of personal reputation and friends, can be

certain of a great deal of support for the youth officers and professional workers.

The first criterion is to enable the volunteer to function and be supported. The second is to encourage movement between communities. The mother who, in 1983 stated that her son had gone abroad to marry, meant that he had found a wife over the hill in the next village seven miles away. Parochialism is a disease that can undermine any young person's hopes of fulfillment. Whilst accepting that educational qualifications are not paramount, the following illustration raises some important questions about rural expectations. A young man gained seven O Level GCE passes, but as his family had always been in the bakery business in the village, there was no consideration or expectation that he should stay on into the sixth form and go into higher education. The family business subsumed him at the first possible opportunity. His grandmother ran the business, his father baked and he learned the trade. There are questions raised in this about fulfillment and the long term place of that young man in the community. The son of the local "hedger and ditcher" in another village was prevented from entering any exams, because "He's no better than he ought to be" and his life was cast in the role of a hidden economy earner, even though he was a very able and academically-orientated lad. The power of television in this area must not be underestimated. The images of student unrest and "left wing politics" bias parents against allowing their children, particularly daughters, to leave the safety of the village. It is therefore important to enable the young people to dip their toes in the water of the outside world, both in neighbouring villages and in the cities, as early as possible in their lives. It is the issues of expectations for their children that is often the most divisive issue between village and incoming families. The traditions of young members of the family missing school for haymaking, harvest and other times of pressure on the farm are not entirely past. There may be some bases in the thinking that the chances of family survival are enhanced if the whole family pulls its weight at harvest time, rather than wasting time in school.

Having enabled local people to be involved and having widened horizons through a broad programme of activities and visits - not on a club basis, but on a community one - the next criterion is to establish the young person's role in the community. In general, there is still a belief in rural communities that everyone has a place and a purpose within it. However, our society is increasingly complex in the way it conducts itself. Young people should be enabled to discover leadership and community skills. The Community Councils should be involved in encouraging young people to play a part in the community. In one village, the patriarchal "Village Hall Committee" had struggled for years to keep the hall open. It was dirty, under used and a constant bone of contention. Committee members complained of being abused and not being appreciated. They would not resign, for they said, "There is no-one willing to replace us". How wrong they were when a group of young parents packed the Annual Meeting, and voted themselves on as the new committee. The result was a revived village hall and many young adults with a new involvement. The Community Council played an important part in that growth. Unfortunately there was also acrimony.

Rural youth work is not only about young people growing up in the country and in villages, it is also about the survival of the community itself. To date there has been less division between the generations in rural communities than there has been in the towns. This must be a crucial consideration in all thinking about work in the country. The atmosphere is less highly charged and much less explosive than in many situations. Perhaps this is because there is more space, fewer people, each person still feels they have some sort of identity or that the whole traditional community is fighting a common enemy - urbanisation. The reasons do not matter. The future of the rural community lies in its ability to serve itself. With the increased complexity of life there is a need for professional support but not for the professionalisation of the community itself. We must beware of setting up administrative structures where communication is already good. We must beware of centralisation, where the local functions successfully. We must beware of offering expenses and salaries where there is an expectation of a free-will commitment. We must beware of imposing urban order (required because of the sheer weight of numbers) where rural personal relationships dominate. Rural community life is under threat - not only from retired people, not only from agricultural industrialisation, but also from urban administrative models. The most vital development in the world of the professional youth worker is to provide workers who have an instinctive understanding of rural life, who have grown up within rural communities and whose training has developed the specific skills required for working in such environments.

Our society should be a single whole. We have to resist the temptation to make unity mean uniformity. The development of special skills for the encouragement of young people to continue to live and be creative in the rural communities is vital. There is no future in mimicking the town, or doing nothing. Time is running out for rural communities, if they are to survive with their own identity and aspirations. There is a great deal the Youth Service can do to support them, but it requires a clear understanding and definition of task. In spite of initiatives in various parts of the country there has yet to be a serious and definitive study of young people in rural communities as an integral part of the whole community rather than as a separate part - and often the problem part - of the community. Not enough is known about rural communities as a whole and perhaps it never can be, for each community has its own identity purpose and justification, and that is both the problem and the joy of rural community life.

*Statistics about young people in Dorset are taken from "80,000 Adolescents in Dorset". A Report on the County Youth Service for the Education Department Team, by the County Youth Officer, April 1985.*

#### **RECOMMENDED FURTHER READING:**

"Rural Resettlement handbook" published by Prism Alpha at £4.95.

"The Myth of the Rural Idyll", by Fabes, Worsley and Howard, published by the Child Poverty Action Group.

"Shadows of Adolescence", by Allan Kennedy. Published by the NYB at £2.50.

Continued on p.56

# women students in youth & community work courses

JOHN HOLMES

*Recent research has found that women students of courses qualifying people as full-time youth and community workers are a lot less likely than men students to seek jobs in the LEA Service sector. This article lays out the findings, speculates as to reasons and gives suggestions for dealing with this situation.*

First impressions would indicate that criticisms directed at the initial full-time training agencies in the 1970's over the perpetuation of a male dominated Youth and Community Service are no longer justified in the 1980's. A dramatic shift occurred from the 1970's courses when the proportion of students who were women remained at about 30% compared to 1980 when it rose to 45%.<sup>(1)</sup> According to the latest intake figures for 1984 this has now risen to 49%.<sup>(2)</sup> The courses have found that more women have applied for entry and also have taken various forms of action themselves to ensure that a more equal balance has been achieved. Doubts have still remained in particular in terms of the continuing imbalance amongst the lecturing staff, and in certain areas, where jobs are scarce, that women were being accepted onto courses who were tied to looking for jobs in that area. Also the issues of sex, gender and work with girls were not yet being tackled properly within the curriculum of courses.<sup>(3)</sup> However, it has been felt that the moves have definitely been in the direction that would gradually result in the ratio of employed staff in the Service becoming less unequal.<sup>(4)</sup> Clearly this would take time as Thompson estimated in 1982 that 75% of the Service staff were men at the worker level and 90% at the officer level.<sup>(5)</sup> In Wales the staffing position is even more imbalanced with only 11% of statutory staff being women.<sup>(6)</sup>

Figures deriving from the joint CETYCW/TAG research for 1984 cast doubt on the extent to which higher levels of women leaving courses will be translated into a more balanced Youth and Community Service. These figures also raise the possibility that in attempting to meet one criticism the courses may also be fuelling another older criticism that they are failing to provide staffing for the LEA based Service. It is important to explore both the evidence and the reasons for women not entering LEA jobs in the same numbers as men.

All youth and community work courses in England and Wales (Two and One-year) were asked to give their leavers a questionnaire in June, 1984 to gauge their intentions on

leaving and the type of job found. 87 men and 97 women returned the job questionnaire from 12 courses giving a response rate of about 62% from these 12 courses (or about 53% overall). When asked about their present position in June, 1984 the first major difference emerged between men and women:-

%	Men	Women
Already obtained post .....	19.5	23.7
Obtained post but still looking .....	3.4	-
Seeking full-time Youth/Community/Social Work Post .....	61.0	46.4
Seeking full-time Youth/Community/Social Work Post OR other people work post .	3.4	7.2
Seeking part-time Youth/Community/Social Work Post .....	2.3	3.1
Seeking full OR part-time Youth/ Community/Social Work Post .....	-	3.1
Seeking other full-time people work post ...	1.1	5.2
Seeking other job .....	1.1	-
Seeking to continue full-time education .....	2.3	4.1
Not seeking any job in near future .....	2.3	5.2
No answer .....	3.4	7.2
TOTAL	99.8	100.1

As can be seen about 1 in 4 of both men and women had already found a post but a far smaller proportion of the women were actively seeking a full-time Youth/Community/Social Work post. This is because for nearly all the other alternatives (listed above) women were more likely to be seeking these routes. The overall effect of this was that in total 18% of women students were not looking for a full-time post in the broad area of their training. This compares to a total figure of 9% for men.

In addition more women than men were considering part-time or other types of people work at the same time as seeking full-time Youth/Community/Social Work posts.

The jobs of the small group who had already obtained work in June were similar for men and women in that about half of each of them had been offered jobs in the LEA based Youth and Community Service. However, significant differences emerge when the larger group of those seeking full-time Youth/Community/Social Work jobs is analysed in terms of job preferences and actual applications. These stu-

dents were asked which jobs they most liked and which they were applying for. The number of responses illustrate a point often overlooked but which is hardly surprising with the current high levels of unemployment. Both men and women were unwilling to limit their options to one job area and were normally thinking across a range of job types. The job titles listed in the questionnaire were:-

- Youth Club/Centre Worker
- Youth and Community Centre Worker
- Detached Youth Worker
- Community Centre Warden
- Community/Neighbourhood Worker
- Youth and Social Worker (eg. I.T.)
- General Social Worker
- Residential Social Worker - with young people
- Residential Social Worker - with adults
- Sports/Leisure/Play World
- Others

The average number of responses per student to these 11 categories were:-

	Men	Women
'Most Like,	1.9	1.9
Applications	2.9	2.4

Both men and women were applying for jobs outside their favoured job types but it is noticeable that women although 'liking' jobs across as wide a range were less likely to make as many job applications across the job range.

A more striking difference between men and women was in the type of job they 'most liked' and were applying for within the broad range of Youth/Community/Social Work jobs.

#### LEA - Based Youth and Community Service Jobs

These jobs refer to the first 4 of the list below of 11 job types i.e. Youth Club/Centre Worker, Youth and Community Centre Worker, Detached Youth Worker, Community Centre Warden.

	'Most Like'	Applying For
Men	53.6%	86.4%
Women	40.9%	61.8%

As can be seen over half of the men said they 'most liked' one or more of the type of jobs normally available in the Youth and Community Service whereas this was only true for 40% of the women, and the proportions applying for these jobs although higher for both men and women remained at a much lower rate for women. If the figures are re-worked on the basis of all job applications then the same difference emerges with 63% of men's but only 46% of women's applications being in the LEA Service sector. The

type of jobs that women particularly preferred compared to men were Community/Neighbourhood Worker, the various type of Social Worker posts (except I.T. posts), and a range of 'other' jobs not listed above. This would seem to emphasise that women were looking for jobs across a broader range compared to men, as well as more women rejecting LEA jobs.

If these findings are brought together it can be seen that it is a lot less likely that women will enter full-time posts in the Youth and Community Service than men. After excluding women who are not applying for any full-time job and women who are only applying for full-time jobs in other areas this only leaves about 47% of women. The equivalent figure for men is about 70%. It should be noted that this is not to say these proportions will necessarily get jobs in the LEA Service but merely that they had or intended to at least make applications in this area (as well as in other areas). Unfortunately it was not possible to find out the numbers actually taking up different forms of work because the response rate to the second questionnaire designed to gain this information was such (31%) to make any findings as to job take-up unreliable. Nevertheless the findings as to job intentions remain valid and in the short-term it is likely that these percentages for both men (70%) and women (47%) entering the service are high rather than low.

These findings are in a sense neither surprising nor new. My own research from the 1972-8 output<sup>(7)</sup> found that students could be divided into 3 sub-groups in terms of their likelihood of entering Youth and Community Service jobs. The sub-group least likely to enter LEA service jobs were younger students, of whom a considerable proportion were women, with little or no experience of centre-based Youth and Community work but who often had high levels of academic qualifications and frequently experience of other forms of people work.<sup>(8)</sup>

The 1984 leavers were also asked details of their ages, experience of Youth and Community Work and levels of prior academic qualifications, and the same relationship was found in terms of job intentions for each of these variables. However the strongest relationship was clearly on the basis of sex despite the fact that women were not significantly younger or less experienced in Youth and Community Work. It was found that the levels of prior academic qualifications had in general increased since the 1970's (only 38% having less than 5 G.C.E. 'O'Levels on entry in 1984) and that men were in general better academically qualified than women. The major difference with the 1970's is of course the proportion of students who are women so that the overall effect in terms of choice of job types has become much greater. It would seem likely that the overall proportion of students entering the Youth and Community Service would have risen since the late 1970's instead of remaining at the same level of about 50%, if there had not been the trend towards the higher recruitment of women into the courses. Such a shift back into Youth and Community Work jobs might be expected with the relatively greater decline of Community Work jobs (often Urban Aid funded) compared to LEA jobs. In addition the growing professionalisation of



Social Work has excluded Youth and Community Work students (except when it suits Social Work employers, as seems to be the case for much I.T. and residential Social Work).

Quantitative research cannot hope to come up with adequate reasons why over half of women students are choosing not to apply for full-time Service jobs, let alone to suggest what, if anything, should be done about this situation. Part of the explanation seems likely to lie in the structural position of women in society which still makes it more likely they will bear the major brunt of child rearing and take second place when decisions by couples about jobs and careers are made. Conflicts between couples often revolving around job priorities seem to come to a head during courses but even if women students do lay claim to first priority it seems likely that the difficulties facing women pursuing any full-time career are likely to remain and may increase as welfare services for child care are further cut back.

Figures which seemingly show that women are 'choosing' to exclude Youth and Community Service jobs may not mean that women are fundamentally opposed to these jobs but rather that they feel they do not stand much chance of getting these jobs. In other words people often 'choose' within what they see as realistic options. It is also possible that women feel that the opportunities to pursue the work they want to do would be strictly limited in a male dominated Service. This can be the case either because they see the orientation of the work too geared towards the interests of men or because they would be stereotyped by being expected to specialise in developing work with girls. If, on the other hand, women are positively preferring Community Work, Social Work or other forms of people work rather than turning away from LEA Service jobs, why is that? Is it because they look more favourably on these alternatives because the staffing is often less dominated by men, or because they, consciously, are more attracted to work which is more likely to be problem-based, working with individuals rather than groups, and where the terms 'carer' or 'counsellor' are more relevant than 'organiser', 'manager' or 'leader'?

As usual quantitative research raises more questions than it answers but it would seem important that the Youth and Community Service and the courses themselves realise there is an issue which needs addressing if any change is to occur. The need for the LEA Service to respond more to the requirements of young women is made all the more urgent by high levels of youth unemployment increasing gender stereotyping and the seeming irrelevance of Youth Services to many young women.<sup>(9)</sup> Part of this struggle must involve bringing more women into the Service as full-time staff. A pre-requisite for this, increasingly relevant after 1988, is that the courses have a high proportion of women students. But clearly the Service must make itself more attractive to women and remove real or perceived barriers.

Equally the courses have a responsibility to explore the basis for women turning away from LEA Service jobs. It is a moot point what the overall effect of the development of looking at issues of sex and gender will have had in these terms. Apart from the limited emphasis on sex and gender in many initial courses it has been noted by Nikky Smith that work with girls and young women is subsumed (if not lost

altogether) under a range of headings which are organised around women's studies and with a social science perspective.<sup>(10)</sup> It is hardly surprising and quite justifiable that social science provides an initial basis for exploring issues of sex and gender. Whether listed as a formal part of the curriculum or allowed to be raised by the student group the discussion of sexism soon gets back to sex and gender differences which clearly requires to be rooted in theoretical and historical contexts.

Although this is entirely appropriate my own experience on the Cartrefle course in North Wales would suggest that it is particularly difficult to further develop the study of this area in positive ways, and that the Cartrefle course for one has much further to go in learning how to tackle sex and gender teaching. The different perspectives that students bring to the course are always crucial and are widely varying on sex and gender issues. A good proportion of women students have usually already confronted the issues of gender stereotyping and sexual discrimination in real ways within their lives, and are often going through the difficult process of re-organising their personal lives to be able to undertake full-time study. Not all succeed and some could be helped by more flexible course arrangements and more support in child care but this group are strong in their awareness of sexism and are open to the feminist critique within the social science tradition. However, at Cartrefle this group remains a minority, even with a near 50-50 sex ratio, with the majority being men and women for whom sexism is one issue amongst many competing for their time and attention. Whilst nearly all would like to see themselves as non-sexist they are far less sure of the feminist critique emanating from both within social sciences and from other students. In this situation it is easy for comments to be made which are offensive to some women students and which in my experience are not made if the topic of discussion is racism rather than sexism. Black students are rightly concerned to raise consciousness amongst white students and tutors about the nature of racism in Britain, but some black male students in particular can be less receptive to the issue of sexism.

Many issues are contentious on courses but few are as divisive of the student group as sexism and this may help to explain why many women students develop a perspective which comes to reject the normal route into LEA Youth & Community Service jobs. Work with girls and young women should clearly be a topic for all students on courses (as with work with boys and young men) but too often it comes to be identified as a specialist area for 'feminist' women students. These women students who have a heightened consciousness of institutionalised sexism and sexual discrimination can easily come to see male-dominated institutions such as the LEA Service as hostile and the problems to be overcome as insurmountable. Certainly when looking at institutionalised racism it is easy for black students to be reinforced in their belief that employment opportunities are closed to them when in fact within the limited area of work in inner-city areas opportunities may well be greater for black students than white. (This is not to deny that such a situation is itself the result of institutionalised racism). It is less clear if a paralled situation exists for women students in the LEA Service although clearly some authorities are embarrassed by the degree of male domination.

It would seem clear that courses need to look at specific opportunities for women within LEAs and different models of intergrating more women into the Service and this will require more communication between LEAs and courses. Unless women are specifically attracted to LEA Service jobs they are likely to look elsewhere. This seems to be partly for the reasons outlined above in terms of divisions within courses and partly for more practical reasons. Women students are often struggling to combine their traditional domestic roles whilst also being students and this makes placements in traditional Youth and Community Work settings as well as completion of course work more difficult. This inevitably takes more women students into alternative placement settings and thoughts of other work settings. It is also possible that being a student creates guilt feelings amongst some women students that leads them consciously or otherwise to seek work which is compatible with a traditional domestic role or a full-time job which in itself reflects those caring, counselling roles that women are so often being told that they should be particularly suited to.

Much of the above is clearly speculative in trying to explain the job choices of women students. Failing an in-depth qualitative research project, courses should monitor this situa-

tion with their own students within the general area of women's studies and working with girls and young women. This will clearly take time and others need to be aware that to achieve the long-term objective of increasing the role of women in the LEA Youth and Community Service may in the short-term contradict other objectives such as ensuring a high proportion of students entering the Service.

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## heroin: an alternative view

JOHN AULD

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**B. Hanson et al**  
**LIFE WITH HEROIN - Voices from the Inner City**  
**Lexington Books**  
**ISBN 0 669 09933 3 (HB)**  
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For many years the bulk of our knowledge about heroin use - or 'abuse' - has been derived from studies of user populations conducted in institutional settings such as prisons, hospitals and treatment agencies, apparently with little recognition of (or desire to recognise) the possibility that the members of such populations may be quite unrepresentative of the totality of persons who are routinely and unproblematically involved in the activity. In the vacuum created by the paucity of detailed and accurate information about the daily lives and culture of heroin users who are surviving in their communities but who have not sought or been referred for treatment, skewed and stereotyped images about both the activity itself, the kinds of people who engage in it and its probable consequences have perhaps not surprisingly flourished.

This book - a carefully and comprehensively researched ethnographic study of inner-city black male heroin users in the United States - is therefore very much to be welcomed: not just because of the contribution it makes towards providing such information and thereby helping to pave the way for more balanced and objective discussion of the subject - arguably a matter of some importance on this side of the Atlantic at the present time; but also because of the assistance which its thoughtfully composed and clearly explicated methodology may afford others wishing to conduct research on populations whose members, whilst deviant, have not been formally identified as such.

The central data base of the study is the accumulated set of responses acquired in the course of carrying out extended 'in depth' interviews with a total sample of 134 black heroin-using males living in ghettos of Chicago, New York, Philadelphia and Washington. The 'cross-regional perspective' afforded by the decision to conduct this research in for American cities simultaneously, together with its exclusive focus upon black heroin users and the purposeful screening out from its sample of anyone who had had experience of treatment, is seen by the study's authors as constituting the most important grounds for distinguishing it from previous

ethnographic work on heroin use.

From a reading of the methodological appendix and the helpful research notes accompanying each chapter of the book, it is clear that considerable efforts were made to eliminate the problem of interviewer bias which so often bedevils ethnographic research - particularly if, as in this case, it eschews the technique of so-called 'participant observation' in favour of a combination of structured and unstructured interviewing. A clear division of labour was established. Whilst the editors of the book designed the overall research plan and coordinated the collection and analysis of data, the task of interviewing at street level was delegated by field supervisors in each of the four cities to teams of black former heroin users whose members were selected on the basis of their intimate familiarity with the local drug scene and their ability to recruit respondents whose characteristics met the study's specifications. It seems to have been assumed that because all the interviewers were thus street-wise 'insiders' who in many cases were known figures on the local drug scene, problems such as securing the cooperation of interviewees and developing rapport with them should be minimized. It is perhaps relevant to note in this connection that each of the respondents was paid twenty dollars for agreeing to be interviewed.

The content of the book itself falls into two roughly equal parts. In the first part, following a vivid depiction of the run-down inner-city communities in which the study's target group live and were interviewed, we are offered a detailed description of the heroin user's daily routine, going right through from the 'wake-up fix' to the 'partying' apparently favoured by most for the evening hours. The central impression conveyed is that of the extremely active quality of the typical user's lifestyle - a theme which is explored in more detail in an accompanying chapter concerning itself specifically with the variety of hustles (defined here as 'unconventional activities that are designed to produce economic and/or narcotic gain') in which the great majority of users become engaged in order to support their habits. Here the political implications of this kind of exposé research might be remarked upon, for many of the very candid statements included here would doubtless be of considerable interest to agencies of law-enforcement. This should not, however, be taken to imply that there is any endorsement of the conventional view that heroin use is intrinsically criminogenic since, apart from legitimate work as a source of income

being cited by more respondents than any type of illegal activity and the fact of virtually all of them having habits that were entirely stable (only developing 'tolerance' in the social-psychological - rather than pharmacological - sense of wishing to recapture the intensity of their first positive experience of the drug), the book is at pains to point out that the high rates of unemployment in the kinds of communities selected for the study would be likely to generate a high crime rate irrespective of the prevalence of heroin use.

However, the popular equation of heroin use with criminality is by no means the only conventional wisdom to crumple underneath the evidence and sober analysis presented in this book. In the final chapter of part 1 we are treated to a detailed analysis of the social processes underpinning the career of the heroin user in a manner reminiscent of Howard Becker's classic article **Becoming a Marijuana User**. There is no support given here (or indeed in Richard Morris' excellent contribution to part 2, which addresses some of the same issues) to the view that once an individual has undergone initiation into using heroin, his progress towards the status of being a regular user can be explained as a product of either physiological entrapment or psychological dependency and helplessness. One of the most distinctive general characteristics of this group of users was their desire to exercise control over their own lives, and typically they would make a conscious decision about whether or not and how frequently to use heroin on the basis of considered judgments as to the degree to which the nature of the drug experience would be likely to facilitate this. Thus if a decision to continue using the drug was made, it would usually be because its effects were regarded as capable of both blocking awareness of a harsh and hostile external environment, promoting a sense of personal competence, euphoria and well-being that in the absence of more conventional bases for the development of self-esteem might otherwise prove elusive, and enhancing sociability and the enjoyment of intimate relationships with other people. When coupled with the feeling of excitement and (if the user is successful) mastery of events generated by life on the streets and the business of actually obtaining the drug, it is perhaps not difficult to understand why the so-called heroin 'Habit' might prove a difficult one to break.

This rather different interpretation of the traditional and often quite crudely-defined concept of addiction constitutes one of the major themes addressed in the second part of the

book, but nowhere is its relevance more apparent than in Bescher and Walters' chapter dealing with heroin users' views about treatment. Here we learn that not only did the vast majority of the research sample regard methadone maintenance as just another habit, and an unhealthy one at that; most of them also claimed to already have their habits under control, and were anxious to dissociate themselves from the 'dope fiend' stereotype of the junkie who is constantly shooting up. However, in the context of the findings reported in the book as a whole, probably the most important explanation for the fact that no less than 80 percent of the sample held treatment in disrepute is that submitting to treatment would entail giving up the complex lifestyle attendant to their heroin use and the various rewards that it offers.

Even if considered solely in terms of the very effective challenge that it presents to many of the long-standing and still widely-held preconceptions about heroin and its users, then, there can be little doubt as to the importance of this book. The only real question mark is that which hangs over the issue of the applicability of its contents to the contemporary situation in this country. One problem here - quite apart from more general cultural differences that exist between this country and Black America - has to do with differences in the dominant mode of using the drug. A distinguishing characteristic of the heroin culture examined in this study was its members, seemingly without exception, injected the drug, and it is suggested that this played an important part in both buttressing their very often somewhat **macho** self-images and their conceptions of themselves as in some way superior to those who had never managed to confront and successfully overcome the problem of so-called 'needle phobia'. Although more research clearly needs to be carried out in this area, it does seem extremely unlikely that anything more than a very small proportion of the thousands of young people reputedly using heroin in this country would think and act in a similar manner. Most informed opinion on the subject appears to believe that smoking or snorting the substance is the most common mode of use among members of the population considered to be most 'at risk'. If the book under review may serve as a guide, then this - if it is indeed the case - might be considered by many to constitute grounds for optimism, at least to the extent that it implies the absence of a yet further source of commitment to the status of being and remaining a heroin user.

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# kincora affair - the aftermath

JOHN PINKERTON & GREG KELLY

*"Before 24th January, 1980 few people in Ulster had heard the name Kincora. But within days the East Belfast boys home was at the centre of the province's biggest sex scandal - a saga which culminated in the report of an enquiry being published today".*

The culmination of a saga - that was how Northern Ireland's most widely read daily newspaper saw the Government appointed Hughes Enquiry's report.<sup>(1)</sup> And there were many people who, for a whole range of reasons, were only too glad to endorse this view. Tom King, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, was clearly pleased to be able to say, on behalf of a Government which had been badgered since the scandal broke in 1980 for a full public enquiry:

I am confident that close study of the Report will reassure the public that the various complaints and allegations which circulated regarding abuse in the child care system have been meticulously investigated and that a **door has been closed on the past.** (our emphasis).<sup>(2)</sup>

Neither does it seem unreasonable, given the speculation and rumour about Unionist establishment and Loyalist para-military involvement in the affair, to read self interest into the response of the Rev. Martin Smyth, Official Unionist M.P. and leading Orangeman:

It is my hope that the report will finally 'pull the rug' from under those who are always looking for salacious ways of undermining authority and slinging mud at the system.<sup>(3)</sup>

But, as a quote from an Alliance Party Northern Ireland Assembly members indicates, it was not just relief from political embarrassment that encouraged this view:

It is hoped that a full stop can now be inserted at the end of the Kincora story and that those who work the residential child care system can get on with the job in peace.<sup>(4)</sup>

Given that the enquiry, unlike so many of its British counterparts, had studiously avoided crude scapegoating of individual social workers or the occupation as a whole, it made sense to many working in the field to try to set the seal of past history on the whole Kincora affair.

We, however, intend to take issue with that view of the

Hughes Report and we do so as Belfast social work lecturers, primarily concerned with training for child care work in Northern Ireland; in other words with a vested interest. We have three reasons for rejecting a closed door position.

Firstly, we believe that such a view runs contrary to reality. The report, like the events it so meticulously details, is part of a social process in which every ending is a beginning, critically marked by what came before, and in which every event carries within it, shades of its wider social context. Accordingly, no matter what anyone may want to do, and no matter how laudable, or otherwise, their intentions, the reality is that the Hughes Report, and the facts it deals with, cannot be plucked neatly from their historical and societal context and filed away as dealt with. As part of the history of child welfare provision in Northern Ireland they are also part of its present and will inevitably be part of its future.

Secondly, we see the desire to be done with the affair as indicating that a basic lesson has not been learnt. The risk that the dark side of life will engulf us is a constant feature of all our lives, and clearly so in the lives of troubled and troublesome young people. To have any chance of enabling such young people to manage that risk we need to openly and constantly acknowledge it. The Hughes Enquiry is, in the main, a detailed account of a too long history of abuse of young people by those charged with their care and of failure to detect and prevent it. As such the enquiry has earned a commanding position within Northern Ireland child welfare provision as a constant reminder of the need to acknowledge the dark side.

Thirdly, and very simply, the Enquiry's terms of reference instruct it to: "make recommendations with a view to promoting the welfare of such children and young persons and preventing any future malpractice".<sup>(5)</sup> The three hundred and fifty five pages of the report, the eight hundred and seventy thousand pounds of public money spent on the Enquiry, the sixty days of hearings, the time and effort, and for some the torment, involved in appearing before the enquiry, must all be judged by the extent to which the welfare of children in care in Northern Ireland has been promoted. As Don Coleman, Divisional Director (Child Care) of Dr. Barnardo's Irish Division, put it:

"The true cost of the enquiry is probably well over one million pounds ..... That one million pounds will only become money well spent, when the recommendations

have been analysed and the implications for policy, management and practice identified and implemented to create a more purposeful and appropriately resourced residential child care service, based on actual needs of children and young people".<sup>(6)</sup>

### The Saga

To start to appreciate the Hughes Report as just one phase in a developing process it must be recalled that Judge Hughes and his colleagues began their work only after a long series of aborted or partial investigations had already taken place. These go back as far as 1967 when two residents of Kincora made written statements of complaint against their Warden to headquarters staff of the Belfast Welfare Authority. These statements included allegations of homosexual advances. The City Welfare Officer interviewed the Warden, judged the allegations as malicious mis-construction, and took no further action.

Between that time and 1980 there were to be recurrent complaints, anonymous allegations and rumours made to, or known to, either the Welfare Authority (Social Services as it became in 1974) or to the Police, or to both. The bulk of the text of the Hughes Report concerns, in its own words, "a chronicle of lost opportunities" for social services to stop the sexual abuse of boys in their care that was going on throughout the period. The clarity, detail and thoroughness with which the Report presents its findings throws into sharp relief the picture it draws of a morass of indecision, ineptitude, and confusion that led again and again to warning signals being misjudged as insubstantial or malicious.

In December 1979, two social workers, in a bid to break free of the web of inaction surrounding Kincora, approached the press. As a result in January 1980, the Irish Independent, a Dublin newspaper, published an article under the headline "Sex Racket at Children's Home". The article alleged homosexual abuse of boys in care involving children as young as 12 years old, the suicide by one of the boys, organised homosexual prostitution, involvement of prominent Ulster businessmen, Loyalist paramilitary links and a cover-up involving both police and social services. The story set off a scramble of investigative journalism, carried out mostly by the staff of Southern Irish newspapers, and a spree of popular rumours. Most importantly the article also prodded the local police force, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), into an effective investigation of sexual abuse of young people in care. As a result by December, three members of staff at the Kincora boys home, and three other men, were convicted and sentenced, having admitted in all to 49 offences involving what the presiding Judge, Lord Chief Justice Lord Lowry called "loathesome and perverted behaviour". (Belfast Telegraph, 4 Feb. 1986) Less colourful, but more chilling, is the 'dead pan' account of the instances of buggery, gross indecency and indecent assault, catalogued by Hughes in the Report's account of what social services had been blind to during all those years.

With these convictions secured and the ironic, some would say suspicious, fact that admissions of guilt had pre-empted any court room revelations, all the surrounding allegations and rumours inevitably gained in credibility. As a result, by early 1982 the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland was

faced with a broad spectrum of political and public opinion calling for a full and open enquiry into the Kincora affair. In response he set up an enquiry team in January only to disband it in February after three of its members resigned. They regarded it as impossible to take worthwhile evidence so long as police investigations were continuing. In the words of the enquiry's legal advisor it had become a "useless exercise". (Belfast Telegraph, 4 Feb. 1986)

Although it was not to be until May 1983 that the Director of Public Prosecutions announced that no further charges were to be pressed relating to the affair and thus cleared the way for a full and open public enquiry, two enquiries did take place during 1982. The Chief Constable of the RUC announced in February that he had requested from H.M. Inspectorate of Constabulary an impartial examination of the conduct of his force during their Kincora investigations. The Inspectorate agreed and Sir George Terry, the then Chief Constable of Sussex, was appointed to the task. Also in February a team of London officials from the DHSS led by Ms A.M. Sheridan, Deputy Director of the Social Work Services, were sent to advise their Northern Ireland counterparts on: "ways in which the Department carries out its role in relation to the supervision and management of homes and hostels for children and young people and to offer advice".<sup>(7)</sup>

The Sheridan Report was completed first in June 1982. Its main recommendations were for the introduction of a formal, clearly set out and accessible complaints procedure, improved Departmental monitoring of all residential units and the development of training opportunities for residential staff. The tone of the Report was very much that of a civil service document with no hint of attributing individual blame for past mistakes or even attempting to identify in a very general way culpable weaknesses in past Departmental practice. Having distanced itself from the hunt for guilty men in this way the Department set about implementing the recommendations, in particularly developing a complaints procedure.

In October 1982 it was announced that Sir George Terry's report and supporting material had been submitted to the Director of Public Prosecutions and that no further criminal prosecutions were to follow; nor did it appear that any internal disciplinary proceedings had resulted. The process of Terry's investigation and indeed the full final Report were never made public. Only the "Conclusions, Recommendations and Final Comment" sections were published. Terry did however make it clear that in his view, not only had there been no cover up by the RUC but that there was also no evidence of a vice ring involving either residents of children's homes or police officers, civil servants, military personnel or members of the Judiciary. In addition he was critical of the press and social workers for being irresponsible and naive respectively.

Thus by 1984, seventeen years after the first allegations of homosexual abuse and four years after the press exposure that had made Kincora a public scandal, there has been no full account of the affair open to public scrutiny. Inevitably then when the Director of Public Prosecution's May announcement of no further action opened the way to a full

public enquiry, the Government was pressed to establish one. But instead the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland appointed Judge William Hughes, Mr. Henry Whalley, and Mr. William Patterson to conduct an enquiry, albeit in public, but formally for the Department of Health and Social Services. The brief was to:

a. inquire into the administration of children's homes and young persons' hostels whose residents were subjected to homosexual offences which led to convictions by the Courts or where homosexual misconduct led to disciplinary action against members of the staff, and into the extent to which those responsible for the provision of residential care for children and young persons could have prevented the commission of such acts or detected their occurrence at an earlier stage;

b. consider the implications for present procedures and practices within the system of residential care, including in particular the adequacy and effectiveness of arrangements for the supervision and protection of children and young persons in residential care; and

c. make recommendations with a view to promoting the welfare of such children and young persons and preventing any future malpractice.<sup>(8)</sup>

To this end, Judge Hughes and his two fellow members began their enquiry in March 1984, taking papers relating to the RUC and Terry investigations as their given starting point. In addition to that written material, which included statements by five hundred and sixty five people, one hundred and eighty five of whom were former residents of Kincora and other children's homes, the Enquiry received written information from twenty six individuals and organisations. During sixty days, ten of which were in camera, they took oral evidence from sixty six individuals, twelve of whom were ex-residents. Throughout the proceedings they stuck rigidly to an administrative, technical interpretation of their terms of reference. A striking illustration of this was their handling of the Wallace episode.<sup>(9)</sup>

Colin Wallace, who at the time of the enquiry was serving a ten years life sentence for manslaughter in England, had been a Senior Information Officer at the British Army's Lisburn Headquarters in Northern Ireland during the early seventies. He claimed that British Intelligence was aware at that time of homosexual assaults on boys in care, but in pursuit of some undisclosed advantage to themselves, had done nothing about it.

Documentary evidence which Wallace produced to support his claim was examined by the Enquiry team and a representative of the Committee visited him in prison. Wallace expressed his willingness to appear before the Committee itself and Ministry of Defence permission was obtained for him to disclose classified information. However, in preparing to take his evidence the Committee, in line with their narrow interpretation of their brief, informed him that..... "any statement which did not refer by name to Welfare or Social Services Officers would be virtually of no value to the Committee as a basis for further action".<sup>(10)</sup> Wallace "said that he was not prepared to answer questions in the narrow context proposed by the Committee and that therefore he

had nothing further to say".<sup>(11)</sup> There has never been any other attempt since to examine the roles of British Army Intelligence.

One other brief illustration worth noting because of its political content was the Committee's response to evidence from Ms Valerie Shaw, a former missionary for the Rev. Ian Paisley's Free Presbyterian Church. Ms Shaw had obtained information in the early seventies relating to the homosexual activities of one of the Kincora staff who also had right-wing protestant unionist political and paramilitary connections. This information she said she had passed onto the Rev. Ian Paisley, M.P., the Rev. Martin Smyth, M.P. and an RUC Inspector. When one of the Kincora ex-resident's barristers asked to have Paisley and Smyth appear before the enquiry for cross-examination, Judge Hughes replied: "the people mentioned didn't do anything about the information and were not required to do anything so they were irrelevant to the enquiry's term of reference". (Belfast Telegraph, 17 Jan, 1985)

The restraint of the Enquiry is also registered in the actual feel of the Committee's public hearings. These took place in a civil service building in the protestant suburbs of East Belfast, six miles from the City centre, a statement in itself. Andy Main who attended the enquiry to represent the interests of members of the British Association of Social Workers has neatly captured the spirit of the Enquiry's hearings in this description - though some allowance has to be made for the almost inevitable caricature of all things Irish.

Imagine a heavily guarded building and a heavily guarded room. To get to it you need to pass five armed RUC men. In the corridor sit two or three others with funny bulges under the left arm. Inside the room is a dais where the judge sits and the two other members of the panel.

Immediately below sits the shorthand writer and in a horseshoe around the room sit 15 QC's, two barristers and a dynamic, handsome social worker. The horseshoe is broken only by the witness box and behind sit the press and the solicitors clerks and the public. The witness enters the box and is led through evidence in chief by his advocate. He is then cross-examined by each of the other advocates in turn. All evidence is oath.<sup>(12)</sup>

It should now be clear that although the Hughes report is indeed part of a long running saga it is far from being either a full or open account of the Kincora affair; never mind a last word, the shutting of a door. Set in this context a comment from Joe Hendron, Spokesperson on Health and Social Services for Northern Ireland's largest anti-Unionist Party, the Social Democratic and Labour Party, looks far less politically peevish, and far closer to the truth, than might otherwise be the case:

I most certainly am not satisfied that the Kincora affair has been dealt with properly ..... I have spoken to a former resident of Kincora on two occasions. He certainly is not satisfied that the scandal of Kincora was dealt with in a proper manner ..... I must state quite clearly that after the 1981 Kincora convictions, I believed that the Northern Ireland Office Ministers continually dragged their feet and did not seem to understand or

want to understand the extreme public anxiety over the sexual abuse of young children at Kincora. When the Hughes Report was published a few weeks ago, Health Minister, Mr. Richard Needham, whilst welcoming the report decided to rebuke public representatives and media people for continuing to stir up the ashes of Kincora. Surely Mr. Needham must realise that if it had not been for the persistence of some journalists and elected representatives that the Hughes Enquiry would not have been set up in the first place.<sup>(13)</sup>

Despite the Northern Ireland Office's, presumably politically motivated, claim that the first two "main findings of the report" are:

- that there was no evidence of a homosexual vice-ring based in Kincora
- that there was no evidence of a cover-up of the abuse that took place in Kincora".<sup>(14)</sup>

The reality is that the committee had neither the will nor the where with all to definitively explore and conclude on either of these two matters.

### **The Value of the Report**

The Hughes Report's place in the Kincora saga should not however lead to a dismissal of the report, nor indeed bouquets for press and politicians. The fact is that the major concern of both the press and politicians was with how the abuse of children in care might lead to higher places; the dark corners of political life, the civil service and the security forces. The capital 'P' politicising of the affair, at the cost of pushing aside substantive child care issues, is a depressing commentary on just how far out on the margins of Northern Ireland society sits statutory child care in particular and social work in general.

The Report should not be dismissed because within the limits the Committee was set and which it appears to have readily accepted and rigidly adhered to, it could be regarded as a classic of rational enquiry into child abuse; and child abuse different to that dealt with in other well known British enquiries because it was actually perpetrated by social services staff. The Report is a meticulous chronological and thematic account of the administration of nine children's homes within Northern Ireland in which physical abuse of children was known to have occurred. This included non-sexual violence in one unit run by Del La Salle Brothers and the sexual molesting of children while residents, in two Barnardo's homes, but in which no member of staff was involved in any offence or misconduct and no offence actually took place in the homes. The account is impressively informed and sympathetic to the harsh realities of responsibility for residential child care services during a period of disorientating challenges from legislative change, organisational restructuring and rising expectations of the role and tasks of residential social work. Indeed in this respect it is arguably a more significant document than the Black Report which is regarded as Northern Ireland's pivotal Government statement on statutory provision for children and young people".<sup>(15)</sup>

Reading the Report and especially its recommendations it is easy to see why it was greeted with almost unanimous

approval by social work in Northern Ireland. The local branches of the British Association of Social Workers, the Residential Care Association, and the National Association of Probation Officers all welcomed it, albeit with a variety of reservations. 'STAFF', the monthly newspaper of the Northern Ireland Public Service Alliance, the trade union which organises the vast majority of the provinces' social work staff, carried a front page headline in February 1986, "Hughes Enquiry Clears Staff", followed by a bold print quote from the Report "The vast majority of residential staff have carried out their duties conscientiously". Terry Bamford, Director of Social Services in Northern Ireland's Southern Health and Social Services Boards, expressed the general sense of relief and ensuing optimism in his 'Comment' for Insight, the Journal of Directors of Social Services

"Prior to the report there were fears that individuals would be scapegoated, that the enquiry would bow to populist pressure to exclude homosexuals from residential employment and that it would put forward unrealistic recommendations about the practice. Instead the report skillfully treads a delicate path through the minefield of sexual prejudice by calling for a policy statement on the employment of homosexuals, while pointing out that deviance can be found in both heterosexuals and homosexuals - a brave statement in the local context. Above all by its studious avoidance of blaming individuals and its measured and balanced analysis, the report will begin the task of rebuilding trust between children and staff and between staff and management".<sup>(16)</sup>

While this response is understandable in the context of the Kincora saga, it is also that context which suggests it is a response that carries within it the mark of the scapegoat. Tim Chapman, a Belfast Probation Officer, writing on local work with adolescents neatly describes this phenomena in relation to that client group and it is the same process in question here:

"There is no doubt that scapegoating is an unjust and destructive method of dealing with a problem. However, it is a real phenomenon common to most social formations ..... Let us remind ourselves of the basic components of the process. At its heart lies a real problem or concern which the dominant group has and which it sees in a more extreme or overt form in the weaker scapegoat. The process, thus, is a means of communicating this concern which is often emotional in content rather than rational. The function of this process is to maintain equilibrium. There is a great deal at stake in its maintenance. The dominant group will not give up the security it obtains from this without a struggle. Furthermore, the scapegoat is not an inanimate object in this process, not simply a victim, but someone who has volunteered if not to perform, certainly to persist in performing this role. However painful it is to him, he receives some sense of attention, security and comfort in it and again will not change without a struggle".<sup>(17)</sup>

There is a real danger of residential social work in Northern Ireland volunteering, or at least colluding with a view of the Hughes Report which quite accurately regards the Report as being about residential social work child care practice and management, but then, and here comes the sleight of hand, goes on to present the Report as the final and full account of



the Kincora affair, thus turning the Kincora affair into a residential social work child care practice and management affair. The broad historical and social themes in and around Kincora, with their wide ranging and challenging implications simply disappear.

“On the Day of Atonement ..... the Chief Priest would symbolically transfer the sins of the people to the back of a goat. The goat would then be driven out into the wilderness. The people felt their sins purged through the ritual rejection and death of the goat”.<sup>(18)</sup>

Loss of public interest in Kincora, the residential worker who describes himself or herself when out socially as a “civil servant”, and moves to direct resources away from residential children’s units are already here.

There is an alternative however. The Hughes Report could be used not to close a door but to push the door open to a creative, challenging, participative child centred residential care.

One of the striking aspects of the evidence the former residents gave to the enquiry is the extent of their dependence on the social services - they had either been in care from a very young age or their families had completely broken down. They were totally dependant on their social workers and residential care staff for their present and their future. Childcare staff had an almost absolute power over these children. The sexual abuse at Kincora and elsewhere was an abuse of that power. As Norman Tutt has put it: “this enquiry is really an examination of the distribution of power within social services: the powerless position of the client and the corrupting influence of power on staff who control clients”.<sup>(19)</sup> If the Report is seen in this way it can be linked to its broader context and, taking the distribution of power to be the essence of politics, a politics of child care in Northern Ireland can be developed in which Hughes can be given both a strategic and tactical importance.

To begin with there are the repeated haunting statements in the Report of the powerlessness felt by residents.

‘B3 did not complain to anyone about the homosexual activities of Messrs Mains (Warden) and Semple (Assistant Warden) and told us that there was nobody to whom to complain. He said that he could not recall having had a social welfare officer at Kincora. During his evidence as regards his time as Bawnmore, he said that he did not complain to his father about S1’s alleged activities because he did not think that his father cared about him and that he never saw his brother or three sisters after he left Bawnmore in 1963. He also told us that, although he knew that Mr. Semple’s activities were a criminal offence, it did not occur to him to complain to the police. In evidence he said that he was ashamed of this relationship and feared that he himself might be in trouble if he reported it to the police’.<sup>(20)</sup>

Clearly most people’s attitude is one of disgust directed at staff who abused their power in this way. The problem is thus located in individual staff. Reflecting this there are half a dozen of the Report’s recommendations which deal with strengthening arrangements for attracting and selecting the

right staff and continuing to assess them while in post, plus another two on tighter screening for volunteers with access to children in care. But at the same time throughout the Report there is the recognition that procedures can never guarantee the exclusion from child care of those who would, or would come to, abuse their position. Thus while accepting the need for vigilance as to who is employed and how they are managed and held to account, the issue of the balance of power, as such, is sharply reasserted. From the Report it can be clearly seen that children need to be made aware of their rights, of what it is wrong for staff or for anyone else to do to them and to treat their complaints seriously. Children need to be resourced to become more powerful.

The development of the complaints procedure resulting from the Sheridan Report and heavily endorsed by Hughes could be a crucial part of this process. It is one of the means of reducing the overwhelming powerlessness of children; and indeed of the parents of children in care. It is an important post Kincora gain and can be capitalised on. This means ensuring that the procedures are seen to be not enough in themselves. Work on sexual abuse in the community can be cited as showing the importance of education of action; the ‘strong kids - safe kids’ approach for example. Children and young people need to know both what to complain about and how to complain effectively.

There is a growing awareness of the problems young people have in complaining about the sexual advances of adults and that they rarely make up these allegations. The Hughes Report very usefully reinforces this knowledge and highlights the particular problems children in care have in making complaints about staff and consequently the need to pursue such complaints and rumours vigorously. As the Report clearly states: “Rumours, allegations and complaints can lead to the exposure of depravity if, and only if, they are promptly and systematically investigated”.<sup>(21)</sup> One reason for the stress the enquiry team place on this is that they had noted in the course of taking evidence ‘an ambivalence of attitude’ towards the allegations. “While they remained unsubstantiated, they could be disregarded and even ignored, yet it was nobody’s business to substantiate or discard them - an attitude at once irrational and self defeating”.<sup>(22)</sup> It is hard to understand the Report’s tone of surprise at what is after all the age old personal and institutional defence against action in threatening circumstances:- “It’s better not to know”. Its identification by the enquiry as central to the repeated failure to protect children in Kincora has clear implications in the post Hughes era. These too are very bound up with the attitudes to sex and the power struggles within the wider society in Northern Ireland.

Malcolm Brown, Social Work Professor at Queen’s University Belfast, has argued that:

“Any attempt to engage in discussion on sexuality and its role in a modern western society brings expressions of disapproval - even suggestions that we must be abnormal in some way even to want to talk about it. In such a hypocritical atmosphere, it is not to be wondered at that people (including professional social workers) are reluctant to accept the implications of what they see and hear, to keep their eyes down, not to rock to boat, not to

enquire, to want to avoid the embarrassment of asking difficult questions, not to be singled out as being preoccupied with sex..... If you don't see, hear or talk about things then they don't happen, or happen in mere isolation".<sup>(23)</sup>

To develop this argument, if the hypocrisy identified by Malcolm Brown is linked to Tim Chapman's notion of scapegoating, and the function of maintaining the existing social structure can be attributed to both, Kincora then becomes a frightening analogy for Northern Ireland society as a whole - a society tearing at itself in a terrible struggle born of contradictions rooted in its institutionalised political, social and economic inequalities. Contradictions that can no longer be contained within the repressed authoritarian mould in which Northern Ireland was cast at its inception.<sup>(24)</sup> Within the context of this general wide ranging power struggle, the Hughes Report opens up a particular opportunity in relation to handling the sexuality and sexual problems of young people in care.

At first sight in practice the opportunity does not look promising. Social Services were criticised in the Enquiry not for their general handling of sexual issues, but for their failure to detect and prevent the sexual abuse of young people in care by members of the caring staff. So it is understandable that as a result of this criticism and all that has gone with it, what can be seen now in practice is a defensive over caution. The resulting cost for both children and residential workers, visible since the scandal broke in 1980, is that this ultra-caution spreads totally inappropriately. As one head of a unit has put it, staff were literally "loosing touch with children in care". An impossible situation in which to continue to do effective work, never mind develop better practice in the area of sexual matters.

Social services like all public authorities and indeed citizens have a responsibility to uphold the law as it stands, but social services also have a parental responsibility to the children and young people in their care and a general duty under Section 113 of the Northern Ireland Children and Young Peoples Act "to exercise powers to further the best interest of the child". It is hard to square some practice in recent years with "furthering the child's best interests". It is a principle in danger of being sacrificed to adherence to the letter of the law to protect the agency from any criticism that they may be covering up a condoning sexual misconduct of any sort. A danger which is escalated by the Report's preoccupation with 'standard procedures'. Half of the fifty six recommendations concern procedures for the management, monitoring and control of children's home. Only seven relate specifically to practice.

Examples already exist of young people going to their social worker in confidence with a sexual matter and ending up enmeshed at very least with the police and on occasions in court. This is the inevitable result of procedural rather than child centred decision making. Young people are at risk of not being able to bring any sexual matter which might involve an infringement of the law to their social worker in confidence because she will have to report it to the police. Some Workers are now taking this stance. One of the saddest comments post-Kincora was that of an experienced

residential worker - "there is now no such thing as confidentiality".

Yet at the same time there are indicators that residential staff are struggling to use the opportunity of Hughes to move on and not be administratively boxed in. The edicts and paper policies for management that make 'telling the police' almost the automatic response to any sexual conduct that is thought to break the law, which is almost all the sexual conduct that under 17s might engage in, have prompted a practice level debate on handling sexual matters. Here again the actual Report itself, adds weight to arguments against administrative solutions. 'It is not our intention that staff should go to the police at the first hint of a complaint of a criminal nature' - and they are talking about complaints against staff. Where the allegations do not involve staff or adults a greater degree of discretion can be argued for as appropriate. Although clearly this is a difficult and risky area of practice the alternative has been spelt out by Keith White; "the problem is that responsibility and decision-making will be removed for the face-to-face situation with every person and level of an organisation unable to resist the upwards pressure. The quality of life and interaction for children will inevitably suffer. We risk paralysis by bureaucratic safety-first mechanisms".

Laws against sexual misconduct are important and particularly important where they seek to prevent the sexual exploitation of young people but they need to be interpreted sensitively with due consideration to each individual situation if they are not to disadvantage those they seek to protect. The police clearly have a discretionary power in relation to prosecution which they frequently use sensitively, social services need to assert their obligations as public bodies and as legal parents to these young people by handling these issues with equal discretion even where that means protecting young people from the full rigour of the law or police involvement, or both. That is what any reasonable parent would do 'to further the best interest' of their child. That is what enabling young people in care to further control their own lives demands.

### Conclusion

The crucial point is that in the area of sexual matters the debate is on and the balance of power is at issue. It is the same in other key areas, identified by the Hughes Report: the training of residential staff, parity of pay between residential and field work, and the flexible deployment of staff across the residential - fieldwork boundary. It is also the same for the wide range of issues thrown up by the Kincora affair. As with the general Northern Ireland situation there is no easy, risk-free or immediate advance in sight. But the door has been opened, not closed.

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## **RURAL YOUTHWORK NETWORK**

ARE YOU A RURALLY-BASED YOUTH WORKER?  
DO YOU FEEL DETACHED FROM THE HIGH-PROFILE PROBLEMS OF THE INNER CITY?  
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In conjunction with the NYB we are trying to set up a network for rural youth workers throughout the United Kingdom.

If you are interested contact (S.A.E.):

**IAN JOHNSON,**  
7 Cranfield Avenue, Wimborne, Dorset BH21 1TH.

Some thought for discussion and development are:  
Regular mailings, exchanges of ideas, working methods etc., perhaps even a major conference to pool resources and support.

# **YOUTH & POLICY CONFERENCE 1987**

*3rd - 5th April 1987*

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The organisers welcome suggestions for the content and method of this Conference. In previous years Youth and Policy Conferences have consisted mainly of workshops with one or two keynote lectures. We need to know the following:

- What topics/issues could form part of the content of the conference?
- What is your preference regarding method, i.e. workshops/lectures, etc?
- Can you offer to lead a session and what aspect of work with young people would it cover?
- Do you know of anyone else who could usefully contribute to the conference, again in which particular area?

Please reply giving as much detail as possible to Malcolm Jackson, 14a Heaton Hall Road, Heaton, Newcastle upon Tyne NE6 5NQ.

**NO LATER THAN THE 1ST NOVEMBER 1986**

*Further details and application forms will appear in the next issue of the Journal.*

# young people and mental institutions

DENISE ANNETT

*The way that young people are placed in mental institutions is often unclear - and seldom is the 1983 Mental Health Act used. Once in hospital young people's rights to consent or withhold consent to medical treatment are often not observed. The author argues for the introduction of specific regulations to safeguard basic rights, and for the setting up of complaints procedures which young people can use, when they feel their rights have been abused.*

## Young people and mental institutions

What happens inside mental institutions is not one of society's most pressing concerns. The mad and the insane as well as people who are mildly disturbed live lives shut away from everyday life, and are dependent upon others for the comfort of routine existence. Inadequate laws attempt to set limits and boundaries, but changes are slow to take place.

Patients' rights movements have made some impact on hospital regimes, but it is still unsurprising to read in **A Practical Guide to Mental Health Law** that

Informal patients (voluntary) ..... rights in other respects, for example, receiving visitors, making complaints, and keeping clothing and personal possessions - should be no different from those of any patient having treatment for a physical illness in a general hospital.

Larry Gostin goes on "To this list must be added the specific rights to refuse treatment and to discharge oneself from hospital",<sup>(1)</sup> and it is these two issues which have given rise to the most contention.

The Mental Health Act Commission in their recent document looked at what it really meant to be a patient in hospital:

The very fact of being a patient in hospital constrains the individual from contradicting the patient role expected within the hospital. Some patients may perceive their own subservience and feel powerless against the established norms of the hospital.

Additionally the medical staff have power, which may or may not be used disinterestedly, for compulsorily detained patients,

The principle pressure is the power which a doctor (or other members of staff) may have to influence the patient's prospects as to discharge, release or transfer.<sup>(2)</sup>

Young people are in a particularly vulnerable position:

Dangers for them are that they get lost in the system: having been "volunteered" by parents or guardians for treatment at an early age, they remain as "voluntary" patients for the rest of their lives; and in some places their care and treatment tends to receive a low priority.<sup>(3)</sup>

The Mental Health Act Commission's biennial report<sup>(4)</sup> counted around 3,000 children and young people under 16 who are in hospital, and it identified them as 'vulnerable'. Most of these children and young people were not compulsorily detained in hospital under the Mental Health Act 1983, but were there in some other capacity as 'voluntary' patients. Medical practice had established that it was not somehow 'good practice' to section young people, and it was seen as stigmatising. But what the Commission says is that voluntary patients enjoy less safeguards than many compulsorily detained patients.

Other legislative proceedings are used instead for young people, such as wardship, where the High Court makes the decisions about what is to happen in the young person's life; or the local authority take the young person into care. Young people under 16 can be brought before the juvenile court in care proceedings through the Children and Young Persons' Act 1969. Criteria are that the young person's proper development is being neglected and that they need care and control which they are unlikely to receive unless the court makes an order. Care proceedings have also been used when parents are said to have 'unreasonably' refused to allow medical or psychiatric treatment on their children. The National Assistance Acts 1948 and 1951 could also be used to place young people in hospital (although in practice they are not).

These Acts provide that people of any age may, on the order of a Magistrates' Court, be compulsorily removed and detained to receive necessary care and attention. Criteria include suffering from grave chronic disease, and that removal from home is necessary in the patient's own interests.

3. Parental powers depend on the understanding of the individual child, and not at any fixed age - the Law Lords recognised that the control which a parent exercises over a child will vary from child to child, and from time to time in the life of any individual child.

The consequences of this for medical treatment are that provided the young person concerned understands the implications of a particular treatment, then he or she has the right to consent, or refuse consent, to that particular treatment unless detained under the Mental Health Act. Yet even here the Mental Health Act Commission has questioned the giving of compulsory treatment against patients' expressed wishes.

The House of Lords ruling does not just affect medical treatment. Our common law functions in such a way that the consequences of their judgement is that in all areas of daily life (unless regulated by statute), children and young people have the right to make decisions about matters which affect them, if they are capable of understanding the implications of what is proposed. The powers of guardians, care authorities, medical staff and others acting in loco parentis will also be determined according to the common law rule - again unless dealt with by statute - their rights will be no more, and no less than that of parents. Their powers to control children and young people will be dwindling powers, and will have to be exercised for the protection or benefit of the individual child or young person. This of course has dramatic implications for every institution which houses children and young people.

The Mental Health Act Commission's recent draft Code of Practice to accompany the Mental Health Act<sup>(6)</sup> covers a very wide range of issues - and it includes a very lengthy section on consenting to treatment (and there is an additional paper expanding on the consent issues.<sup>(7)</sup> They point out that consent is a pre-requisite for any form of treatment - other than emergencies, and as laid down by statute. This includes consenting to behaviour modification and other non-touch treatments such as psychotherapy. Traditionally consent has only been sought in touch treatments such as medication and electro-convulsive therapy, because treatment without consent in touch treatment is clearly an assault.

Consent should be interpreted positively for all non-touch treatments - and the Commission specifically mentions behaviour modification programmes: in their view the programme cannot continue in any real sense if the young person involved is not co-operating. The Code of Practice also reminds practitioners of Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights, that no one should be subject to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. The Commissioners are most concerned about consent in relation to some particular behaviour modification programmes, and in aversion therapy, and time out. All these treatments should be consented to, and patients can withdraw their consent at any time. These treatments should only be used as part of a structured treatment programme with clear goals - time out for example should never be used as a punishment for absconding.

Deprivation involves the systematic interruption in patient's access to what are basic rights. These include concerned individual attention, a proper nourishing and attractive diet, warm comfortable accommodation, retention of personal money and possessions, suitable opportunities for privacy, and opportunities to see visitors.

Seclusion should only be used in cases of real emergency - where the patient cannot be managed and where there is an immediate danger to the patient's safety, or to others. Seclusion "should never be used for punishment or for retribution, for example following an absconding, or provocation of staff".

The Code concludes on consent, that no treatment should be given in the face of a patient's expressed dissent - whether they are capable of consent or not. Compulsory treatment should be very carefully considered where detained patients express dissent.

Powers to lock young people up have recently been reviewed. New legislation for children in care came into force in 1983, following threats that the Government was in breach of the European Convention. Article 5 states that: "Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person..... everyone who is deprived of his liberty by arrest or detention shall be entitled to take proceedings by which the lawfulness of his detention shall be decided speedily by a court and his release ordered if the detention is not lawful". Article 6 states: "In the determination of his civil rights and obligations, or of any criminal charge against him, everyone is entitled to a fair and public hearing within reasonable time, by an independent and impartial tribunal established by law".

For children in care, the law now says that they cannot be locked up for more than 72 hours without the juvenile court's permission, following a hearing at which the young person has a right to be present and represented.

Following this a test case was taken by Hammersmith and Fulham against Northampton Juvenile Court, which established that the legislation applied to children in care who were locked up in private psychiatric hospitals (Northampton Juvenile Court ex parte London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham QBD May 25 1984).

Part of the reasoning which brought about these changes hinged on a European Court case (X v UK, European Court of Human Rights 5 November 1981). This case found a violation of Article 5: "By virtue of Article 5, para 4, a person of unsound mind compulsorily confined in a psychiatric institution for an indefinite or lengthy period, is in principle entitled, at any rate where there is no automatic periodic review of a judicial character, to take proceedings at reasonable intervals before a court to put in issue the "lawfulness" within the meaning of the Convention, of his detention, whether that detention was ordered by a civil or a criminal court or some other authority".

At the moment some placement decisions are made as a discretionary professional decision which goes unchallenged. Reviews by staff caring for the young person do not satisfy the principles in Articles 5 and 6. They do not operate within a judicial framework; there is no established procedure for decision-making; there is no guarantee that the young person will be allowed to be present, or for their views to be heard or represented.

Placements made under the Mental Health Act 1983 do satisfy Article 5 and 6 - patients can apply to Mental Health

Review Tribunals to have their cases heard. For some young people in care, if they are placed in 'accommodation for the purposes of restricting liberty' then they are entitled to have their case heard after 72 hours. But for everyone else placed in mental institutions, which clearly are restricting their liberty, there is no access to a court to challenge their detention - a fact which must surely be in breach of the principles of natural justice in the European Convention.

Defences made by hospitals, have been that they do not restrict patients' liberty: that locked doors are for safety sake, and patients can leave at any time, but staff have to unlock the doors.

How does the theory match up with practice? In one particular mental nursing home<sup>(9)</sup> treatment is given in the form of behaviour modification, operating within a system of rewards and punishments. Young people are able to progress through a series of levels of behaviour, by earning points or tokens - from beta level one, requiring constant supervision - up to alpha level six which rewards the patient with weekend leave.

Privileges are attached to each of the ten levels and earned by the patient acquiring the right of points or tokens allocated to each level. 'Inappropriate' behaviour results in a 'failure to earn'. Accordingly, progression through the levels by meeting the target behaviours earns young people a better quality of life.

To go up a level young people must earn 90 percent of the points or tokens available on each level for two successive weeks. Earning less than 90 percent means going down a level. Someone admitted to the unit, and starting off on a beta level one would take at least 14 weeks before earning the privilege of going home for a weekend.

There are 200 rules listed as target behaviours, covering every aspect of day and night time activity - some of which are sensible, and useful, others silly and petty - and some which clearly breach basic standards which patients have a right to expect in their treatment. The Mental Health Act Commission says that any programme of this kind must operate with consent, otherwise it is meaningless. Examples of the behaviour listed are:

Ignoring rules or instructions is one of the most detailed categories of target behaviours. It includes lateness, scraping dining-room chairs on the floor, leaving the room without permission, loitering in the corridor, or giving or receiving food to or from other patients, going out without asking, refusing to accept 'failure to earn' (ie challenging whether staff have awarded points fairly), pestering for points, or tokens before time or not collecting them at all, refusing tokens, or not handing in tokens.

Banned attention-seeking behaviours include slamming doors, constant silly questions, self-induced vomiting, head-banging, faking the side-effects of drugs, loitering around the office (where staff are), and refusing to leave the bathroom. Points or tokens can be lost for odd behaviour such as lying on the floor, striding about, wild movements such as dancing or aimless wandering.

Childish and immature behaviour includes immature con-

versation, fussing unnecessarily, sulking and showing off. Examples of social behaviour which are not encouraged are giving food to others, being careless with money, poor social skills, telling lies and disrupting others.

Patients are also compelled to attend sessions. These are activities such as occupational therapy, sports and social skills training. If patients are not well motivated enough or concentrating sufficiently, this too can lose them tokens or points - as can not having the right equipment or being in the right place at the right time.

This stringent set of rules and target behaviours forms the basis on which young people agree to have their liberty restricted. Whether they are allowed into the grounds of the unit, or the local village, or town, or to go home for a visit, all depends on their level within the behaviour modification programme.

In the light of the Mental Health Act Commission's Code all institutions which use behaviour modification should be looking at how their framework of consent operates. Since 1980 with the Zangwill inquiry there has been concern about the ethics of behaviour modification programmes. The Zangwill joint working party concluded that what was needed was a formal structure involving local ethics committees to review and scrutinise programmes, "to protect patients from the diminution of values and dignities which can in extreme cases extend to deprivation or limitation of basic human rights .... and abuse or misuse of existing behavioural procedures".<sup>(9)</sup> The safeguards suggested in this Report were never implemented because of objections raised by the Royal College of Psychiatrists and the British Psychological Society that such committees would encroach on clinical freedom.

So who do young people complain to, if they are dissatisfied with their treatment or conditions in the institution? There are certainly a number of voluntary organisations like the National Association for Mental Health (MIND), The National Association of Young People in Care (NAYPIC) and the Children's Legal Centre, who will advise about handling complaints - whether these can be referred to any of various medical and professional bodies for investigation, or to the Ombudsman. But most complaints from people in hospital are not about major breaches in practice or serious instances of negligence, but about small day to day occurrences which are extremely important to the young people concerned, but are not covered by existing complaints procedures, such as whether your mail is read, being allowed to go into the local town, freedom to have visitors in privacy, and being able to question aspects of the regime without being punished for it.

One solution to this, advanced by Lambeth Council, is the introduction of an independent complaints procedure for children in their care. All young people receive a booklet about the complaints procedure within five days of admission to any Lambeth home. If informal attempts to resolve the complaint fail, young people can see an independent adviser (drawn from local voluntary organisation), and may make a formal complaint in writing. Within ten days the complaint will be heard by a panel with residential social

worker and management representatives. Further appeal may be made to a panel which includes council and lay representatives.

At the hearings each party will make statements, and the young person has the right to be accompanied by two others, who may act on their behalf - only the Panel may ask questions. Confidential information can be heard in private. The panels can decide that a complaint is found, unfound or partly founded; and can give guidance to the Director of Social Services as to appropriate action or recompense.

In Northern Ireland a similar scheme is proposed. All children in care and their parents will receive booklets on how to make a complaint, which includes a list of examples: "you've been locked in your bedroom or any other place in the home..... you weren't allowed to see your parents when it was agreed..... then you should talk to someone". Everyone will also be given a pre-paid complaints card to the Director of Social Services.

The Mental Health Act Commission Draft Code, stresses the importance of information to be given to all patients. Details should be provided about the hospital or home's organisation, and about complaints procedures. This information should be written, as well as given orally: "The civil rights of patients are sometimes presented as being somehow in conflict with their good clinical care. Very rarely is this the case".

Information and effective complaints procedures on their own, are not enough. Codes of Practice are insufficient to protect children's and young people's rights. What is needed is enforceable legislation and specific regulations detailing what is or is not acceptable, to ensure the systematic control of mental institutions, in order that they should provide regimes which have publicly accountable standards of care and treatment and which approximate as closely as possible

to how children and young people live, outside those institutions.

The Health Advisory Service recently investigated provision for disturbed and disturbing adolescents - many of whom are in mental hospitals. Their findings were published as **Bridges Over Troubled Waters**. One of their major recommendations was that:

The law applying to all institutions in which children and young people may be placed should be comprehensively reviewed to ensure that there is a consistent and detailed framework of legal safeguards, including clear duties as appropriate on local and central government to monitor and inspect all institutions; ready access to well-publicised complaints procedures containing an independent element and appropriate means of enforcing regulations.<sup>(10)</sup>

It is long overdue for the Government to act on such recommendations.

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# diversion - a cautionary tale

JEREMY ROCHE

*In the last twenty years the most consistent theme in juvenile justice debates has been the desirability of minimising court appearances. Both the supposed stigmatising effects on juveniles and the perceived need to reduce the case-load of the juvenile court have lent support to a number of initiatives for diversion. These initiatives have mobilised and built on a multi-agency approach to the fight against crime. The purpose of this article is to examine one of the more established practices on diversion - the use of the formal caution. I will argue that rather than being true diversion the process of cautioning is an integral part of a process whereby some juveniles are more rapidly criminalised (through its 'push-in' effect) and that the development of instant cautions is likely to accelerate this trend.*

Prior to the Children and Young Persons Act 1969 a number of police forces, for example, Liverpool, West Ham, had on their own initiative organised a cautioning scheme for juvenile offenders. Even without the Act's policy commitment to diversion over 33,000 juveniles were cautioned in 1968. As a result of the Act, and organisational changes associated with it, this figure trebled by 1977. The scale of increase was fuelled by the establishment in most police forces of separate juvenile bureaux which would on occasions liaise with other social agencies in arriving at a decision whether or not to caution a juvenile. Such liaison arrangements were given a boost by the 'Ditchley Park' circular (Home Office 211/1978) which stated that; ".....juvenile delinquency is not the prerogative of any single agency.....co-operation between all agencies is essential".

This theme was taken up in the Government's White Paper **Young Offenders;**

The Eleventh Report from the Expenditure Committee and the then Government's response to it emphasised the importance of communication and co-operation between all the agencies concerned with juveniles at a local level. The Government cannot emphasise too strongly the importance it attaches to such local co-operation..... The now widespread police practice of giving a formal caution instead of instituting proceedings is therefore of particular importance, especially when the youngsters concerned can also be encouraged to participate in intermediate treatment programmes on a voluntary basis.<sup>(1)</sup>

However it needs to be asked if the effect of giving such cautions is to divert those who otherwise would have appeared

before the juvenile court.

In his research in 1976 into the use of the caution by the police Ditchfield argued that the effect of the 1969 Act has been to dramatically increase police discretion. In effect the police played as large a part as the magistracy and social services in determining how juveniles should be dealt with and most significantly those areas with the largest increase in juvenile offending also had the largest increase in cautioning. He states "With the introduction of the new policy, formal cautioning became an alternative both to prosecution and also to unofficial action."<sup>(2)</sup> It is worthwhile noting that the Guide to the 1969 Act counselled that informal warnings and No Further Action were to be considered just as much alternatives to prosecution as were official or formal cautions.

In their research Frankenburg and Tarling<sup>(3)</sup> tell us that 46% of male juveniles and 71% of female juveniles are cautioned. But this by itself does not answer the question regarding diversion. If we look at actual numbers of juveniles dealt with by the police and the juvenile court we get a more interesting picture.

- Numbers of juveniles cautioned for indictable and non-indictable offences and the numbers of juveniles proceeded against in the juvenile court.

	1968	1977	1983
	in thousands		
persons aged 10-17 cautioned for indictable offences	25.7	100.4	94.6
persons aged 10-17 cautioned for non-indictable offences	7.8	11.5	20.9
sub total	33.5	111.9	115.5
*persons aged 10-17 proceeded against re			
indictable offences	68.2	102.4	82.0
non-indictable offences	31.4	19.0	20.0
sub total	99.6	121.4	102.0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>133.1</b>	<b>232.3</b>	<b>217.5</b>



Sources: Annual Abstract of Statistics No.121 (1985) HMSO. Table 4.6 p.77. Figures for the entire 1968 column are from the Criminal Statistics for England and Wales 1968 (1969) HMSO Cmnd.4098 Tables 1(d) and 1(e). The figures for the proceeded against column for 1977 and 1983 are from the Criminal Statistics for those years. (Cmnd.7289 and 9349 respectively).

\*Note: figures do not include motoring offences.

Allowing for all problems associated with the use of official criminal statistics, in one respect they are quite revealing data - they give you an insight into official practices of the criminal justice system. On this data alone we can see an increase in the numbers of juveniles who are officially processed by the police and the criminal justice system.

Ditchfield<sup>(6)</sup> argues that there has been a tendency to report to the police a number of offenders who would have been ignored or dealt with informally and that the introduction of separate procedures for dealing with juveniles by the police may have had the effect of increasing the numbers of juveniles processed who in the past would have got away with an on the spot warning.

It appears that rather than resulting in the diversion of juveniles cautioning has resulted both in more juveniles being dealt with by the juvenile justice system and increasing the numbers appearing before the juvenile court.

#### Cause for concern

If the effect has been to increase the numbers of juveniles caught in the net of the system, irrespective of whether it results in a court appearance or not, and a consequent increase in the simple fact of state intervention into the lives of more young people and their families (via either the compulsion of the court or the 'co-operation' organised by social workers or probation officers with the juvenile and his/her family) is this not cause for concern? Was this the intention of the 1969 Act? This qualm about the increasing size of the net of juvenile justice is heightened by the two further issues raised by the practice.

Some research points to significant bias in the way juveniles are handled by the police. Quite apart from the general problem of racism in the police most recently discussed in the Policy Studies Institute Report<sup>(6)</sup> there has been research on police cautioning practices affecting juveniles. Landau and Nathan<sup>(6)</sup> found wide variations in cautioning practice from area to area - a finding confirmed by official statistics on cautioning rates from police force areas.<sup>(7)</sup> They also found that white juveniles were more likely to be cautioned than black; indeed in some offense categories they were twice as likely to be cautioned. The other non-legal factor affecting police decision-making was the family background of the juvenile. Police conceptions of criminogenic factors combined with how deferential to authority the juvenile is seem to be crucial influences on the decision as to how to proceed. Black youth, deprived youth, recalcitrant youth all fare badly under this arrangement. Landau and Nathan concluded:

It is recommended, therefore, that the juvenile bureaux adopt a more formal approach based more directly on

the juvenile's previous record and on the severity and circumstances of the offence.<sup>(8)</sup>

For those who find themselves on the bottom rung of the system, ie formal caution, the next factor is crucial. This is the 'push in' effect of the earlier formal administrative decision affecting the child. Quite simply the disposition given to a juvenile offender by the court is affected by the knowledge that s/he was 'diverted' at an earlier stage. Either the knowledge that the offender has been cautioned on a number of prior occasions or offended while on a voluntary IT programme affects the decision of the court. Since 1978<sup>(9)</sup> as a result of a Home Office circular previous cautions given to a juvenile are to be cited in court. So what constituted at first glance an unproblematic exercise in diversion, itself becomes part of the process of criminalisation.

Thus the Association of Directors of Social Services, in their recent report **Children Still in Trouble** state:

Informal IT, when mentioned in a social enquiry report, is taken as evidence that the IT rung in the tariff has been climbed, and that a more severe disposal is required. Social enquiry reports written to acquaint the court with a child's problems can easily be read as a criminal history indicating that a fairly high point in the tariff has already been reached.<sup>(10)</sup>

Likewise, Tutt argues that the expansion in the use of the formal caution has had the effect of eroding the lower levels of the juvenile court tariff.

(The) citation [of a previous caution] is often taken as a statement of previous findings of guilt and consequently the juvenile given a higher tariff disposal than would be predicted on his previous court record. In support of this claim the disposal patterns over the past decade suggest that young offenders are now less likely to receive a conditional discharge or fine than formerly. This may be because magistrates discount these disposals either because they are told or they assume that the offender has already a police caution.<sup>(11)</sup>

It is against this backdrop that we have to evaluate the new Home Office circular on cautioning.<sup>(12)</sup> It is a backdrop on which we see images of discrimination, of policies which criminalise particular sections of youth and on which good intentions have been transformed into bad effects - it is actually a well worn tapestry.

The Circular on the cautioning of offenders falls into two sections. In the section on the cautioning of adult offenders it is stated that prosecution should only take place where there is sufficient evidence and the public interest requires it: there is no general presumption that cautioning will be the normal course. However if you fall into one of three categories you may be more likely to receive a caution. These are the elderly or infirm, young adults, and persons suffering from some form of mental illness or impairment. For other adults the seriousness of the offence and their record will be the key factors. The police are invited to consider "what arrangements for consultation are most appropriate to local circumstances". The proposals for adult offenders mirror in many respects the proposed arrangements for the cautioning of juveniles. Here I am only concerned with

the section dealing with juveniles. In the general preamble to the circular clear encouragement is given to local liaison arrangements to promote more efficient decision-making. However the circular also warns against the dangers of 'widening the net'. It states:

...it should not follow that simply because a juvenile is brought to the police station formal action (eg a caution) is required, as against a decision to take less formal action, or no further action at all.<sup>(13)</sup>

It remains to be seen how particular police forces will respond to this advice, what is being referred to in the phrase 'less formal action' and what criteria will be employed in the decision making. Put crudely, if the police see black youth as the problem population then they will routinely not be given the benefit of this administrative discretion. Consequently it is with black youth that the juvenile court, with all its punitive powers intact, will be dealing. We are assured in the circular that the planned introduction of a Crown Prosecution Service will not interfere with these cautioning arrangements as the decision whether or not to institute proceedings will still reside with the police. In the guidelines proper we are told that;

chief officers will wish to ensure that arrangements for dealing with juveniles are such that prosecution does not occur unless it is absolutely necessary ... it will not be right to prosecute a juvenile solely to secure access to the welfare powers of the court.<sup>(14)</sup>

We then come to the two key features of the guidelines: the instant caution and the involvement of 'other interested agencies' in the decision to caution in some cases.

#### **The instant caution**

This will be given if the formal criteria for issuing a caution are met, namely that there is evidence available to support a prosecution, the juvenile admits the offence and the parent/guardian agrees to the caution and if the offence and the offender's record is not serious. This practice has already developed in some areas.<sup>(15)</sup> Jasbir Singh argues<sup>(16)</sup> that the effect of the instant caution will be to increase the net-widening characteristic of the juvenile justice system. It will do so precisely because of the ease with which the police can give an instant caution; literally within hours of apprehension. This in turn will encourage the regrettable practice of 'interviewing' juveniles without a parent or legal advisor being present. What surely is important regarding instant cautioning is not simply the speed with which it can be administered but the fact that once given it becomes part of the history of the juvenile in the same way as other formal cautions do. Paragraph 13 of the guidelines refers to the keeping records of cautions either until the juvenile is 17 or 3 years have elapsed since the relevant offence. It then stresses the need for proper retrieval procedures should the juvenile get into trouble again.

The police and the legal system have a clear interest in instant cautions.<sup>(17)</sup> It is not self-evident that the juvenile does. S/he may indeed discover that administrative commonsense totally eclipses any rights s/he notionally enjoys.

Concerns about costs and overloading the system combined with the administrative benefits and the possibility of avoid-

ing some court appearances have resulted in a consensus on the desirability of cautioning.

But there is arguably a deeper logic. That is that central to the whole liberal reform project is the scapegoating of some populations in order to save the remaining. To organise the disposition of welfare and support to some youth you have marked them as in some way deserving or potentially responsive to the offer of assistance. These are the blameless or unfortunate. However other populations stalk our streets and imaginations, for example, the irredeemable and the 'hardened young thug'. For these incorrigibles the short sharp shocks of the new regime detention centres are reserved. If there is doubt as to which population the juvenile truly belongs then there is provision in the guidelines for more careful consideration of the matter.

#### **Consultation**

Paragraph 9 refers to the advantage, in cases where the right course of action is yet to be determined, in seeking the advice of other interested agencies on the 'correct' disposal. Again specific factors to be taken into account are referred to, namely the interests of the victim, the offenders circumstances and where offences are committed in groups. This should be read alongside the paragraph in the preamble which states:

.....the issue of these guidelines should also provide the opportunity for a review of local arrangements, where this has not already been done, to ensure that liaison arrangements with social service departments, the probation service and where appropriate the Education Welfare Service, are such as to encourage the participation of those agencies in decision making.<sup>(18)</sup>

This raises the current debate over the desirability of local networks of agencies involved in juvenile justice. The organisation of the community is part of the new policing strategy, whether we are talking about the generation of Neighbourhood Watch schemes, consultative committees comprising local councillors and community group representatives, or the development of multi-agency panels involving a range of other statutory bodies with responsibility for children. There is a difference between the development of a corporate policing strategy which harnesses particular sections of the community (statutory and voluntary) to ends set by the police and genuine dialogue between police and the policed. With particular reference to the multi-agency panel Singh sees it as marking "a new stage in co-operation between state agencies with the police in the centre".<sup>(19)</sup> He sees them as giving to the police an enhanced opportunity to gather information on wider sections of the local population. The development of such co-operative arrangements was envisaged in the Children and Young Person's Act 1969.<sup>(20)</sup> What is happening at present can be seen simply as those involved in juvenile crime voluntarily coming together to discuss issues of common concern without the compulsion of statute. Others may question why it is happening now and suggest that there are ulterior motives behind the new enthusiasm for co-operation.

#### **Wider Issues**

There are still unanswered questions about the contexts within which juveniles admit to the offence. There is con-

cern about both the accuracy of such admissions and the manner in which they are arrived. This concern was expressed by some magistrates prior to the Home Office circular 70/1978 which required the citing of cautions in subsequent court appearances in their refusal to allow the police to cite such information. Practice varied but there was a sizeable body of opinion which disapproved, hence the need for the circular. The fact that the parents have to agree to the giving of the caution is often cited as a safeguard. This overlooks the power of the police to define the situation for the juvenile and the parents, the fact that the juvenile will have already admitted the offence and therefore perhaps the best thing is to get the whole thing over and done with minimum fuss (eg an instant caution). The new emphasis on instant cautions will encourage the police to ignore the legal rights of those they are questioning; the police will hardly see lawyers as adding to the speed and simplicity involved in the new arrangements.

In a report in the Times the NCCL expressed concern over the treatment of juveniles arising out of the Tottenham disturbances. The Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 is criticised for failing to provide clear statutory rules about the questioning of children and young persons in police custody. Specifically, the Report notes the non-statutory code of practice which prohibits the interviewing of juveniles or asking them to make a signed statement in the absence of either a parent, social worker, or independent responsible adult. Yet the NCCL states:

In the eight cases of which we have full details it is clear that if social workers were likely to inform juveniles of their rights then they were either asked not to attend the police station or not to go back.<sup>(21)</sup>

Tutt draws our attention to differing police practices with regard to the decision to caution or prosecute. He sketched two models of practice, the welfare approach and the justice approach. The central distinguishing feature is that in the former it is the officers of the juvenile bureau who process the case and make the decision on prosecution while in the latter this lies with the arresting officer. Tutt's purpose is to emphasise the variations in police practice.<sup>(22)</sup> This may lead us to conclude that there is more political space for progressive action than we might think. What rewards might be derived from the introduction of these new guidelines and the invited multi-agency panels?

Pratt argues<sup>(23)</sup> that within such arrangements it may be possible for social-welfare professionals to effectively challenge police understandings and models of delinquency and to argue for progressive change within the local juvenile system. The police however will remain gatekeepers to the system and the final decision-makers.

Two changes would give more grounds for optimism:

- [i] the ending of the instant charging practice;
- [ii] the panel should have the final say regarding the decision to prosecute.

The effect of these two changes would be to reduce police discretion as to how to proceed with the case, to oblige the police to listen seriously to competing arguments about what should be done for the child, and therefore to erode more

traditionalist ideas among the police about their role and their fight against juvenile crime. Further, an end to the practice of citing cautions would enable the courts to deal with the juvenile as social innocent: this is important given the courts' increasing punitiveness which is fuelled by the presentation of damning histories. Norman Fowler, Secretary of State for the Social Services, commented on this trend at a recent conference on Diversion:

It has become a commonplace that the numbers of young people who have actually undergone the custodial experience has doubled and doubled again over the past 15 years or so, out of all proportion to the increase in juvenile criminality. The Children and Young Persons Act 1969 was going to limit and reduce the use of custody for young people: whatever the reasons it certainly did not succeed in doing that.<sup>(24)</sup>

The prospect of keeping kids out of damaging situations is enticing; the prospect of diluting the social power of the police is also enticing; the overall project of trying to understand more fully social behaviour to give assistance without blaming people is also one to be supported. And yet I have doubts.

### Conclusion

Since 1969 the number of juveniles caught in the net of juvenile justice has increased dramatically. In the past seven years not only has this trend continued but it has taken place in the context of an evermore strident rhetoric on getting tough with juvenile criminals. The Criminal Justice Act 1982 and the development of new regime detention centres are part of this trend. At the same time, down at the 'soft end', schemes to assist youth are proliferating. Most define themselves as being concerned to divert children from the harmful consequences of the formal juvenile justice system. However, the statistics show clearly that 'new' populations of youth are being drawn in by these schemes and that the juvenile court is becoming increasingly punitive. The new cautioning guidelines and current developments in policing practice have to be seen in this context.

If one really wanted to divert juveniles from the punitive and stigmatising court this could be achieved by the introduction of the unimplemented sections of the CYPA 1969.<sup>(25)</sup> This would also dramatically reduce the juvenile court's powers to punish those who appear before it. Why has this not been done? Precisely because current diversion proposals and practices are built upon the possibility of the use of the last resort that is the court. The new arrangements to be effective instruments of persuasion require the possibility of compulsion. Hence one cannot view diversion as separate from the hard edge of the juvenile court with its punitive sentencing practices; diversion exists in relation to it and has the ironical effect of diverting our attention away from what goes on inside it because this concerns the irredeemable. Society is now not responsible for these uncontrollable youths and there is no possibility of doing anything constructive with them. The new schemes and decision-making structures are about preventive action: and if the 'gift' is refused the youth must be to blame after all. All that can be done has been done. They have had their chance and now deserve all they get. Diversion is not about reducing either the numbers processed or the intensity of any intervention.

It is about an extension of the numbers processed and the grounds for doing so. It is about the rise of new professions. The key question is **who** benefits? It is not clear that juveniles will do so under the present offer.

For those working with youth, policies and practices which challenge and contradict existing structures of juvenile justice should be pursued - not ones which easily co-exist with existing arrangements. By questioning current developments I am not intending to support the practices of the juvenile court, the magistracy and the justice's clerks. Nor do I think that this is a necessary consequence of my argument. Indeed present arrangements operate ironically to sustain the most reactionary elements of the juvenile justice system with its accommodation of 'progressive' developments. After all the juvenile court still gets lots of business while welfare professionals who, having come to terms with the problematic status of their knowledge of delinquency, can now feel better in their role of sensitive and efficient managers of delinquency. The clients of this benign management may feel differently. What unites many of those who criticise the development of this administration is a distrust of the state and a suspicion of 'rulers bearing justice'. Cohen argues that present shifts are about society's primary institutions being enlisted in the regulation of youth. He writes:

Far from avoiding the touch of the formal system, the primary institutions have been invaded..... Far from there being any less reliance on experts, these same experts are simply working within the primary institutions..... the community institutions have been absorbed by the formal control system.<sup>(26)</sup>

A more progressive strategy might include a recognition of the proper role of a juvenile court albeit stripped of its punitive powers, and of competent child advocacy. At the very least it should seek to broaden the debate out from its narrow victim-blaming focus to problematise not only the shortcomings of pursuing accountability through law but also the social conditions of existence of those who are criminalised. In short, to see the operation of the criminal justice system as being part of the process of socially silencing these populations. As Pearson reminds us

In the depoliticised 'welfare model' of social problems the idea that there might actually be someone there in the deviant class who is saying something (to us, for example) is denied; nor is it something one looks for in the mob. It is as if those things existed outside and apart from society.<sup>(27)</sup>

It seems that the rights of children and families caught up in the system will be further eroded; that the police will increase their influence over a range of institutions concerned with youth; that diversion and the use of the instant caution is in part about providing an even more finely graded response to the criminal population which allows the reduction of costs while ensuring social defence. The history of the system of punishment and control in this country is full of examples of good intentions, of great promises, of getting it right this time, and of great disappointments. Instead of instant acceptance of stated good intentions, and asserted good effects we should ask ourselves whether juveniles would not be better served by a justice system which recognises human dignity, treats those it deals with as entitled to

certain basic rights (including access to a lawyer of their choice) and does not force impossible choices upon them.

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# youth work and ethnic identity in ireland

DESMOND BELL

*This paper examines the relationship between urban working class youth culture and the sectarian separation experienced by young people in Northern Ireland. The education system and the isolating effect of mass unemployment have reinforced the ghettoisation of youth. The author suggests that current attempts by education and youth work policy makers to portray sectarianism as a structure of personal prejudice, which can be tackled by reform in the school curriculum, are misplaced. Such approaches fail to take account of the active role of youth-cultural practices in sustaining Loyalist and Republican political and cultural identities.*

Of the EEC countries, Ireland (32 counties) has the greatest proportion of its population under twenty-one. Northern Ireland although having a birth rate somewhat lower than that of the twenty-six counties that comprise the Republic of Ireland, has a birth rate significantly higher than any other area of Britain - and a correspondingly more youthful age structure. In 1981 Northern Ireland had 26% of its population under 15, the highest in Britain. Within Northern Ireland, 38% of the Roman Catholic population were under 16 in 1971, as opposed to 28% of those declaring themselves Protestant.

**Table 1: Birth Rate per 1000**

	1966	1971	1981
Republic	22.3	22.7	21.6
N.I.	22.5	20.7	17.6
England	18.0	16.0	12.8

Source: Regional Trends 1983 (U.K.). Central Statistical Office, Dublin

For its part Irish youth has, notwithstanding its demographic strength, kept a low profile in sub-cultural terms - at least in comparison with its more colourful British counterparts. This may of course be a function of media representation. As Laurie Taylor has argued,<sup>(1)</sup> the youth of Northern Ireland has only been 'visible' on the barricades of Belfast and Derry. More recently we might add, it has been 'spotted' in the dole queues and drug clinics, profiled against a landscape of urban malaise, mass unemployment and rising crime.

In Ireland class differences and conflicts remain submerged within popular consciousness underneath a rhetoric of

national culture and identity. Youth sub-cultures, where they have been recognised at all, have been understood entirely in age specific terms. Within the popular imagination the generation gap has been stretched out along the axis of modernisation. The changing position of youth in Irish society since the end of the 1950s has become inextricably associated with a collective experience of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation during this period in the Republic.

Indeed it has been frequently argued that such is the level of social and cultural 'integration' of young people into a cross generational shared 'Irish way of life', that no distinctive and indigenous youth cultures exist. Specifically dissonant teenage styles (the 'mods' and 'rockers' of the '60s', or the 'punks' and 'skins' of the '70s'), and the forms of collective behaviour and consumption associated with these, have been represented as the product of commercial and media hard sell. Localised within city life they are of course, ultimately of foreign import. Youth sub-culture, understood as initiatives style, is rakishly un-Irish.

However, to represent youth cultures and parental 'Irish' culture as irreconcilable opposites is to hypostatise the latter, presenting 'Irishness' in the Republic, or 'Britishness' in the North as static and unproblematic for its bearers. As soon as we take into account the complex totality of ethnic and political identities at play with Ireland's two states today, the diverse and problematic character of Irish or British (not to mention an 'Ulster' identity) becomes obvious. The young inherit not only the certitudes but also the contradictions of their parental culture.

In Northern Ireland, as we all know, the sphere of cultural and political identities is a fiercely contested one. Although the United Kingdom is the de facto sovereign power in Northern Ireland, the Republic continues to assert a territorial claim to the six northern counties, a claim enshrined in Articles 2 and 3 of its constitution. The Catholic minority in Northern Ireland continues to relate to a pan-Irish political identity. In turn, the Protestant population in Northern Ireland remains overwhelmingly attached to the British connection. However there is evidence of some uncertainty amongst the Protestant population as to their felt sense of national identity.<sup>(2)</sup> Thus although an Irish identity has been increasingly rejected by the vast majority of Protestants who embrace a political allegiance to the Union, the British identity competes with an Ulster identification as a focus of Pro-

testant ethnic consciousness. In particular, it would seem to be the case that amongst working class Protestants, particularly those who embrace militant loyalism (gauged for instance in support of the Revered Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party) the Ulster identity, with its aggressive assertion of Protestant self-reliance and distrust of British policy, is the predominant one.<sup>(3)</sup> As elsewhere, ethnicity in Northern Ireland has become intricately interwoven with the dynamics of class and political mobilisation.

How do young people in Northern Ireland relate to a parental ethnicity formed against a background of political mobilisation and confrontation? In essence each communal political tradition, Unionist and Nationalist, denies the legitimacy of the other's declared ethnic identity. Does parental culture-as-ethnic identity confront young people as a problematic inheritance in the context of the on going political crisis around the unresolved national question? Given the apparent uncertainties amongst the Protestant adult population as to their national identity - British or Ulster - as opposed to the relatively stable Irish identification of the Catholic population in Northern Ireland, how do Protestant young people, particularly working class ones, handle the ambiguities of being British in Ireland? Why does militant loyalism as a set of political and cultural practices seem to have a particular attraction to working class Protestant youth? Is there a symbiotic relation between the dynamics of urban working class youth culture with its concern with collective identities and territorial assertion and the ethnic boundary maintenance practice of adult life in Northern Ireland?

Given the expressed concern with the issue of national identification and its ethnic roots that is evident amongst both Catholic and Protestant young people in Northern Ireland, I would argue that we need to know more about the structural role of youth cultural practices in the reproduction as well as subversion of parental culture as national ideology and ethnic identity.

Take for example Loyalist popular culture which is my own particular research interest. Contemporary Loyalist street culture is based around a traditional calendar of festivals and parades ('eleventh night', the 'glorious twelfth' of July, the '12th August' celebration of the 'Relief of Derry', the 'Burning of Lundy' on 18th December). These parades are accompanied by a symbolic demarcation of a Protestant sense of territory via display of ethnic iconography (wall and kerb markings, murals, graffiti, flag and insignia display). They are also accompanied by a perennial round of street confrontations and mobilisations. These more informal activities, beyond the hierarchical control of the 'official' Orange organisations, have been the almost exclusive preserve of male working class teenagers.

As regards Northern Ireland, sociologists and educationalists have been slow to recognise the independent role of youth cultural practices in the reproduction of ethnic identities. Sectarian youth practices concerned with the celebration of Loyalist or Republican identities are seen as derivative from adult ideology and practice. In Northern Ireland the ghettoisation of residential life and the strengthening civil and military conflict, has been adduced

as a factor, additional to the basic 'traditionalism' of Irish society, to account for the wholesale 'integration' of youth into their parents' sectarian values.

### Youth and Ghettoization

Indeed the everyday lives of young working class adolescents in Northern Ireland have been increasingly circumscribed by the materiality of sectarian divisions. Young working-class people in Northern Ireland perceive that it is necessary to live their lives according to a code of daily survival which dictates a strict recognition of sectarian territorial boundaries. This learned and naturalised code reinforces the long term effects of residential segregations and of a system of religiously segregated schooling and training. It rationalises for young people their experience of a segmented labour market.

With regard to residential segregation, between 1969 and 1974, during one of the worst periods of sectarian violence and intimidation in the troubled history of Northern Ireland, an estimated 60,000 people, representing nearly a quarter of all households in Belfast moved house. Since then the nature and direction of migration flows within Belfast and Derry have recorded the hardening pattern of religious residential segregation within these cities.<sup>(4)</sup>

In the 1960's city centre pubs, cafes, clubs and dance halls provided physical space for cross religious mixing. Pop and rock music and their attendant styles provided a cultural Habitus within which a non-sectarian youth culture could briefly flower. However, in the current period, the recreational activity of young people like their educational and working lives is localised and segregated.

Northern Ireland's secondary school system is not only a selective one, but largely segregated on religious lines.<sup>(5)</sup> More of Northern Ireland's teenagers remain on at these schools beyond the statutory leaving age than in other regions in the UK (1981, 38% aged 16 or over remained at school).

As in Britain, mass unemployment has severed young working class people from the social links that the world of work provides. It separates them from the occupational culture that bound together the generations, and which as a class culture mediated, to some extent, the sectarian divide. This tendency for the lives of young people to become increasingly privatised as a result of unemployment has further exacerbated the tendency towards the ghettoisation of residential life in Northern Ireland.

As of 5th April, 1984, there were 4,327 male eighteen year olds and 4,919 male nineteen year olds registered as unemployed, representing roughly 28% and 31% of the respective age cohorts. To gauge accurately the extent of the marginalisation of the working class youth of Northern Ireland from the world of 'real work' (i.e. as opposed to State training and 'job creation' schemes) we need to examine the 1981 census data on economic activity for males in the sixteen to twenty-four age range.

### Economic Activity and Employment Status by Age (males)

	16	17	18	19	20	20-24
Total	15,339	14,771	14,441	13,661	13,836	50,085
Total Economically Inactive (students)	11,298	5,326	3,827	2,732	2,512	5,042
Total Economically Active	4,041	9,445	10,614	10,878	11,332	42,572
Out in Employment	1,820	3,328	3,210	3,242	3,268	10,783
Total in Employment	2,221	6,117	7,404	7,637	8,056	31,789

Source: Northern Ireland 1981 Census of Population Economic Activity Report.

In 1981 (and the unemployment crisis has considerably worsened since then in Northern Ireland) in the 16 to 18 age band, less than one in three of the males was in paid employment. Those leaving and looking for work are increasingly finding themselves in State organised 'training and work experience' schemes.

As in Britain all 16 year olds who have left school and cannot find a job are guaranteed a year's full time vocational preparation. The Northern Ireland Department of Employment does not give a similar guarantee to 17 year olds but in practice 17 year olds who wish to participate in the Youth Training Programme (YTP) are able to do so. As of 27th April 1984 there were 9,550 young people in Northern Ireland involved with the YTP scheme, almost one in six of the 16 to 18 year old cohort. The Government is currently considering whether to make attendance at YTP schemes virtually compulsory for 16 year olds by removing the entitlement to supplementary benefit of those who refuse places on the schemes.

These schemes although not organised on a confessional basis tend by their very location to serve either Protestant or Catholic areas, but not both. Accordingly they end up effectively religiously segregated.

In addition, given the reality of sectarian intimidation in the workplace, for the young job seeker, the physical scope and direction of any job search is circumscribed by the sectarian geography of the major urban areas.

All in all then, young working-class in Northern Ireland have probably less daily experience of those from the other side of the religious divide today than at any other time in the history of the Northern Ireland state.

As ghettoization has become prolonged it has become habitualised, part of a taken for granted every day life. For young people, the perceived hazards of sectarian bother on the streets have tended to encourage the natural gregariousness of youth. Youth peer groups have provided the cultural milieu for the exploration and renewal of Loyalist and Republican communal solidarities.

### Youth, Sectarianism and Educational Policy

Since 1968 the attention of many educationalists in Northern Ireland has been centred almost solely on the role of segregated schooling in the institutionalisation of sectarian attitudes. Following the work of the School Cultural Studies Project<sup>6</sup> at the New University of Ulster, attempts have

been made to develop and implement a non-sectarian secondary school social studies curriculum. This aims to combat sectarian prejudice at school level by encouraging pupils to explore the diverse political and cultural traditions of Northern Ireland. More recently the Northern Ireland Department of Education has launched the more cautious 'Education for Mutual Understanding' Scheme. Since 1968 there has also been a massive expansion of the State funded Youth Services, entailing the partial professionalisation of youth work as a step to challenging the dominance of the traditional uniformed organisations with their confessional basis. The Youth Service in Northern Ireland has embraced, following a major review of services in 1977, the diffuse objective of promoting: "tolerance and mutual understanding among people and a willingness to communicate in a society with diverse traditions and outlooks". Its claim to additional State Funding has rested, to some extent, on its perceived potential to combat, "the destructive influences of paramilitary organisations", by providing "more constructive outlets for their (young peoples) energies and aspirations".<sup>7</sup>

Similar concerns with 'sectarianism awareness training' have been central to the development of the social education curricula within the YOP and now YTP schemes.

Such an approach, to be found right across the range of the State's educational and training programmes, has been quite explicitly correctional in character. Such a stance has of course articulated well with official constructions of sectarianism as a 'social problem' to be tackled by clearly delimited, state-sponsored, educational and youth work initiatives. Within this correctional stance there has been a tendency to play down the influence of youth cultural activities in the formation and celebration of communal identities of a potentially sectarian character.

The British State since Direct Rule has continued to represent the 'Ulster question' as a social problem rather than as an issue of contested sovereignty. Sectarian practices in Northern Ireland are usually approached from a position of high moralism. Ultimately they are represented as the irrational preservation of ancient animosities. This they indeed partly are. However, they are somewhat more than this. Orange culture, for instance, also functions to encourage localistic loyalties and is central to a Protestant sense of community and cultural identity. We may regard this as a good thing or a bad thing. As educationalists concerned with the lived experience of the young adult we ignore this fact at our own peril.

Operating within a correctional perspective consonant with a Direct Rule politic, official educational policy announces as one of its aims the combatting of sectarianism. This it understands as a **structure of personal prejudice**. Sponsored research on ethnicity, sectarianism and youth in Northern Ireland has developed within this correctional stance addressed to the 'pathology' of sectarian attitudes and behaviour.

When we actually examine the sentiments of young people in Northern Ireland in relation to sectarian division and conflict, what is striking in their views is not a display of personal

prejudice but a begrudging recognition of the naturalness and inevitability of sectarian conflict. As a Protestant working class schoolboy from East Belfast commented to us, when we asked him about his relations with his Catholic peers;

*Ah, I would mix but I don't get the chance. Not only if you mix..... you don't only expect trouble from the other side - Catholics - but you also expect some from your own people that maybe live in the same street as you. Because they maybe would hit you because you were playing with a Catholic. They don't like it, they don't play so maybe they'd hit you. Maybe you would get hit by other Catholics. It's the same for the other person if he mixes with them. I'd like to mix but I find it easier if you didn't mix and just kept yourself to yourself.*

The sectarian categorisation of everyday life and differentiation of symbolic and residential space is experienced in a truly Durkeimian sense as a 'reality sui generis', that is, as an objective constraint intrinsic to life in Northern Ireland. The recognition of this reality in no way, in itself, implies sectarian prejudice.

Two school leavers from the staunchly Protestant Shankill area of West Belfast explore this:

#### First Youth

*"Well I never fought with them, I never had to. I threw stones and all at them like, but I never had anything really against them, cause to me I would like to get mixed community groups - both sides - and see what they are like. That's what should be happening.....I mean it's no use doing it now with the likes of fifteen years old, but it's the kids of five to ten that's got to grow up in it, and I would like them to see them getting on well with Catholics. Going away with them letting them see what they are like. Most of the kids think that every Catholic is an I.R.A. man".*

#### Second Youth (discussing his experience of a mixed holiday)

*"I mean going away with them, well look at the time that we went to Holland - sure we went up into the airport, there was a row between this Catholic and Protestant, it was cooled down and over. We got to Holland, we had no problem at all. Back again, they came over into our estate for a while and we went over to their estate for a while. One night we went over to their estate and we got stoned. You know you can take them away alright, but it's coming back, you just come back to the same thing. You would have to take them away and keep them.*

This willingness to participate in sectarian street violence and widespread belief in the inevitability of such physical conflict, yet expressed preference for 'getting on well with Catholics', may strike outsiders as somewhat paradoxical. Given how common this response seems to be amongst young working class people in Northern Ireland, it suggests that attempts by social researchers to treat sectarianism as a structure of **personal prejudice**, rather than as a Habitus of social and ideological relations governing the lived experience of youth (and their elders), are misplaced.

#### Educational Dilemmas

The problem for those involved with the education of young adults in Northern Ireland, including those involved in the proliferating educational and training machinery of the MSC (who have responsibility for the YTP and allied schemes), is how do they relate to this cultural Habitus? Do they ignore it, hope that it will go away? Should they attempt to banish it from the hallowed walls of the educational precinct? After all the adult work has not shown itself to be particularly adept at addressing the political and cultural differences that separate the two communities in Northern Ireland. Why should the school, youth centre and training workshop be expected to tackle the apparently irresolvable? Should these institutions not function as havens of respite from the adult world of sectarian bitterness, with political discussion and argument declared out of bounds?

Or, on the other hand, do we as educators in the field of social and cultural education for young adults, have a particular responsibility to encourage a critical dialogue between the two cultures, with all their strengths and shibboleths? Should not young people be encouraged to fully participate in this dialogue?

If we opt for the latter approach, and wish to avoid the current dialogue of the deaf which currently passes for political debate in the public forum in Northern Ireland, then I would suggest the following. Rather than attempting to manufacture, in the educational closet, an irredeemably artificial rapprochement between Protestants and Catholics, we might encourage young working class people to critically examine **their own** culture of tradition. In a sense young people through their youth cultures are already engaged in this task on the streets. In truth there can be no real mutual understanding without an adequate self-understanding of one's own culture and its limits and contradictions.

*This paper is extracted from a larger working paper which outlines in greater details the research project on Youth Culture and Ethnicity in Northern Ireland, which I am currently involved in. This project is being funded by the Economic and Social Research Council, London. Copies of this working paper are available from me.*

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### **"Teachers' attitudes during a period of Industrial Dispute - A Survey"**

*During the teachers' industrial action, the media devoted considerable time and space to airing the views, opinions and occasional invective of the teachers, their unions, the government, local authorities and parents. Little was heard from, arguably, the most important body involved in the situation: the pupils.*

*The following survey undertaken by a group of 6th year pupils at The Piggott School, Reading is interesting not only as a piece of 'soft' research, but as a forum enabling their opinions to come across quite strongly.*

In our study of research methods, in sociology, we decided that an approach using direct experience might prove interesting. We chose to study our teachers and their attitudes towards their current industrial dispute: such a vital topic we felt, should ensure a copious response. We should also learn for ourselves the problems likely to be encountered in carrying out a fairly basic, small scale research investigation.

Our research team of four sixth-form students (one girl and three boys) attend a comprehensive school. We realised from the beginning that our findings might be far from representative, our school of about 800 pupils and 50 full-time and part-time teachers, is situated in a rural and quite affluent Thames Valley village.

We took our sample of all 50 teachers, including the Headmaster and his deputy headteachers, during the last two weeks of term, December 1985. Our subject teacher did not pre-empt our initiative and decision making processes, although we found his administrative experience very valuable.

There are roughly equal numbers of male and female teachers of diverse ages in our school, and approximately the same number of staff in each faculty. We soon realised our advantages of easy accessibility, low costs and having a

sample with whom, for the most part, we had established relationships. We felt we were working to a 'tight deadline' with certain similarities to a political election poll, and thought that if we used tact, enthusiasm and efficiency, then we could ensure 'results'.

Initially we devised a questionnaire and carried out a pilot study on a representative sample of teachers. We were successful in obtaining responses speedily but thoroughly completed. The teachers were informed that they formed part of a pilot study and that the final questionnaire would be modified if necessary. At this stage we all selected specific tasks: as promised, a 350 word report was typed and delivered to the participants in our pilot study to show our courtesy and commitment. We hoped staff-room conversation would prompt a high response from reluctant teachers.

On obtaining a staffing list, which was arranged in faculty groups, we numbered the names and allocated ourselves about twelve teachers each. Some staff commented that they could be identified by the number in the top left-hand corner of their questionnaire, but we pointed out that we needed a check list for the returns and anonymity would be preserved. We achieved a response from 42 of the 50 staff (nearly 85%): 3 teachers said they considered the questionnaire too personal and the other 5 said they were too busy at the end of term. A lot of teachers commented that they were unusually tired due to industrial action.

There were ten questions on the questionnaire, the final three were open-ended and related to contractual and professional commitments. The first question enquired into why teachers had entered the profession. Most had done so in order to work with children, to share their subject with others, and to achieve self-fulfilment. This question was followed by an attempt to gauge current feelings about job satisfaction. Most teachers enjoyed their work and get job satisfaction, we found. In response to Question 2, 80% of teachers, when pupils themselves, had seen their teachers as middle-class. Several teachers commented that they had little or no concept of class differences, in follow up unstructured interviews, two teachers said they thought their teachers were 'classless'. Now, as teachers, a similar proportion saw themselves in the way they had referred to their teachers in terms of class, although further interviews caused us to realise the complexity of this issue associated with self-assignment within social stratification. About 15% of teachers said society viewed them as working-class because they were paid so little; and so were forced to consider themselves working-class.

Would a 30% pay rise change teachers' attitudes during this dispute? Surprisingly for us, this question, Question 5, produced stronger requests for professional recognition and status than for a wage settlement itself, which most assumed realistically would not reach 10%. Comments received generally referred to the need for the present government to put its trust back into the State education system and to offer more confidence and encouragement. Obviously comments suggested an improvement if teachers were to reach a 'reasonable' pay settlement and a year's industrial action would be seen as worthwhile, but elements of deep-rooted discontent had to be resolved. One such element was the low

morale as exemplified by very poor career prospects felt by 70% of the teachers. Most teachers rated judges and doctors as deserving greater remuneration than teachers who consider their own profession just above mid-way in the scale of nine, mainly service, occupations listed. However, this question, Question 7 received a 40% non-response rate and interviews tended to indicate that considerable discussion had been aroused by this question, many value judgements had been made and several staff found the question either too demanding or nonsensical. A clear trend we discovered was that teachers rate themselves on about the same level as policemen and policewomen.

The final three questions sought open responses. Question 8 asked teachers' views on a professional contract. Having taken some notice of media coverage of the dispute we assumed that there must be some opposition by teachers to contracts of employment. However, 80% of our sample viewed contracts positively: 40% felt contracts were necessary and some of these even considered contracts as "long overdue". Only 10% opposed contracts and discussed its constraints with feelings of suspicion, uncertainty or as acting against their professional integrity.

Question 9 asked whether lunch-time supervision and extra-curricular activities formed part of teachers' professional commitments. The majority (over 90%) did not see lunch-time duties as a professional commitment but certainly most (over 80%) viewed extra-curricular activities as an important extension of their classroom teaching role. To this question we received the widest range of responses from monosyllabic retorts to some quite lengthily expressed opinions. Interestingly 25% of the teachers favoured reasonable payments for lunch-time duties but that they should remain voluntary. But it looks like the government needs to buy back "good-will" though.

The final Question 10, enquired whether the teachers had regretted entering the profession. The majority (nearly 90%) expressed few regrets although some (about 25%) expressed reservations about their future feelings should industrial unrest persist. However, very few teachers, although invited to do so, offered alternative occupations in which they considered they might achieve great success. The small group in our sample which seemed more inclined to seriously consider alternative occupations were the younger male teachers contemplating marriage, house purchase, etc. One teacher found it frustrating that he cannot "afford a decent meal because I have to worry about taxing the car", after working a sixty or seventy hour week.

We enjoyed our brief survey. We learnt much about some simple research techniques, for example, when and where not to approach our teachers. Between us we already knew most staff quite well and the reversal, with us setting them "homework" was an interesting experience. The only female member of our group was the sole achiever of a 100% response rate and this caused some unusual group discussions. A pretty girl may be more successful in getting results than a middle-aged social science professor.

Attempting to correlate and produce valid results from just 10 questions gave us unexpected and time consuming prob-

lems. We obviously chose an issue in which most teachers are involved, and discovered great commitment to their cause. This research, using a questionnaire and several unstructured interviews, provided interesting Christmas-time discussion between staff and pupils. It has certainly illuminated the complex issue for us.

Sue Lawlor  
Patrick Lynch

Donald McEwan  
Ian Tombleson

#### Appendix

#### Questionnaire Relating to Teacher Attitudes during a period of Industrial Unrest

1. Please number the top 4 reasons in rank order for which you entered education as a teacher (i.e. No.1. is your main reason).
  - \* To work with children
  - Personal fulfilment
  - Continue your own education
  - Sharing subject
    - Help educate others
    - School holidays
    - Other(s) (please state)\*
2. Do you currently get job satisfaction from your work?
  - Always
  - Nearly always
  - Sometimes
  - Rarely
  - Never
3. When you were a pupil did you consider your teacher as?
  - \* Working class
  - Middle class
  - Upper class
  - Other (please state)\*
4. Do you now see yourself as:
  - \* Working class
  - Middle class
  - Upper class
  - Other (please state)\*
5. If you were awarded a 30% pay rise would your attitude to the present dispute be? (please tick below)
  - \* Satisfied
  - Felt it justified the industrial action
  - Improve State education
  - Improved State education
  - Require other considerations (e.g. contract)
  - Comment(s)\*
6. How do you rate current promotion prospects for you in the teaching profession?
  - Excellent
  - Good
  - Fair
  - Poor
7. Rank the following nine professions in order of who you think **should** be paid the most, i.e. put a 1 by the one you think should be paid the most, a 2 by the second highest etc.
  - Social worker
  - Teacher
  - Doctor
  - Nurse
  - Miner
  - Police
  - Judge
  - Librarian
  - Vicar
8. Briefly state your views on a professional contract for all teachers.
9. Do you view lunch-time supervision and extra curricular activities as part of your professional commitments?
10. Do you regret having entered teaching? If your answer is 'yes' please comment on your response and give the alternative occupations at which you may have achieved greater success.

Thank you for co-operating in our research and we shall inform you of our findings.

# reviews in this issue:

**John Holt**  
"NO HOLIDAY CAMPS - juvenile  
justice & the politics of law and order"

**Val Carpenter and Kerry Yeung**  
COMING IN FROM THE MARGINS  
Youth Work With Girls and Young  
Women

**Elizabeth Burney**  
SENTENCING YOUNG PEOPLE  
What went wrong with the Criminal  
Justice Act 1982?

**HOW WE SEE THE WORLD**  
O.U. Video

**Sheila Macloed**  
THE ART OF STARVATION

**Alison Skinner**  
A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF  
INTERMEDIATE TREATMENT  
1968-84

**Lucy Ball and Theo Sowa**  
GROUPWORK AND I.T.

**N. Dorn and N. South**  
HELPING DRUG USERS

**Simon Nicholson**  
OUT OF TOWN, OUT OF MIND?  
(A Study of Rural Unemployment)

**GIRO - Is this the Modern World?**  
Birmingham FVW Video

**B. Troyna and J. Williams**  
RACISM, EDUCATION AND THE  
STATE

**John Holt**  
"NO HOLIDAY CAMPS - juvenile justice & the  
politics of law and order"  
Association for Juvenile Justice 1985

The gap between radical criminology and intermediate treatment (IT) practice for many years seemed unbridgeable. This handbook attempts to redress this situation by linking radical criminological perspectives with IT practice itself. By and large, it succeeds.

The development of juvenile justice policy is chartered, in particular the collapse of the post-war social democratic consensus with its ideals of "welfarism" which has been followed by a more authoritarian attitude to welfare services in general, as well as to, of course, crime and its control. It is also pointed out that both the social democratic and the new authoritarian right perspectives are obsessed with individual pathology to the exclusion of societal, structural factors. IT itself, with its move from (at least in its more progressive forms) "at risk"/preventative work to the heavy end management of delinquency is explained, through this positive change has still left us with a situation whereby the State's social control mechanisms have been extended. Thorpe et al's work which debunked the idea of preventative IT is supported but on the other hand the idea of the "correctional curriculum" is seen as accepting the ideology of the "law and order" brigade by implicitly suggesting that if the curriculum fails then custody should prevail.

Turning more directly to some of the issues raised, the point is made that orthodox criminology tends to concentrate on the working class offender as the main source of criminal activity in society, and spends much of its thought developing social control methods of detecting and reducing such offending. Such an approach ignores the fact that "crime" and "criminality" are ideologically constructed. Also ignored is the notion of hegemony whereby the dominant social group in society extends its economic authority into popular culture, ie the way the political ideas of the dominant social group become the ideas of the general population largely through the use of the media - in the field of crime/delinquency witness, for example, the current panic over football hooliganism with the emphasis being on severe and punitive sanctions. Radical criminology also rejects crude, deterministic notions of the State and its use of the law - it is a myth, for example, that the law is above politics and dispenses justice for all, but rather the criminal justice system is used for controlling powerless and subordinate groups in society.

One of the main themes is that the ideology of "law and order" must be made explicit and challenged. For example, short, sharp, shock "experiments" in detention centres have been extended despite the Home Office's own research which emphasises that such regimes have no effect on reconviction rates. The use of custody, whether it be DC, youth custody or prison, can only be justified in Right ideological terms as a symbol of social order regardless of whether it reduces offending.

Where does all this leave IT practice? Holt ends with a "framework for future action" suggesting that, for example, "consensus" definitions of crime and criminality should be questioned, the discourse of treatment and punishment should not be used, practitioners should take a pro-active role as advocate for young offenders under their

jurisdiction and for community involvement in juvenile justice, etc. Other suggestions refer to the development of "atonement strategies" (reparation and restitution) and, what are by now surely common strategies, of using the law to protect offenders wherever possible, the use of appeals and monitoring of the juvenile system. All this is geared towards the replacement of custody in the juvenile justice field.

A criticism relates to the fact that despite an acknowledgement of the relationship of structural inequalities of wealth and power to juvenile delinquency and crime in general, no direct IT practice means of approaching this is addressed, although reference is made to Mathieson's idea of working from within the existing State system. Arguably a more concrete way of working towards a future, more just and equal society is needed (not-withstanding Mathieson's point that initiatives aimed towards radical social change are quickly nullified by the State either through definition as "revolutionary" or "unrealistic", or through incorporation into the existing social control mechanisms of society). Reference, for example, could have been made to politicisation or consciousness raising whereby practitioners see their clients as allies in an attempt to fight the system that creates the problems. In relation to youth unemployment, again for example, rather than selling the present palliatives of YTS and meagre State benefits, practitioners can help explain youths predicament in terms of the present structure of capitalist society. Various strategies in which to become involved - unemployment groups, protest marches and rallies, trade unions, etc - can also be discussed and proposed.

On the whole though Holt's book deserves to be read by everyone in the juvenile justice field, - practitioners, policy makers and academics alike. For some it may appear controversial but for others it raises issues and ideas which point the way towards a more radical IT practice. This is not to suggest that IT practitioners are likely to be the vanguard of fundamental social change, but merely that they are in contact with some of the most deprived members of society and have a responsibility to work towards a more equal and just society as well as meeting more immediate needs.

Steve Ragowski

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**Val Carpenter and Kerry Young**  
COMING IN FROM THE MARGINS  
Youth Work With Girls and Young Women  
N.A.Y.C.  
ISBN 090797 28 3  
£3.95

The bulk of 'Coming in from the margins' is concerned with descriptive passages taken from interviews with fieldworkers, trainers and managers. A careful analysis of each of these contributions, which come from all over the country, pulls the threads together. The descriptions include work in a wide range of settings and record successful and less successful pieces of work side by side. This approach is significant for a number of reasons. Firstly, it quite clearly represents the change in youth work practice in recent years. It lays aside any remaining feelings that girls' work, like skateboards, will come and go. Secondly, it shows that girls' work development is not restricted to pockets of feminism. While recording the relationship of girls' work to the women's

movement, it firmly places responsibility for paying attention to the needs of girls and young women in the lap of the Youth Service. Most importantly, this style of writing allows interesting accounts of varied responses to the needs expressed for and by girls, to illustrate the principles which underly the work. I feel certain that this will help the book to find readers at many levels in youth work.

Despite the constant demands for justification of girls work, the temptation to offer this has been largely resisted. 'Coming in from the margins' reflects a female way of working and shares the issues which women youth workers feel are crucial in establishing provision for girls and young women in the Service, and a position for themselves on the staff of the Service. Nowhere is it suggested that girls' work is easy. To some extent, I found the book to be preoccupied with pitfalls and problems. This is, perhaps, an accurate representation of women's experience. It certainly shares the doubts and fears of women youth workers, alongside some of their deepest convictions. To those involved in girls' work, 'Coming in from the margins' will feel familiar, to those who are interested, it will offer encouragement.

The authors offer a brief but skilled critical appraisal of The Thompson Report's recommendations. In fact, the book clearly implies that the Youth Service is merely a reflection of a sexist society. It follows, then, that it goes on to pay considerable attention to the need to establish provision for the future. It documents a variety of women's support networks, training initiatives, changes in local authority Youth Service structure, funding proposals and voluntary management bodies. This is an important step forward in girls' work writing. I felt, however, that in this section, more space could have been devoted to methods of effectively evaluating girls' work practice, by practitioners. To criticise work which is already under threat is a thorny problem for many who will read this book and I was a little disappointed that it does not offer assistance in this area.

'Coming in from the margins' too often refers back to issues of the Working With Girls Newsletter. This technique certainly adds weight to the analyses but I felt it was unnecessary and sometimes upset the flow of the text. Despite this minor irritation, I enjoyed the book and it should become a well used addition to most youth work libraries.

Isabel M. Atkinson

**Keith Drake**  
**PUBLIC FUNDS FOR 16-19 YEAR OLDS**  
**Public Finance Foundation**  
**3 Robert Street,**  
**London WC2N 6BH. 1985**  
**ISBN 085299 3056**  
**£5.50**  
**48pp**

In the early 1960's, when I was a member of the age group whose receipt of public funding is under study in this discussion paper, I had to decide whether or not to become the only one of the five sons of a working class family to stay on at school after the minimum leaving age. My older brothers were in employment or apprenticeships and were showing the spending power of their earnings by sporting the latest in fashionable clothes and riding scooters. This was the time when there

emerged what was later to be called the youth culture.

More importantly, my brothers were able to make a contribution to the family economy through "board" payments, after years of merely being dependent on it.

I did choose to stay on at school, and later entered higher education. But, although my family were supportive, my lack of status, through continued financial dependence on my parents, was always with me. I felt as if I was a burden, even if I wasn't seen as one.

I relate this story to make two points. Firstly, although my decision was a difficult one, it was at least simple. The choice was between employment with earnings or education with continued financial dependence. If a young person approaching school leaving age, and from a family where income is an important factor, were to consult me on a similar issue today, I really don't know what advice I would give.

Keith Drake's paper demonstrates quite clearly how much more complicated are the choices for 16-19 year olds today. Youth unemployment, and the various responses to it, have introduced a whole new range of alternatives. Furthermore, ingenuity has tended to fill the gaps in between so that, for example, 21 hour rule courses can offer an option which is part education, part unemployment.

However, the purpose of this discussion paper is not to inform the choice of young people, it is to inform policy. It aims to help those who wish to make proposals for 16 to 19 year olds to estimate the value and consequences of their proposals. To a large extent, it succeeds in this. In the same way, it will be useful to those who work with, and sometimes speak out on behalf of 16-19s to inform our appraisal of plans put forward by national and local government, or by their opposition counterparts. But this usefulness is limited by omissions and flaws, not all of which are the fault of the author.

This paper's publisher, the Public Finance Foundation, was founded by the Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy. CIPFA, as it is better known produces the detailed annual summaries of education statistics which provide amongst other things, the education press with the league tables showing which local education authorities are the high or low spenders per pupil in primary and secondary schools.

In its first 19 pages, Mr Drake's paper sets out and analyses 9 tables showing what young people were doing with regard to employment/education/training at a single point in time - January 1983 - and then tries to show the implications for public funds of their choice. The paper also acknowledges to some extent the way in which transfers in cash and kind to young people and their families through tax funds, tax relief, wages, goods services also influence the choices made.

It soon becomes clear, however, that anyone looking to the paper to provide a neat statistical model for predicting the outcome of any proposal will be disappointed. Keith Drake found that a number of key statistics appeared to be "not available". For example, although the Department of Employment was able to supply a figure for all 16-19s registered unemployed, it appears to have been unable to break this down for single year age

groups, making an analysis of trends through the age range impossible. Similarly, DHSS figures for child benefit and supplementary benefit for 16-19 year old dependents were elusive.

Considering that the unemployment of young people is one of the issues of our time, it appears to be surprisingly poorly recorded. As Keith Drake says of one area of benefit, "lack of data makes for serious uncertainties". If I were a subscriber to the conspiracy theory of history, as opposed to the more earthy and human alternative which I usually favour, I might be convinced that the failure to collect this information is not merely inefficiency, but a concerted attempt to cover up the effects of government action, or lack of it.

In the section of this paper setting out current government policy on 16-19s, it is clear that the greatest problem is unearthing one. We read that, "Sharp-eyed critics have pieced together elements of a policy from the speeches of Ministers....." Then, through what must have been painstaking research. Keith Drake brings together various statements by Deputy Secretaries to select committees and obscure DES memoranda which at least give us a little insight into government thinking on 16-19s.

One of the trends which emerge from this analysis is the enforced continued dependence of 16-19s on their parents. This trend has been further promoted since this discussion paper was written, through the recent white paper on the reform of social security, whereby the help which some unemployed young people are fortunate to receive from parents is to be given a financial value and deducted from the benefit payable to all under 25 year olds.

The paper sees government policy in terms of "the burden of (the) financial support" of 16-19s, which is to be shared between families, employers or government according to the route a young person chooses to take. It goes on to analyse criticisms of current policy in terms of the economic and political implications, but fails to take into account the most important perspective, that of the young person.

Which brings me back to the second point arising from the personal anecdote with which I opened this review. There were factors in my choice at 16 which had implications for the economies of both my family and, in however small a way, the nation. My choice could also be analysed in terms of its effect on the education system and on the supply of trained personnel to industry and the service sector. All would provide good grounds on which government could have intervened with greater or lesser cash transfers to induce me to take a preferred course.

I would argue, however, that the most important implications of my choice were for my own personal development. My exposure to some experiences, and exclusion of others, has influenced, for example, the way I handle money. How many young people today are finding that years of financial dependence on parents ill-equips them to handle their first income, with all the resulting misery and waste?

In summary, my choice influenced the way I see myself, the way I see the world and my ability to respond to it and to cope with it.

In the long term, surely, the personal growth of

our young people will be more important to the nation than short-term gains in our economy or our industrial base? Whilst providing a clear insight into the debate about how the country treats its 16-19 year olds as it is carried on by those in and around government, Keith Drake's paper also accurately reflects the failure to take into account the personal development needs of young people in that debate.

It is for young people, and those who help and advise them, to ensure that this factor is re-introduced to the debate.

David Smith

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Elizabeth Burney

### SENTENCING YOUNG PEOPLE.

What went wrong with the Criminal Justice Act 1982?

Gower 1985

ISBN 0 566 05127 3

£12.95 hbk.

pp 103

Elizabeth Burney has written an important book, illustrating through research the failure of the Criminal Justice Act 1982 to restrain in any way the sentencing of young people to custody.

The Act set out to restrain the use of custody in two ways. Firstly it imposed procedures upon courts that encourage legal representation and social enquiry reports for defendants, and that specify and limit the grounds on which the court has to reach a decision that nothing but custody is appropriate. Secondly it made extra provision for alternative sentences to custody, mainly by creating more powers to impose conditions in supervision and probation orders.

In order to research how this has worked out, Elizabeth Burney has investigated a sample of 12 magistrates courts. Her main focus was on what happened to a total of 293 male young people sent to custody over a six month period. She also looked in rather less detail at the complementary aspect of non-custodial sentencing during the same period. As well as analysing sentencing figures, the research relies heavily on examination of court records relevant to individual cases, and on interviews with justices' clerks, chairmen of benches and of juvenile panels, probation officers and social workers. This worm's eye view of how statutory change is absorbed into the individual perceptions and diverse practices of local courts is a valuable addition to the large scale recording systems by which the effects of the Act are already being monitored.

What her research illustrates clearly is the extent to which the traditional sentencing notions in the courts of tariff, retributive justice, local prevalence and general deterrence have remained unmoved by provisions designed to promote more individualised and rehabilitative sentencing.

The chapters on non-custodial sentencing for instance provide a wealth of detail reflecting a wide diversity of local practice and provision. Consistently however sentencing options such as attendance centre, community service, intermediate treatment and day centre orders in particular were seen by all involved as alternatives to or the last chance before sentences of custody. The unfortunate effect of this was that the option of custody was continually being emphasized in

sentencers' minds in order to keep the whole system of non-custodial alternatives credible. This directly inhibited such sentences being used more than once for the same offender.

The findings provide substantial support for the view that seriousness of offending should be more narrowly defined to refer only to the nature of an offence and to exclude all but the most extreme forms of repetition. These were the hopes expressed in Parliament at the Act's origins. Clearly however tariff and retributive sentencing, by which successive court appearances are seen as steps of a ladder to increasingly punitive sentences has remained unaffected by the Act as it is being interpreted.

Later chapters in the book look more searchingly at how specific safeguards in the Act are being operated in the courts when the option of custody has reached the sentencer's mind. Before a young person can be sentenced to custody a magistrates' court has to consider, state in open court, and record in the register that no other sentence is appropriate because either he is unable or unwilling to respond to non-custodial penalties, or a custodial sentence is necessary for the protection of the public, or the offence is so serious that a non-custodial sentence cannot be justified.

It is clear from what magistrates and clerks are saying in the research sample that each one of these grounds is being interpreted widely as a formula to justify already existing sentencing practice. Some magistrates are seen to decide on a custodial sentence first, and then to seek out which of the statutory reasons can be applied. The grounds for custody are helplessly ambiguous as they stand, and are never likely to restrain custodial sentencing unless perhaps the Court of Appeal delivers more definitive guidance on their interpretation.

It is also disturbing to read that in a number of instances the reasons recorded for custodial sentences are actually invalid in that they bear no relation to the statutory reasons in the Act. In many cases the reasons are not even recorded as the Act lays down they should be.

The legal representation of defendants does not feature very large in this research. The author is right to query however what solicitors have been doing to challenge such practice. There is evidence in the sample of some solicitors being disadvantaged in representing young people as duty solicitors with little opportunity for preparation. Nearly all those sent to custody however were represented, and in the majority of cases there seems to be no good reason why more challenge is not being made.

What about the safeguard for young people of providing social enquiry reports before sentence? Like many other surveys of social enquiry reports the present findings make sad reading. In a smaller sample from just 5 of the courts, of 139 young people convicted of burglary, 17 of the 49 eventually sentenced to custody had a social enquiry report recommending such a sentence. In general information in reports of young people eventually sentenced to custody was significantly more unfavourable than for those receiving non-custodial sentences.

Apart from very serious offences and extremes of persistent offending, the most consistent factor in custodial sentencing seems to be the unfavourable social enquiry report. Many local Probation Services and Social Services Departments are trying

in various ways to deal with this problem. Often the unfavourable bias is an unintended effect of getting to know too much about the difficult behaviour of a young person over a number of years. Sometimes reports unjustly penalise defendants for their lack of progress or co-operation in programmes originally set up for their benefit. However it happens it is salutary to be reminded yet again how influential social enquiry reports can be in provoking harsh retributive sentencing.

The book addresses itself practically to probation officers, social workers, sentencers and solicitors. It is also usefully addressed to policy makers and legislators. We are back where we started. We still need effective limits to be set on the offences and situations in which custody for young people is permitted.

Fintan Hayes

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### HOW WE SEE THE WORLD - exploring attitudes and experiences

Open University,

Learning Materials Service Office,

P.O. Box 188, Walton Hall,

Milton Keynes, MK7 6FH

ISBN 0 335 10841 7

Video Pack (2 tapes) £50

Text 63pp £4

This training pack consists of two video tapes and an accompanying text. The tapes are divided into eight sequences on each tape which are designed to explore the way people's experiences and the area in which they live influence the attitudes that they have and the way they see the world.

The sequences, which last around 7 minutes each are deliberately designed to explore a number of issues which may appear in various guises among other sequences. For example there is a sequence about women who work part-time in industry and the way they perceive themselves, and are perceived, within the work situations, another about the way someone locates themselves in social class terms and the subtle variations that can exist within even a fairly narrow geographical area. Other sequences include the impact of long term unemployment and the way gender stereotypes can be manifested in such an experience and the impact the certain opportunities occurring in life can have in the way one perceives one's self. All of these examples can be found in the first tape which claims to deal with issues of a more general nature whereas in the second tape more intensely personal issues are explored.

In the second tape for example, the impact of window-hood is explored, of homosexuality and the personal experiences encountered by individuals and the experiences of British racism encountered by a couple who came to Britain from the Caribbean in the 1950s and how those experiences have changed over time. There are 16 sequences in all, mainly consisting of people talking about themselves and how they see themselves in the world. The material has been gleaned mainly from archives available to the Open University from a variety of projects undertaken by the University. The utilisation of the material by the youth services project is inspired and without doubt they have managed to produce an extremely thought provoking collection of people who have without doubt important things to say. Each of the sequences is divided by a short gap which allows for relatively easy selection to be made by the user

utilising the video counter. Another value of the short gap between each sequence is that it avoids a cut off feel to the tape. Each of the sequences is designed to be used either as a single sequence or in connection with other selected sequences. The tapes are not made as a single continuous programme and they are not intended to be used as such.

The main objective of the training pack is to provide short life experiences which can be then used to stimulate analysis about the way we all develop our attitudes and respond to our experiences. The accompanying text (an essential purchase by anyone who plans to use the tapes) provides a detailed cross referencing of the kind of issues that each of the sequences attempts to address. The text is also of value in a more general sense in that it provides a very useful introduction to how to use video in training as well as how to facilitate learning in groups.

The compilers have used an interesting method of facilitating archive material and adding to it to produce a training pack which with careful use is an extremely useful resource. All of the sequences selected are interesting and pertinent and have clearly been selected because they have a certain timeless quality about them. The problem with compiling many interviews and then trying to produce some kind of training resource from them, is that some of the issues that are addressed seem in many respects to be dated. An example of this dilemma can be found in looking at films such as *Kathy Come Home*. The issues addressed in that film are still tragically with us but the film itself has a very dated feel about it. Somehow, the sequences in these videos seems to be less open to such a problem partly because most of them are of the talking heads variety but also because they have been well selected, are short and to the point.

The reservations I have about the pack is in its utilisation. The authors clearly envisage that the pack can and will be used by inexperienced trainers and provide detailed guidance to assist them. I am not convinced however that all of the sequences are of equal value and this seems to apply particularly in thinking about how they can be used with young people. I could well see that many lecturers engaged in liberal studies teaching could make extensive use of this material. I am less sure about the degree to which it would be helpful in working with young people on MSC funded projects or in senior member training as claimed.

One could envisage more pertinent sequences being compiled which had young people exclusively in view. It may be that a training pack that claims to address so many training situations is bound to fall down in respect to specific needs.

As far as a video tape pack is concerned I suppose that cost is not too outlandish although given the fact that many trainers would only utilise certain sections of these tapes it could be seen as a very expensive buy. I have no details to hand of whether or not the tapes can be hired. Of course one way around the problem would be for local authorities to purchase tapes for hire to their staff.

The overall feeling that I have about the pack is that it is, as one would expect from the Open University stable, a quality product. It contains much interesting material and the accompanying text is not just a cosmetic exercise but a really valuable piece of teaching material. It is however a training pack which needs to be viewed carefully before it

is purchase. Although it could have extensive use for some people particularly in colleges of F.E. I am not so sure about its use by people whose training catchment is quite narrow and limited.

Muriel Sawbridge

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**Sheila MacLoed**  
**THE ART OF STARVATION**  
Virago Press  
ISBN 0-86068-169-6  
£3.95

Anorexia nervosa has become a very common condition and it is believed that one in every two hundred adolescent girls is starving herself, sometimes to death. The illness was originally confined mostly to the middle and upper classes but now it seems that girls and women, and more rarely boys, from all strata of society are trying to convey a message and using their bodies as a means to do this. This indicates that the understanding of some of the root causes of the condition is very important. In her book *'The Art of Starvation'*, Sheila MacLoed gives us a very enlightening piece of literature about this mysterious illness. She writes a very informative account of her personal experience of the illness and the book is a must to anyone wanting to understand the condition through the eyes of a sufferer.

The message that comes across very strongly in the book is that anorexia nervosa is one reaction against feelings of helplessness and hopelessness amidst circumstantial family and social pressures which build up gradually over the life-time of an eventual sufferer of the condition; it could be seen fundamentally as an identity crisis. Community and Youth Workers often recognise these feelings in young people and also that, to young people, there often are not many options open - to some, it seems, that anorexia nervosa is an answer. Strange as it may seem anorexia nervosa, to the sufferer, is a form of control, where all control over their life seems to have escaped them, being in control of what happens to their body is one form of being absolutely in charge of what is happening to them.

Sheila MacLoed tells us that the family system is very important in the understanding of anorexia nervosa and often similarities can be seen between families of sufferers e.g., they are often tight knit, outwardly respectable hardworking conventional people who do not have rows and sometimes show excessive concern for the welfare of their children. She suggests that these are the sort of people who in fact, feel a lot of conflict and resentment but have always repressed it.

Anorexia nervosa is sometimes described as a food phobia, a weight problem, a fear of growing up and achieving physical maturity, a death wish, a denial of sexuality and gender or much more popularly 'the slimming disease'. Sheila MacLoed treats each of these issues with sensitivity and explains to the reader why she feels some or more of these are or are not more true descriptions than others. She challenged the view that it is a death wish and explains that this is one of the paradoxes of the condition in that it is actually a bid for life. She challenged also the commonly held belief that it is caused by dieting, i.e. a conscious effort to lose weight, however she does not believe that dieting could precipitate a pattern of behaviour which was already inherent in the personality.

It may already be emerging that anorexia nervosa is a very complex condition in which the medical and psycho-social aspects are very important. Sheila MacLoed concentrated in her book very much on the latter, so to understand the condition more fully, readers should consult other literature available on the subject to grasp the more physiological aspects. The book does however explain some of the physical symptoms which occur alongside a marked weight loss e.g., amenorrhoea, slow heart beat, cold blue extremities and low blood pressure and perhaps this information is sufficient to understand the condition on a non-medical basis.

Another feature of the condition is the trap which a sufferer falls into once she has become anorexic, Sheila MacLoed highlights this by using her own personal experience of the self perpetuation of her condition. This returns to the 'being in control' theory in that once the anorexic has stopped eating, is losing weight and feels in control, she equally feels that she cannot start eating normally again as she is bound not to be able to stop eating which would mean loss of control and she would then become obese. She, therefore, denies her body's need for nourishment and food by denying her hunger pains and her fatigue. Again there is another paradox involved here which is that although the anorexic will not eat, she often has an extreme interest in cooking large amounts for others to consume.

Even though the anorexic is terribly thin she will deny that there is anything emotionally and physically wrong with her. She will often go to great lengths to co-operate with people to show that she is happy and well; Sheila MacLoed expresses that for the anorexic there is a strange sense of power involved at having achieved control over her body and weight and it is therefore quite a difficult condition to treat in that the anorexic will not admit she is ill and does not want her power taken from her.

The book systematically goes through each stage of Sheila MacLoed's own illness and assesses other literature on the subject in the process; Sheila MacLoed does admit that she personally finds some of the work on the subject rather unhelpful and confusing but also that some is very good. The book covers an historical perspective of the condition i.e., when it was first recognised and how it was viewed and treated, and it also highlights that there is still some disagreement in the medical and psychiatric professions as to what it actually is. However, through a mass of paradox and controversy she manages to build up a fairly clear picture of the condition.

Sheila MacLoed looks at the condition in a social and political context in so far as it is linked with the social and sexual oppression of women and the pressure upon women to look a certain way and shape. She indicates that women often feel conflict and confusion in their lives and although they do feel pressure to look slim, anorexia is more complex in that there is a war going on within the anorexic between her mind and her body which is not only caused by the pressure that her size and shape constitutes the measure of her worth.

Another important piece of information which emerges from this book is that an anorexic can recover in that she may start eating normally again and regain weight, but she is rarely cured forever; she may often revert back to anorexic behaviour later in life if the going gets rough. Sheila MacLoed recovered, but has had two minor relapses.

She does not delve into much detail about the forms of treatment available but she does deal with them and the problems involved in their success, she emphatically states that the treatment of the physical person i.e., nourishing the body, is useless without feeding the sufferer as a person by psychotherapy.

In her conclusion of the book Sheila MacLoed presents an ingenious plan of the ideal condition in which a potential anorexic could be nurtured, in the form of a recipe which involves a family and social context. Following this she offers some help to parents in handling their anorexic child and explains the kind of help offered by the Anorexic Counselling Service.

This is a particularly stimulating, enjoyable and interesting book, Sheila MacLoed offers a very balanced view and has no qualms about revealing her own inner conflict, dissatisfactions and her fears. Through her openness she is able to illicit a very powerful statement of an anorexic person's life and explains the struggle that an individual is prepared to go through using her body as a means by which to cope. And more importantly for community and youth workers she confronts some of the issues facing young people e.g., powerlessness, conflict, sexism, sexuality and relationships. Anecdotes about her own experiences and life helps to lighten the reading and makes it much more palatable for a non-expert to read and grasp.

I would recommend that anybody with the slightest interest in anorexia nervosa should read this book for a sound basic knowledge of the condition.

Jeanette Costigan

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**Alison Skinner**  
**A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INTERMEDIATE TREATMENT 1968-84**  
National Youth Bureau, 1985  
ISBN 0 86155 095 1  
£2.95 (pbk)  
pp. 52

**Lucy Ball and Theo Sowa**  
**GROUPWORK AND I.T.**  
London I.T. Association, 1985  
ISBN 0 9510505 0 8  
pp. 78  
Contact: The Junction Project, 37 Royal Street,  
London S.E.1. Tel: 01 928 8264

I.T. has been in existence for the best part of 20 years, since the 1968 White Paper, 'Children in Trouble'. It has sometimes seemed to maintain an aura of perpetual adolescence - even of crazy, mixed-up kid-ness. Yet from no one set theory, or single method of work, or very clear target group, and out of the labours of thousands of practitioners up and down the country there has emerged a body of practice which can at last and with more certainty than ever before be called I.T. The proof of this is contained in the National Youth Bureau's 'Bibliography of I.T. 1968-84', edited by Alison Skinner.

The NYB has been collecting and storing writings on I.T. since 1973. This bibliography updates an earlier NYB publication covering 1968-76, and contains 480 items - just under half of the Bureau's total holdings. From the numerous practitioner descriptions of groups run and schemes set up, and the somewhat smaller range of theoretical

works, 'official' publications and conference reports Ms. Skinner has compiled a selective bibliography reflecting '...the strengths and weaknesses of the I.T. literature in coverage and content', with the emphasis on 'current relevance'. All items in the Bibliography should be readily obtainable.

I.T. workers, with an urge to justify and evaluate their work born perhaps out of scepticism shared with their critics of the effectiveness etc. of I.T., have always produced vast amounts of paperwork. Some of it is stultifyingly boring and/or not very convincing. Ms. Skinner implies that such stuff has been weeded out to leave us with the freshest, the latest and the best accounts by practitioners. Drawn from experience, this kind of literature is vitally important to anyone involved in I.T. A historical and theoretical perspective has been provided by official, academic and other publications which have made a special contribution to I.T.

The Bibliography is clearly set out, with chapters arranged according to subject, and three indexes: author, area/agency/project and subject-again. Whether you are looking for information on a specific topic - philosophy and aims, training, intensive programmes, rural provision, evaluation and so on - or on a specific area or local authority, you should get at least an indication of the literature available from this Bibliography. Do not expect to get a wealth of information from the abstracts, which are so even-handed that they make every publication sound more or less O.K. Assuming that they are not, you will need to go beyond this Bibliography to hunt out what will be really useful to you.

The NYB has always provided a very good information service on I.T., and this functional Bibliography is a useful extension of that. It's good to have recognised the contribution of those many I.T. workers who have over the years conscientiously and even inspirationally recorded their experience of and views on I.T.; and it's pleasing to see I.T. emerge into adulthood with, on the evidence of this Bibliography, its full quota of respectability.

In her introduction to the 'Bibliography of I.T.', Alison Skinner comments that recent I.T. publications tend not to be practice-orientated. In fact, 'Groupwork and I.T.', by Lucy Hall and Theo Sowa, is exactly that. This book is based on the authors' experience (at the Junction Project in Lambeth) of running I.T. groups for offenders. The first part of the book is an introductory essay on 'Groundwork for Groupwork' with young people; and the second, much more substantial part contains the basis for just about all the ideas and materials you would need to run a group for young offenders.

According to the authors, the section about groupwork is in some ways the most important part of the book. I don't really agree. Unless you are absolutely new to working with groups nothing in the essay will be unfamiliar to you - or at least, it shouldn't be. Is this another case of I.T. workers feeling that, in order to be taken seriously, they have to preface what they say with an apology? Still, as a discussion on some of the important principles involved in groupwork it is sensible, practical and unpatronising; and it should help to ensure that the excellent workshop materials and ideas which follow are not used carelessly.

This second section is the book's real strength. There are 60 A4 pages, full of session plans, worksheets, questionnaires and ideas on five key areas: exploring offending, the police, courts, being 'inside', and rights and rules. The spread of materials reflects the authors' concern (which I share) that, while young people should be challenged about, and encouraged to develop a greater understanding of, their offending, the roles and responsibilities of other people and organisations in society should also be examined.

The material for use in group sessions is varied, and can easily be adapted to suit your own group's needs. Layout is clear and simple, and the whole book is decidedly practical. My own project has found the book very useful in suggesting ideas for the content of a groupwork programme based on offending. Indeed, I suspect that many projects around the country may be developing similar materials, for use with all kinds of groups; and that while the material in 'Groupwork and I.T.' is very good, it is probably also, in a way, quite ordinary. If you or your project have got something of this kind to offer, why not try to get it published? Perhaps, like Lucy Ball and Theo Sowa, you could get a regional I.T. organisation to sponsor it. In the meantime, if you want something practical, get this book.

Penny Scott

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**N. Dorn and N. South**  
**HELPING DRUG USERS**  
Gower Publications  
ISBN 0566007975  
Hbk £14.50

Firstly I must point out that this book is not a step by step account of how to help drug users, as the title might suggest to the onlooker. Rather it is an account of the history and social work practice of three London based street agencies. For those not familiar with the term, a street agency is an organisation, usually in the non-statutory sector, that offers a confidential service divorced from statutory obligations, that aims to offer relevant service to drug users.

The study took place over thirteen months ending in July 1983. The three agencies concerned are the Hungerford project, the Community Drug project and the Blenheim project. In presenting this study the authors hoped to provide some assessment of the work practice and value of the work of these agencies. In so doing they hoped to provide some important ideas for social work practice in general.

As a study it works on many different levels, firstly, the historical - charting the origins of the projects, and in their theories and practice. They have presented the changes in the practice method and service delivery through the eyes of past and present workers. More importantly we are taken through the changes in governmental attitudes towards drug use and how these affected practice within the statutory sector especially by G.P.s and clinics. The changes which took place there subsequently affected the street life of drug users, whose demands altered the way in which street agencies operated.

The history of the three agencies highlights the different reasons for them setting up. All three agencies are independent of each other in terms of management and came about at different points to respond to drug users in their area.

The Hungerford project was set up in the 70's to respond to the needs of chaotic users in the West End. The Community Drugs Project was set up in the later part of the 60's to provide a service for people resident in the Camberwell area of London and had links with the St. Thomas's hospital clinic. The Blenheim was set up to work with young transient people in the Portobello Road area of West London in 1964, and it was to offer general advisory service to them including "crash pad" space. The Blenheim did not specifically see their work solely for drug users although that was part of the culture of their customer group. It was some years later that the focus altered, as with alterations in the other projects, where the focus was much more drugs user orientated.

The authors have shown the importance of awareness and flexibility among the workers in approaching the problems confronting their agencies and the necessity to adapt and develop their services to meet their customers needs. This awareness has brought the agencies to the forefront in policy making in the drugs field in general. One major area that this has and is working in is recognising the needs of women drugs users and the importance of all agencies altering their services to meet these needs. Sadly this is an area that, like others, still needs a lot of work. Obviously this has a value to all workers in social work agencies and allied industries, irrespective of the area they specialise in.

We are shown the backgrounds of the workers in the different agencies, the reasons why they were interested in the drugs field as an area of work and how they have developed their work practice in the time they have been involved. What may surprise many people is the lack of importance placed on qualifications by the agencies. The major emphasis being placed on attitude and approach to social/personal issues. Equally important is the belief that it is relatively easy to acquire expert knowledge of drugs/use, and the the lack of emphasis on "expert" knowledge of this.

Having looked at the history of the projects, the changes and responses they have made to clients needs and the philosophies that have been developed by the workers, we are shown how the customers themselves see the projects and of what use they are to them. The responses are all favourable but more importantly highlight the difficulties that statutory agencies face in responding to the needs of drugs users.

What comes across from the study is that we are not assessing the agencies on a comparative basis. The agencies do not see themselves in competition with each other and the authors have thus concentrated on the importance and effect of service delivery to the agencies' individual customer groups. We are also shown the importance of inter agency contact on practice and development. The agencies are working together, as highlighted in the issues around women users. Having worked for a variety of agencies in the statutory sector the significance of this is stunning. Perhaps it is to do with the involvement of all agency workers in policy development whether in the collective approach of the Blenheim or the team based work of the Hungerford and C.D.P.

The book presents a clearly researched project by the authors. Overall this material is well presented. Reading the book, unlike a lot of similar books, is like reading a novel, an asset for any researcher. My only criticism is on the verbatim recording of workers and customers. At times it

was difficult to identify the points being made, often requiring clarification by the authors later. This would have been made easier had the transcripts been edited, not altering the meaning but removing the idiosyncracies of conversation, usually only intellegable with the participation of the other party. Thus 'mms', 'ahs' and 'you knows' are left where they could have been removed.

Given that Nick and Nigel's work was to provide a useful document not just for the agencies and the D.H.S.S. but for social work practice in general, who will benefit? Firstly the research must be put in context. It is an historical document. The drugs scene and work practice of the agencies is not static. There are obviously new developments taking place all the time. However the book does offer a variety of tools to workers in all agencies who have contact with drug users, as well as those who don't visibly have that contact. On one level we are given a useful history of the changes in the drug scene since the mid sixties to the mid eighties. Important for any worker to understand.

We are offered the insight as to how the workers and agencies responded to their customers needs and changes in the scene. This comes over as a painful but well thought through process. The study also explores a variety of myths around drugs users themselves and what constitutes a drugs problem and who can work with drugs users.

I would recommend the book to anyone who is interested in the drugs field, working with drugs users, and those workers and students who are interested in progressive work practice. It is easy to read and if the cover price is not too expensive, worth having on your book shelves.

Hugh Dufficy

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**Simon Nicholson**  
**OUT OF TOWN OUT OF MIND? (A study of Rural Unemployment)**  
**Leicester Diocesan Board for Social Responsibility**  
**258 East Park Road, Leicester LE5 5AY**  
**£1.50**  
**pp. 89**

Living in rural Devon which has 11.2% currently unemployed, it is encouraging for me to find a published report about Gartree's Rural Unemployment project (RUP), even though its unemployment figures are only 6% (well below the national average) - and neither "rural" nor "unemployed" are satisfactorily defined. RUP was sponsored by a church body as part of the DHSS Opportunities for Volunteering Programme.

Representing a year-long project, the report is professionally presented though in a clinical and "county hall" style. It is a generalised statement arising from a local initiative. Unfortunately it loses its direction quite frequently. The promised foci - the isolation of non-waged residents in non-urban places - are ignored in the opening pages which tend to concentrate on the DHSS and the diocese. We have to wait till p.18 for a definition of "unemployed" when a severely economist usage is given, shattering the hopes of any reader who had expected a broader understanding from a church sponsorship which could have taken an ethical and anthropological approach. Why do we have to wade through a parliamentary statement about voluntary social work at the outset and why

wait till p.87 before finding a clear list of "needs of the rural unemployed" - the earlier list on p.45 being painfully negative.

Chapter 1 deals with local logistics and is of only passing interest to the general reader. RUP was located in Gartree apparently because of the interest of certain clergymen (p.2) rather than because of known theories or patterns of rural unemployment, and this demands some comment. It must be kept in mind when evaluating the project, seriously calling into question the pretentiousness of the sub-title.

Chapter 2 offers a social geography of the district which contains the off-handed sentence "we all know roughly what a rural area looks like". (p.5) Nor is it easy for strangers to work out the distances and relationships between Gartree and such huge conurbations as relatively nearby Coventry and Leicester.

Chapter 3 deals with "field work". We learn of difficulties in establishing constructive contacts with existing agencies, but we do not know how long such indifference and superficiality persisted, or why. How to approach unemployed persons directly without being misunderstood is a real problem, but this is not pursued vigorously, and institutional good intentions ring hollow with individuals who feel let down by society. I was hoping that Gartree's experience would explore how to cope at this level.

Instead, we find a publicity drive in the form of exhibitions in village halls, spots on local radio, articles in local newspapers. We ought not to be surprised to learn how few contacts were made as a result. Few unemployed people will draw attention to themselves by visibly identifying with such initiatives. However, the enthusiasm, effort and honourable intentions of the RUP cannot be faulted.

RUP seemed determined to contact all or most of the unemployed and sent out a questionnaire (included as an appendix) which is a model of clarity, to 90 persons identified by the DHSS. Not surprisingly, only 22 replied. The questionnaire is reassuring and offers follow-up help, but its simplicity and its omissions seriously question its validity. Why spend so much time preparing and analysing a questionnaire when this essentially de-personalised and distant technique predictably was ignored by most of the addressees? Are the replies of the 22 more significant than the silence of the 68? Nor do we know if the 22 were old or young, male or female, long or short-term unemployed.

Nor was the RUP successful in engaging unemployed persons in existing or new voluntary activities. One wonders if this is partly due to only lip-service being paid by RUP to the idea that the unemployed are not a group, with common traits (not even poverty, though the author implies this repeatedly).

Such use as was made of RUP's headquarters was by people such as irate local employers who complained at not attracting applicants for vacancies they had advertised. This simplistic perception by employers of projects such as RUP is all too common; it would have been helpful to know how Gartree tried to re-educate employers - but we don't.

Chapter 4 is headed "Findings" and is the most frustrating part of the book as it has almost nothing to do with the Gartree project, being a



long review (pp. 44 to 81) of available relevant literature, so we move further and further away from Gartree! On p.45 we get a depressingly negative picture of the unemployed's needs - which may reflect the prejudices of the author, or are culled from the reviewed literature, since they are not the "findings" of the questionnaire.

Chapter 5's heading "Implications" hopefully could make up for chapter 4's disappointment. However the defeatist tone (which pervades this review) that was struck early on in the book (p.2) and persisted seems to climax. We get many of the author's doubts about the integrity of the project and wonder why he took on the job at all! We could have read that there's little point in:

1. collecting statistical data (which are hard to find, are ephemeral and may not be generalisable),
2. trying to contact every unemployed person in the district,
3. using a questionnaire,
4. assuming a blanket response to the DHSS scheme,
5. focusing on the depressing aspects of unemployment.

But we get none of these. There is value in documenting the reasons for failing to make effective contact with many unemployed despite various approaches. Perhaps a new network is necessary, (as is suggested here), but personalities and methods rather than structures and organisation might have partly caused Gartree's experience. We read on p.82 of a similar and apparently successful scheme in Herefordshire, so why has it not been reviewed here or used as a model? Is the only difference between the two one of resourcing?

This chapter seems to be based on hunches rather than anything specific that came from contacts with the "rural unemployed" in Gartree. The pressure of working in this sensitive area with limited funding on a one-year contract builds in a high risk of failure at the outset as staffing such a project requires special training.....and time. With the sponsors usually seeking instant miracles, neither training nor time are possible. And at the end of it, the unemployed remain, maybe more bruised and cynical than before. If the church is a caring institution, I'd have liked to read here of its concern for the "unemployed" after the RUP had technically ended.

The author is obviously a competent writer with a commitment to the alleviation of the problems he sees as central but he admits (p.82) to having felt "dishonest and dishonourable" while collecting the data. He claims the project was "patronising" (p.82) at times. If so, whose fault was that, and was it partly his own? Some analysis of his belated self-criticism would have been helpful to leaders of similar initiatives. On p.84 we read a hint of a mismatch between the Worker and the project's bankers (the DHSS), but one wonders to what extent the project's identity was an extension of the author's personality as many of the conclusions are based more on armchair speculation than direct interaction with non-wage earning persons in Gartree.

By being asked to identify the district's unemployed and enable them to engage in voluntary activity of mutual benefit to themselves and the community, the Project leader may have been given an impossible task, too ambitious and too broad.

One crunch question is - will this report encourage

other church groups to undertake similar ventures? I suspect the answer will be negative. "The church is in a unique position in rural communities" (p.85) - maybe, but what evidence is there for this claim? It is a comforting myth for church goers, but it carries little conviction with many of the young and the unemployed. The church may indeed have potential and include individual members able to make an effective contribution, but the high profile stance advocated by Nicholson is likely to be atypical, and the gap between rhetoric and reality in the church puts on the defensive those who are at the receiving end of good intentions.

The recommendation that a national register of projects be kept is attractive, if only to prevent the Leicestershires ignoring the Herefordshires! Sadly we get no clear constructive or imaginative help as guidance for how to work with the "unemployed" in "rural" areas, and to not put them "out of mind" is in itself of little value.

This publication does have an appeal, as listing many of the things that can go wrong in such a project. It adds nothing to our theoretical understanding of the problem or how to research it. It fails to think through the consequences of its mistakes and worse, it fails to put a "human" face (so much expected) on the concerns it focuses on.

Bill Taylor

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**Birmingham Film and Video Workshop**  
**GIRO - is this the Modern World?**  
**VIDEO TAPE - one of a series**  
**45 mins**  
**Available from BFWW**  
**60 Holt St. Birmingham**

This is a video which immediately grabs the viewer and takes her into forty five minutes of absorbing but serious entertainment. The clear intention of the video is to stimulate young people in particular to consider a topic which is important today in the lives of the young unemployed - living on the giro. Both the makers of the video and the participants within the video are in the main young people themselves. They have produced a lively, entertaining and informative piece of video which lends itself to being flexibly used in educational work with both young people and adults. It provides stimulating ideas on how young people and youth and community workers might try themselves through a community arts approach using creative drama and media, to produce similar material on topics of importance in the everyday life of young people.

The video is based on the simple idea of a group of young people setting out to discover through interviews what a number of important and some less important people think about young people and work and the problems of having to live on either supplementary benefit or low income associated with poor work conditions. The interviews range across the political spectrum with Michael Meacher and Ken Livingstone expressing the views of the Labour Party and Professor Patrick Minford putting across the dominant views of the present government. These political interviews are complemented with a number of interviews with 'non-political' persons - for example with a member of the pop group Bronski Beat who had been himself unemployed and a wealthy American living in Mayfair who had made his first million by the time he was twenty years old. He generously volunteered that he had no need of the

state, a means test should be used to make sure it excluded him and others like him from receiving any benefits - for example people living in council houses who ran Rolls Royces. Just how do such myths become embedded in popular consciousness?

The video opens with a dramatised episode playing up the snooping role of the DHSS benefit enquiry officers. This is presented in a stylised and humorous form drawing for its format on a variety of television series. These snoopers appear like a leitmotif a couple of times during the video to illustrate the sinister operation of the State. This first scene leads into meeting the group of young women and men who are the principle actors in the video. They come across as lively, intelligent, humorous and enthusiastic. They obviously enjoyed making the video and clearly learned much from it. They commence their enquiry into the Giro by simply phoning their local DHSS office and asking the straight forward question "Could you please tell us why you don't get a lot on supplementary benefit?" - to be told by the confused officer that what is paid is what is thought basically necessary by government to keep young people alive. Their simple response is why should anyone have to struggle on low income, why shouldn't the young unemployed be able to enjoy more of the comforts enjoyed by those in work and others dependant of State benefits but who receive more. This type of questioning sums up the way these young people confronted the people they met - they were direct and to the point and responded assertively when any attempts were made to keep them in their place. This was tried out by Professor Minford when he argued that the State should have no responsibility for young people who are not prepared to take low paid jobs. The young people responded that these are often lousy jobs which no one should have to do and certainly not for low wages. This interview summed up for me the quality much of this video showing young people able to stand up for themselves and keep their own end up when it came to debate and argument. In particular the relationship between the women and men is soundly egalitarian with both the sexes showing how it is possible to be equally strong and assertive as well as sensitive and caring.

I have referred in the main to the interviews but the video uses a variety of techniques which makes it lively and an overall serial type format which breaks the material down into distinct sections.

The interviews are interspersed with a number of dramatised comic episodes taking their style from a range of British and American T.V. soap and advertisements. Popular music is used to back much of the material - particularly in terms of background linking between sections and themes running through the video. All of this should make the video attractive to young audiences. The spoken and visual material is reinforced by clearly stated titles superimposed on the pictures to emphasise the principle themes.

Most of the material is presented in language most young people will understand. Interpretive subtitles are used when speakers use long words. All of this helps make the video accessible and makes it possible for a worker to selectively choose from the wealth of material covered and focus on a number of major topics surrounding the issue of employment/unemployment in Britain today - for example the word ethnic, the working of the supplementary benefit system, welfare rights, inequality, new technology, differences between

political parties, gender roles, economics.

As you can see from this review I was impressed by the video seeing a number of ways in which it could be imaginatively used. I do have however, a few reservations. I think it is perhaps too long. This comes from trying to cover too much. There are two themes/sections which I found unsatisfactory. One is an interview with some black young adults. This only scratched the surface. Given the serious situation facing young blacks in terms of both the racism they are encountering and the associated higher rate of unemployment, a way should have been found to highlight these issues or it should have been omitted. Secondly, an attempt was made to provide some comparative material from Japan. An interview with two young Japanese women pop stars was used for this. Again this only began to touch the issues relating to international economics and should have been omitted. This would probably have shortened the video by about seven minutes. This would have improved what must be seen, however, as generally an exceptionally effective video. In particular the video ends with a clearly stated manifesto for change - put benefits up, proper training, jobs worth doing and rubbish jobs for the robots. These are enough in themselves to keep any educator in bread and butter for a long time.

Roger Cartlidge

**Troyna B. and Williams J.**  
**RACISM, EDUCATION AND THE STATE**  
Croom Helm, 1986  
ISBN 0 7099 4316 4  
£6.95 (Pbk)  
pp.138

This book represents a valuable attempt to provide an overview of the history of racial issues in educational policy in Britain. The authors seek to take policy seriously in the context of a theoretical framework based loosely on recent radical reformulations of racism, racialisation and the state. Most importantly, Troyna and Williams begin a much needed analyses of the potential and limitations contained within the recent development of antiracist policy statements in a small number of local education authorities. Their attention to the local level provides a useful corrective to accounts which seem to assume that national patterns and trends are automatically reproduced within lea's.

The early chapters of the book examine the familiar terrain of the rise of 'multi-cultural education' in the 1960's and 1970's, although, unusually and ambitiously, this is framed in terms of Frank Reeves' somewhat complex concept of 'discursive deracialisation'. Basically, the suggestion seems to be that the discourse of multi-racial education actually denied the explicit use of racial categorisations whilst upholding particular kinds of racist practices. Firstly, they refer to the dispersal of 'immigrant' pupils, the growth of ESN provision for black kids, and so on, arguing that in the 1960's, educational provision rested upon particular pathological interpretations of black and work-

ing class families to account for their educational failure. Secondly, they trace late emphases on the celebration of 'ethnic' cultures and lifestyles, arguing that the 'three S's of saris, samosas and steel bands' entered the curriculum, in part at least, to defuse the 'three R's of black resistance, rejection and rebellion'. Their case studies of the older policies in ILEA and Manchester seek to situate the local dimension of this relationship between black resistance and professional and administrative responses within the educational system.

Later in the book, they develop a general model seeking to explain the development of more explicitly antiracist educational policies. It seems to me that this is the weakest part of the book; in chapter 4, for example, we are given only a very sketchy outline of the United States context - too sketchy to really allow us to assess their argument that British practice cannot be understood outside of this. In addition, Troyna and Williams seem to be able to explain the acceptance and legitimisation of antiracist policies only in terms of a list of factors ranging from 'the riots', through to the effects of a whole range of pressure groups such as All London Teachers Against Racism and Rascism (ALTARF) and the National Association for Multi-Racial Education (NAME), left politicians, and so on. Whilst all of these elements are clearly important, they are not placed within any overall historical or theoretical perspective. Indeed, the chapter reveals in the clearest terms one of the major problems of the book. The authors seem to find it very difficult to truly give up their links with an orthodox view of educational policy. This has a number of effects, including a tendency to bracket off black resistance and struggles whose centrality they acknowledge but whose significance and sophistication they do not adequately confront. In addition, they sometimes replace a radical concern with the state with a more orthodox emphasis on 'central government' leading, as in the following quote, to the development of positions antithetical to the general argument in the book:

"We are witnessing a **gradual** but by no means unanimous acceptance in government sponsored reports and legislation that racism plays a part in influencing and circumscribing the life chances of black citizens". (p.64)

They then go on to examine antiracist initiatives in 7 lea's, pointing out the ways in which policy statements, by being circumscribed by the desire for bi-partisan approaches, tend to play down conflicts and, hence, tend to be closer to multi cultural models than their proponents would concede. Paying close attention to the language of these statements, they argue they are constructed around concepts such as stability, harmony, justice and equality. In addition, they point to a vagueness and uncertainty about the mechanisms for ensuring that policy is implemented within individual schools. Distancing themselves from a crude left determinism which sees any lea antiracist initiative as simply a new form of state control and co-option, Troyna and Williams seek to develop a self-consciously constructive critique of current policies for their failure to be based on an

adequate structural understanding of the reproduction of racism, for the reluctance to confront the overtly political nature of antiracism, and, perhaps most importantly, for the failure to make connections with gender and class oppressions. Unfortunately, they do not study actual processes of policy formulation and implementation, much less practices in schools, although they do recognise that connections need to be made between these levels.

Not surprisingly, I find their valid attempt to confront the minefield of the relationship between racial, gender and class oppression still faces a number of problems. They appear to collapse the concept of oppression into the weaker notion of inequality, and, sometimes, they are in danger of developing what seems to me to be a problematic emphasis on the primacy of class:

".... in order to develop policies which will undercut racial inequalities it is necessary to understand 'race' in a class context and consider racism as one of several mechanisms for the reproduction of class position. This cannot be done by a blinkered focus on 'race' alone". (p.105)

For me, many of the problems with the book derive from a failure, despite the emphasis in its title, to develop a theory of the state sufficiently distinct from pluralist analyses of government and institutions. Relying on the work of Gideon Ben-Tovim and his collaborators, Troyna and Williams are unable to trace the pivotal importance of shifts in state forms from liberal social democracy to more authoritarian and coercive forms without which it becomes impossible to develop a clear understanding of the limitations on, and spaces for, antiracist practice. In addition, the authors do not adequately study shifts in the connections between education and other state agencies, despite the recognition that the concept of 'institutional racism' was initially developed precisely to emphasise such links. I would argue that inter-relations between education and social work and between education and the police, recently the subject of so much controversy, are of immense importance to any examination of the reproduction of racism. This does not preclude the importance of studying the local level; rather it allows for much clearer understanding of central and local state practices, and forms of black resistance, as part of a struggle over particular social space.

To conclude, despite the problems I have outlined, Troyna and Williams' book does open up a whole range of open empirical questions in the study of antiracist initiatives. I am not convinced that they have developed a broad enough model of what a politicised antiracist education might look like, in which they are by no means unique, but they have, at least, opened up a number of theoretical issues of importance in the framing of antiracist policy statements.

Paul Stubbs

# analysis

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

## law

### Young People at risk

In recent years there has been a growing awareness of the extent of sexual, physical and mental abuse of young people in the family home. At the same time, young people have become aware that there are alternative choices to staying trapped in the home situation. Nevertheless, the availability of the alternatives depend on the individual strength of character of the young person and the knowledge of the people they turn to for help.

In theory, a person who has suffered abuse has a number of options, both legal and non legal, open to them. In practice, however, the burden of proof still lies with the victim, and although adults appear to be more aware of abuse, they may find it hard to accept when they come face to face with the reality of it and are asked for help by a young person. Therefore, it is important that Youth Workers and the like, are aware of the risks and remedies for young people when they decide they can no longer tolerate a situation of abuse and seek help. It follows therefore that the Youth Worker must have access to information about sympathetic solicitors in their area as a young person will benefit directly by having legal advice as soon as possible after leaving home and also have a knowledge of useful national and local organisations who can advise the young person more specifically.

#### Civil Legal Remedies

At the best of times, a court appearance, even if handled sensitively, is an alarming experience, tending to intimidate and isolate the person involved, and this should be kept in mind when considering viable options in the civil courts.

##### a) Wardship

Civil legal aid can be obtained for these proceedings whereby a young person becomes a Ward of Court. Becoming a Ward of Court means that the Court assumes responsibility for the welfare of the young person and will make such order as it considers necessary and expedient to protect the young person.

Wardship proceedings are instituted by lodging papers with the High Court. Immediately the Court receives the papers the young person becomes a Ward and the situation freezes until the Court hearing i.e. the young person must remain where they are until the Court determines otherwise. Needless to say, it is important to ensure that wardship proceedings are not started when the young person is living in the same place as the abusing parent. The Court hearing must take place within 28 days of the lodging of the papers. At the hearing, the Judge can make such order for the protection of the young person as is considered necessary e.g. ordering the abuser from the home so that the young person can return there or directing that the young person go elsewhere.

A young person can apply to make him/herself a ward, which is useful to note, especially when the abuser is from within the family and it would place a non abusing parent in a very difficult position to institute action themselves on behalf of the young person.

##### b) Place of Safety Orders

These can be applied for by anyone, including a private individual, but in practice are almost always applied for by the relevant local authority. These orders are a fast and effective way of removing and protecting a young person and are often the first step leading to the institution of care proceedings. The application is made to a Magistrate, who does not necessarily have to be sitting in court and the order will last up to 28 days. The Magistrate must be satisfied that one of the care grounds, see below, is proved on the balance of probabilities. Once the Order is made, the young person can be taken to a hospital, doctor's surgery, foster parents, police station, back home or 'any other safe place'.

##### c) Care Proceedings

A care order transfers the duties and responsibilities of a young persons' parents onto the local authority. There are a number of different grounds for the making of a care order and those which are likely to be pleaded in abuse cases are:

1. That the young person's proper development is being avoidably prevented or neglected.
2. The young person's health is being avoidably impaired or neglected.
3. That the young person is being ill treated.
4. That a member of the young person's household has been found responsible for any of the above in respect of another child/young person.
5. That the young person is exposed to moral danger.
6. That the young person is beyond the care and control of the parent or guardian.
7. That a person who has been convicted of sexual abuse or serious violence, is or may become a member of that household.

It is very important to note that in addition to one of the above, it must also be proved that the young person is in need of care and control which s/he is otherwise unlikely to receive. The making of a full care order can take some time, although an interim order can be made quite quickly. In care proceedings, a Guardian ad litem may be appointed to look after the interests of the young person. A young person should be encouraged to discuss the need for the guardian ad litem with his/her legal advisor at an early stage as the appointment of same can cause delay in the hearing of the care proceedings.

#### d) Injunctions and Family Protection Orders

These are obtained in the County Court and Magistrates Courts respectively. The orders may restrain the spouse or cohabitee from molesting a young person who is a 'child in the family' and/or may exclude the abusing partner from the home/street. Legal aid is available for both sets of proceedings and orders can be obtained as a matter of urgency without necessarily having to serve the abusing partner with papers if the case is serious.

#### Criminal Legal Remedies

The young person can always choose to go to the police to complain about abuse, and increasingly it is Social Workers practise to call in the police as a matter of course in such cases. However, involving the police will mean giving statements and investigation of the case; if a prosecution follows, the young person may have to appear in court and give evidence, all of which can be very traumatic, as mentioned before. Those working with young people should remember the psychological damage the young person may be suffering in this situation and be aware of the support he/she may need.

Unfortunately, both civil and criminal legal remedies in practice, necessitate the young person's reliance upon an adult to initiate action or provide protection; this can create serious difficulties and conflict for the person if the relevant close relative is the abuser. Young people's own freedom to choose or ability to initiate action is limited and stifled by these remedies.

#### Non Legal Remedies

As mentioned before, there are a limited number of options available, and the remedies will depend on the age and sex of the young person. In our experience it is young girls and women who are more likely to be the victim of abuse, yet their options may be more limited by the very fact that society sees women as more "vulnerable" and in need of protection than young men. If a young person decides to leave home and live independently of their family then numerous legal questions have to be taken into account when deciding on the options.

#### Short Term Options for Girls and Young Women

Women's Aid Refuges and Asian/Black women's Refuges do take younger women who want to escape abuse, and need a quick and safe alternative to the family home, although if the girl is under 16, this can cause legal problems.

Rape Crisis Centres, Incest Survivors Groups and Taboo, can give:

Specialist Advice  
Counselling  
Practical Help  
Support

These agencies may advise young men too and Youth Workers can help by putting young people in touch with these various groups.

#### Leaving Home

This option is fraught with difficulties, mainly because of both societal and legal pressures on families to remain together as a unit, and on young people in particular to remain at home, dependant on their parents. Young people may have to contend with:

- \* Parents desire to exercise care and control of the young person
- \* Education - if the young person wants to continue schooling
- \* Money - whether and how the young person can claim supplementary benefit
- \* Housing - particularly problematic for under 18 year olds who may not be given tenancies due to their age.

Legal advice should be sought on all of these issues. Nevertheless, the existence of one or more of these problems can add pressure to an already difficult situation, and any Youth Worker involved in this type of situation should weigh up each individual case in order to help the young person make the best choice in all the circumstances and in order to provide the support the young person may need.

### 'Monitor for' this issue:

Sunderland Community Resource Centre

Richard Jenks

Angela Pedersen

Sarah Morgan

Julie Wright

Mark Davis

### Code

All sources are Official Report (Hansard).

Headings are as published

The following code describes the references used.

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

All items are available through our Copy Service

### V89 N34

#### Social Security Reform WA

Mr. Meacher asked the Sec State for Social Services if the White Paper proposals on the reform of social security exclude 16 and 17-year-olds from receipt of a personal allowance in their own right and allow for their parents only to claim a child allowance for them if they are unemployed.

Mr. Newton: Sixteen and 17-year-old non-dependants will be entitled to income support at the same rate of personal allowance as 16 and 17-year-old dependent children.

Mr. Meacher asked the Sec State for Social Services how many, nationally and for each social security region, of (a) 16-year-olds and (b) 17-year-olds are in receipt of supplementary benefit for the latest available year; and how many (i) live in their parents' household and (ii) live independently; and how many of them have (1) claimant parents and (2) non-claimant parents.

Mr. Newton: In December 1983 - the latest available figures - there were 56,000 16-year-olds and 119,000 17-year-olds in receipt of supplementary benefit nationally. Of these, an estimated, 1,000 16-year-olds and 7,000 17-year-olds were householders. No further information about the status of the remaining claimants or their parents is available.

Estimates of the number of 16 and 17-year-old claimants can be provided for each social security region but this information is not immediately available.

Mr. Kirkwood asked the Sec State for Social Services, out of all the responses to the Green Paper, "Reform of Social Security", how many gave positive support to the proposal for a lower rate of supplementary benefit for under-25s; and which they were.

Mr. Newton: The responses are not generally in a form which can sensibly be used to provide a simple breakdown of numbers for or against this proposal. However, paragraphs 3.10 to 3.14 in the White Paper, "Reform of Social Security" (Cmd. 9691), published on Monday, gives the important points made about it and the Government's conclusions, including the proposal that all couples aged 18 or over should receive the same personal allowance.

#### Supplementary Benefits WA

Mr. Newton: The main changes in social security law specifically affecting the entitlement of young people and their parents have been identified as set out, showing who was affected by the change and relevant legislation. Normal uprating increases and regulations made in 1980 reflecting the previous policy of the Supplementary Benefits Commission are not included.

Date	Change	Persons affected	Legislation
November 1980	Entitlement to benefit for school leavers deferred to a fixed date.	School leavers aged 16-18.	Supplementary Benefit (Conditions of Entitlement) Regulations 1980 (S.I. 1980 No. 1586).
November 1980	Position of unemployed young people studying part-time clarified by allowing such study up to 21 hours a week without affecting entitlement to benefit.	Claimants aged 16-25.	Supplementary Benefit (Conditions of Entitlement) Regulations 1980 (S.I. 1980 No. 1586).
November 1980	Married or unmarried parents still at school enabled to claim benefit for themselves whereas they could previously claim for their child only.	Claimants aged 16-19 and their parents.	Supplementary Benefit (Conditions of Entitlement) Regulations 1980 (S.I. 1980 No. 1586).
November 1980	Blind persons aged 16-17 entitled to the same special addition (£1.25) as blind persons aged 18 and over—previously entitled to 90p only.	Claimants aged 16-17 and parents of dependent children aged 16-17.	Supplementary Benefit (Requirements) Regulations 1980 (S.I. 1980 No. 1299).
November 1980	Receipt of non-contributory invalidity pension by person aged 16-17 to count as qualifying benefit for the supplementary benefit long-term scale rate.	Claimants aged 16-17.	Supplementary Benefit (Requirements) Regulations 1980 (S.I. 1980 No. 1299).
November 1980	Benefit payable to young people in the care of the local authority whether in local authority or other accommodation.	Claimants aged 16-17	Supplementary Benefit (Requirements) Regulations 1980 (S.I. 1980 No. 1299).

November 1980	Fixed rates of deduction in respect of non-dependants instead of deduction calculated according to housing costs and number of persons in the household: £2.15 for non-dependants aged 16-17 or in receipt of supplementary benefit. £4.60 for all others.	Parents in receipt of supplementary benefit with non-dependent children living with them.	Supplementary Benefit (Requirements) Regulations 1980 (S.I. 1980 No. 1299).
August 1982	Disregard of that part of any education grant or award which is specifically intended for additional expenses of living away from home.	Adult students and parents of dependent young people aged 16-19.	Supplementary Benefit (Requirements and Resources) Amendment Regulations 1982 (S.I. 1982 No. 1125).
August 1982	Entitlement to supplementary benefit whilst studying up to 21 hours a week made dependent upon receipt of benefit for 3 months.	All young people but school leavers in particular.	Supplementary Benefit (Miscellaneous Amendments) Regulations 1982 (S.I. 1982 No. 907).
April 1983	Rent addition withdrawn from non-householder claimants aged 16-17; no deduction from householders' supplementary benefit in respect of non-dependants in receipt of supplementary benefit.	Non-householder claimants aged 16-17 and parents of such claimants if the parents receive supplementary benefit.	Supplementary Benefit (Housing Benefit) Requirements and Resources) Consequential Amendments Regulations 1982 (S.I. 1982 No. 1126).
August 1983	The 3-month qualifying period for entitlement to supplementary benefit whilst studying up to 21 hours a week to include periods spent on the Youth Opportunities Programme or Youth Training Scheme.	Claimants aged 16-17.	Supplementary Benefit (Miscellaneous Amendments) Regulations 1983 (S.I. 1983 No. 1000).
November 1983	Three fixed rates of deduction in respect of non-dependants aged over 18 in the claimant's household (£2.20, £3.95 or £4.70) according to age and whether or not in receipt of benefit.	Parents with non-dependent children 18 and over living with them.	Supplementary Benefit (Requirements) Regulations 1983 (S.I. 1983 No. 1399).
April 1984	Rent addition withdrawn from non-householder claimants aged 18-20; no deduction from householders' supplementary benefit in respect of non-dependants aged 18-20 in receipt of supplementary benefit. Deductions in respect of other non-dependants £2.20 or £6.15 dependent upon age and whether or not in receipt of benefit.	Non-householder claimants aged 18-20 and parents with non-dependent children in their household.	Supplementary Benefit (Requirements) Amendment Regulations 1984 (S.I. 1984 No. 282).
August 1984	Persons over 16 entitled to benefit whilst undergoing education of a type normally given in schools if education no more than 12 hours a week.	Claimants aged 16-19.	Supplementary Benefit (Miscellaneous Amendments) Regulations 1984 (S.I. 1984 No. 984).
November 1984	Rates of deduction in respect of non-dependent members of claimant's household revised according to age and whether or not in receipt of benefit.	Parents with non-dependent children in their household.	Supplementary Benefit (Requirements and Resources) Amendment Regulations 1984 (S.I. 1984 No. 1102).

November 1984	Full-time earnings of a child who has left school taken into account up to the level of the child's requirements during the period he is treated as dependent.	Parents with dependent children aged 16-18.	Supplementary Benefit (Requirements and Resources) Amendment Regulations 1984 (S.I. 1984 No. 1102).	Ayrshire Lothian and Borders Central and Fife Grampian and Tayside Highlands and Islands Renfrew, Dumbaron and Argyll	2,159 4,810 3,929 4,943 1,676 3,065	825 1,350 1,081 879 361 2,021	— 315 135 191 14 197	2,984 6,475 5,145 6,013 2,051 5,283
April to July 1985 and from November 1985	Payment as a boarder restricted to limited periods (2, 4 or 8 weeks) in any one area in any period of 26 weeks.	Certain unemployed able-bodied claimants aged 16-25 without dependent children.	Supplementary Benefit (Requirements and Resources) Miscellaneous Provisions Regulations 1985 (S.I. 1985 No. 613) and (No. 2) Regulations (S.I. 1985 No. 1835).	<i>Northern</i> Durham Cleveland Northumberland, North Tyneside and Newcastle Sunderland, South Tyneside and Gateshead	4,163 3,008 4,472 4,328	1,991 1,791 1,855 2,330	359 1,521 1,081 1,055	6,513 6,320 7,408 7,713
<i>Severe Disablement Allowance</i>								
November 1984	Non-contributory invalidity pension replaced. (i) Abolition of household duties test. Entitlement on grounds of incapacity for work alone. (ii) Abolition of household duties test. Entitlement conditional on incapacity for work and on assessment of at least 80 per cent. disablement.	Claimants whose incapacity for work begins on or before 20th birthday. Claimants whose incapacity for work begins after age 20.	Health and Social Security Act 1984, Section 11. Social Security (Severe Disablement Allowance) Regulations 1984 (S.I. 1984 No. 1303).	<i>North West</i> Cheshire Cumbria Lancashire  Greater Manchester  Merseyside	5,062 3,143 7,185  18,784  9,062	3,102 543 2,264  4,837  5,625	123 153 235  1,502  2,079	8,287 3,839 9,684  25,123  16,766
<i>Family Income Supplement</i>								
November 1985	Higher prescribed amounts in respect of older children.	Parents with dependent children aged 16-18.	Family Income Supplements (Computation) Regulations 1985 (S.I. 1985 No. 1188).	<i>Yorkshire and Humberside</i> Humberside North Yorkshire Leeds and Wakefield South Yorkshire	4,766 2,381 6,215 8,214	1,535 240 1,422 3,188	2,132 — 608 1,933	8,443 2,621 8,245 13,335
<i>Child and One Parent Benefits</i>								
February 1980	One-parent benefit extended to persons receiving the lower rate dependant's addition of industrial death benefit or industrial injuries disablement benefit.	Parents with dependent children.	Child Benefit and Social Security (Fixing and Adjustment of Rates) Amendment Regulations 1980 (S.I. 1980 No. 110).	<i>Midlands</i> Birmingham and Solihull Coventry and Warwickshire Derbyshire Dudley and Sandwell Leicestershire and Northamptonshire Lincolnshire Nottinghamshire Staffordshire Shropshire, Hereford and Worcester Wolverhampton and Walsall	10,938 5,270 6,217 3,873 6,995 3,787 6,702 9,490 6,454 5,067	3,079 2,440 1,367 1,213 2,283 1,285 1,873 2,139 1,713 2,764	237 557 863 1,006 243 357 255 153 155 425	14,254 8,267 8,447 6,092 9,521 5,429 8,830 11,782 8,322 8,256
<i>Wales</i>								
November 1980	Benefit in respect of school leaver to remain in payment until a specified date at the end of the school holiday following the final term; to continue in payment in respect of child on Youth Training Scheme or sponsored training course; to cease in respect of child awarded supplementary benefit.	Parents with dependent children aged 16-18.	Child Benefit (General) Amendment Regulations 1980 (S.I. 1980 No. 1045).	Gwent Dyfed and West Glamorgan Mid and South Glamorgan Clwyd and Powys Gwynedd	2,641 3,804 4,347 2,936 1,306	1,030 1,424 2,522 825 375	407 440 783 624 206	4,078 5,668 7,652 4,385 1,887
<i>South West</i>								
May 1982	Benefit in respect of school leaver withdrawn if child starts work or Youth Training Scheme or sponsored training course.	Parents with dependent children aged 16-18	Child Benefit (General) Amendment Regulations 1982 (S.I. 1982 No. 470).	Avon Gloucester and Wiltshire Cornwall and Devon Dorset and Wiltshire	6,995 5,423 9,295 5,615	1,917 1,046 1,152 1,127	27 283 349 241	8,899 6,752 10,796 6,983
<i>South East</i>								
February 1983	Benefit in respect of child in local authority care payable to persons with whom the child resides for 7 consecutive days.	Parents with dependent children.	Child Benefit (General) Amendment Regulations 1983 (S.I. 1983 No. 3).	Kent Essex Hampshire and Isle of Wight Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire Surrey Norfolk and Suffolk Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire Berkshire and Oxfordshire East and West Sussex	7,518 8,178 9,763 5,771 3,102 6,607 5,468 5,056 5,348	2,023 1,770 1,362 735 500 1,329 994 760 823	227 721 397 514 112 230 1,221 1,047 245	9,768 10,669 11,522 7,020 3,714 8,166 7,683 6,863 6,416
<i>London</i>								
April 1984	In respect of new claims, benefit not payable where claimant or spouse has income exempt from United Kingdom income tax.	Parents with dependent children.	Child Benefit (General) Amendment Regulations 1984 (S.I. 1984 No. 337).	London North East London North London South East London South and West	7,653 7,391 6,843 4,227	1,185 999 1,591 880	218 157 1,420 234	9,056 8,547 9,854 5,341
August 1984	Benefit payable in respect of child attending school or college provided the course exceeds 12 hours a week.	Parents with dependent children aged 16-18.	Child Benefit (General) Amendment (No. 2) Regulations 1984 (S.I. 1983 No. 939).	<i>Youth Training Scheme—Approved Places 1984-85 by Mode</i>				
August 1984	The number of weeks a person may continue to receive benefit while that person or the child is outside Great Britain reduced from 26 to 8.	Parents with dependent children.	Child Benefit (Residence and Persons Abroad) Amendment Regulations 1984 (S.I. 1984 No. 875).	<i>Scotland</i>				
<i>Child Dependency Additions to Social Security Benefits</i>								
November 1984	Lower rate of child dependency addition abolished and an earnings condition for the higher rate introduced.	Parents with dependent children aged 16-19.	Health and Social Security Act 1984 (Section 13 and Schedule 5); Commencement No. 1 Order 1984 (S.I. 1984 No. 1302).	Glasgow City Lanarkshire Dunfries and Galloway Ayrshire Lothian and Borders Central and Fife Grampian and Tayside Highlands and Islands Renfrew, Dumbaron and Argyll	6,739 3,628 749 2,159 4,351 5,065 4,202 1,506 3,830	1,464 1,124 265 825 903 758 553 359 1,610	235 184 8 — 237 213 107 24 111	8,438 4,936 1,022 2,984 5,491 6,036 4,862 1,889 5,551
<i>Northern</i>								
<i>North West</i>								
<i>Yorkshire and Humberside</i>								

Y.T.S. WA

Mr. Sheerman asked the Paymaster General if he will list for each area manpower board area the available number of mode A, mode B and mode B2 places for the years 1984, 1985 and 1986.

Mr. Trippier: The numbers of approved yts places by mode for the financial years 1983-84, 1984-85 and 1985-86 in each area manpower board area are shown in the following tables.

*Youth Training Scheme—Approved Places 1983-84 by Mode*

Area Manpower Board Areas	Mode A	Mode B1	Mode B2	Total
<i>Scotland</i>				
Glasgow City	7,365	1,817	590	9,772
Lanarkshire	3,010	1,272	359	4,641
Dunfries and Galloway	749	265	8	1,022

Cheshire	4,828	1,796	138	6,762
Cumbria	3,090	400	179	3,669
Lancashire	7,503	1,372	168	9,043
Greater Manchester	16,112	3,667	1,090	20,869
Merseyside	8,648	5,048	999	14,695
<i>Yorkshire and Humberside</i>				
Humberside	5,142	1,355	988	7,485
North Yorkshire	2,777	425	—	3,202
Leeds and Wakefield	5,931	1,367	213	7,511
South Yorkshire	9,351	2,354	1,536	13,241

<b>Midlands</b>				
Birmingham and Solihull	10,084	2,403	354	12,841
Coventry and Warwickshire	4,803	2,006	153	6,962
Derbyshire	6,643	960	258	7,861
Dudley and Sandwell	4,826	1,140	503	6,469
Leicestershire and Northamptonshire	7,879	1,899	60	9,838
Lincolnshire	3,930	781	163	4,874
Nottinghamshire	6,814	1,570	96	8,480
Staffordshire	8,922	1,513	71	10,506
Shropshire, Hereford and Worcester	6,611	1,120	117	7,848
Wolverhampton and Walsall	4,677	2,059	186	6,922
<b>Wales</b>				
Gwent	2,551	787	175	3,513
Dyfed and West Glamorgan	3,842	1,154	83	5,079
Mid and South Glamorgan	5,325	2,004	469	7,798
Clwyd and Powys	3,498	785	78	4,361
Gwynedd	1,514	335	30	1,879
<b>South Wales</b>				
Avon	6,653	1,284	—	7,937
Gloucester and Wiltshire	5,332	1,071	188	6,591
Cornwall and Devon	8,011	1,135	138	9,284
Dorset and Wiltshire	5,392	870	92	6,354
<b>South East</b>				
Kent	7,389	1,481	149	9,019
Essex	8,021	1,240	142	9,403
Hampshire and Isle of Wight	9,100	1,286	124	10,510
Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire	6,928	765	415	8,108
Surrey	5,379	770	65	6,214
Norfolk and Suffolk	7,106	1,221	211	8,538
Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire	5,745	725	404	6,874
Berkshire and Oxfordshire	5,143	670	389	6,202
East and West Sussex	2,261	437	16	2,714
<b>London</b>				
London North East	6,627	1,346	301	8,274
London North	5,662	977	189	6,828
London South East	5,855	1,226	903	7,984
London South and West	7,339	916	120	8,375

#### Youth Training Scheme—Approved Places 1983-84 by Mode at 31 October 1985

<b>Scotland</b>				
Glasgow City	5,446	1,152	253	6,851
Lanarkshire	3,893	984	179	5,056
Dunfries and Galloway	710	225	44	979
Ayrshire	2,318	686	—	3,004
Lothian and Borders	4,153	885	123	5,161
Central and Fife	4,152	683	204	6,039
Grampian and Tayside	4,058	576	178	4,812
Highlands and Islands	1,527	330	22	1,879
Renfrew, Dumfries and Argyll	3,709	1,350	59	5,118
<b>Northern</b>				
Durham	4,893	1,554	442	6,889
Cleveland	4,789	1,165	429	6,383
Northumberland, North Tyneside and Newcastle	4,493	1,353	623	6,469
Sunderland, South Tyneside and Gateshead	4,189	1,791	662	6,642
<b>North West</b>				
Cheshire	4,969	2,119	180	7,268
Cumbria	2,884	372	136	3,352
Lancashire	7,696	1,444	163	9,303
Greater Manchester	14,931	3,405	1,124	19,460
Merseyside	8,734	4,820	1,199	14,753
<b>Yorkshire and Humberside</b>				
Humberside	5,687	1,424	538	7,649
North Yorkshire	2,826	390	—	3,216
Leeds and Wakefield	5,721	1,393	263	7,377
South Yorkshire	9,332	2,410	1,007	12,749
<b>Midlands</b>				
Birmingham and Solihull	10,128	2,366	341	12,835
Coventry and Warwickshire	5,031	1,462	90	6,583
Derbyshire	6,441	913	186	7,540
Dudley and Sandwell	4,598	1,055	398	6,051
Leicestershire and Northamptonshire	7,783	1,988	104	9,875
Lincolnshire	3,837	706	85	4,628
Nottinghamshire	7,724	1,344	128	9,196
Staffordshire	8,576	1,488	8	10,072
Shropshire, Hereford and Worcester	6,747	1,056	114	7,917
Wolverhampton and Walsall	4,157	1,684	164	6,005
<b>Wales</b>				
Gwent	2,646	765	106	3,517
Dyfed and West Glamorgan	3,903	1,180	88	5,171
Mid and South Glamorgan	4,651	1,961	434	7,046
Clwyd and Powys	2,897	785	79	3,761
Gwynedd	1,288	340	30	1,658
<b>South Wales</b>				
Avon	6,930	1,105	18	8,053
Gloucester and Wiltshire	4,693	893	176	5,762
Cornwall and Devon	7,948	1,026	150	9,124
Dorset and Wiltshire	4,957	840	95	5,892

<b>South East</b>				
Kent	8,046	1,345	155	9,546
Essex	8,108	1,072	146	9,326
Hampshire and Isle of Wight	8,283	1,187	93	9,563
Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire	5,983	669	203	6,855
Surrey	2,788	419	—	3,207
Norfolk and Suffolk	7,146	1,213	179	8,538
Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire	5,254	691	378	6,623
Berkshire and Oxfordshire	4,788	665	253	5,706
East and West Sussex	4,400	544	65	5,009
<b>London</b>				
London North East	6,214	1,343	369	7,926
London North	5,092	905	138	6,135
London South East	5,421	1,117	685	7,223
London South and West	6,347	836	110	7,293

### V89 N35

#### Supplementary Benefits WA

Mr. Becket asked the Sec State for Social Services in each year since its introduction, what has been the gross and net saving from the removal from (a) 16 and 17-year olds, (b) 18 to 20-year olds supplementary benefit non-householders' rent addition; and what would be the cost of reversing these changes in a full year at 1985-86 benefit rates.

Mr. Major: Information about the actual savings made as a result of the removal of the supplementary benefit non-householders rent addition for 16-20 year olds is not available.

The estimated gross and net costs of reversing the changes at 1985-86 are as follows:

	Gross Cost to Supplementary Benefit £ million	*Gross saving on Housing Benefit £ million	Net cost to Supplementary Benefit and Housing £ million
(a) Restoring the non-householders rent contributions for 16 and 17 year olds	30	10	20
(b) Restoring the non-householders rent contribution for 18 to 20 year olds	60	15	45

\*ie The overall reduction in housing benefit for householders which would also follow from such a change. The loss to the householder would normally precisely match the non-householder gain.

#### School Visits OA

Mr. Greenway asked the Sec State for Defence how many service personnel are currently involved in information visits to schools.

Mr. Lee: Some 155 service personnel are employed either in presentation teams, which can be made available to visit educational establishments, or as school or college liaison officers. In addition, members of the careers information field force staff of all three services make visits to schools from time to time as part of their more general responsibilities.

Mr. Greenway: Bearing in mind the fact that there are 30,000 schools in this country, not to mention a large number of colleges and universities, does my hon. Friend not think that that is an inadequate number to go round schools and other institutions to inform pupils what careers are available to them in the services and the role that our service personnel can play in the defence of our country?

Mr. Lee: Our service personnel do an excellent job. While one would like to have more people allocated to the task, there are manpower pressures.

Mr. Skinner: In view of the fact that the Sec State for Defence and his colleagues are up to their necks in business of one kind or another, if the Government find that they cannot allocate sufficient people to carry out a tour of all these areas, may I ask whether the Minister has approached the ex-Sec State for Defence, who, seemingly, will have more time on his hands in future, to do the job for them?

Mr. Lee: We are always grateful for contributions from the hon. Gentleman.

#### Social Security Reform WA

Mr. Meacher asked the Sec State for Social Services (1) what level of benefit is assumed for 16 and 17-year-old unemployed claimants in the illustrative examples of the effects of the social security White Paper;

(2) what account the technical annex to the White Paper on social security analysis of gainers and losers takes of 16 and 17-year-olds who currently claim benefit in their own right.

Mr. Newton: The illustrative figures assume that 16 to 17-year-old claimants will continue to be entitled to benefit in their own right, with a personal allowance of £18.20 per week for single people and £36.40 for couples, increased by any further premiums where eligible. The effects for this age group are included in the tables in the technical annex.

#### YTS WA

Mr. Sheerman asked the Paymaster General (1) what representations he has received about the need for a national agreement on inter-authority payments for yts trainees;

(2) what representations he has received about the problems caused by the anomalies in the yts mode A extra district permit grants; and what steps he is taking to resolve them.

Mr. Trippier: A number of representations have been received about the question of inter-authority payments for young people on the yts and the related issue of extra district fees. My right hon. Friend the Sec State for Education and Science hopes to introduce a Bill later this Session providing, inter alia, for an amendment to the existing law on inter-authority recoupment in respect of non-advanced further education. I understand that he is discussing with the local authority associations whether yts provision should be included within the scope of the Bill; and that the associations are themselves giving consideration to providing national advice for LEAs on this matter.

Mr. Sheerman asked the Paymaster General what representations he has received about the problems for yts trainees who are forced to travel to study certain specialist fields.

Mr. Trippier: I am not aware of any specific representations that have been made to Dept of Employment Ministers on this matter. There is no evidence to suggest that the arrangements for the yts make it difficult for those trainees who have to attend colleges or work placements at a distance from their homes. The scheme aims to provide, wherever possible, suitable local opportunities for all eligible young people. I am satisfied that where these are not available the provision for the payment of travel and lodging costs is adequate.

Mr. Sheerman asked the Paymaster General what steps are being taken to ease the current problems of yts trainees studying outside their own regions.

Mr. Trippier: I am not aware of any significant problems affecting trainees who spend all or part of their training period outside their own region. The provision for payment of travel and lodging costs in such cases is kept under regular review.

#### University Grants Committee WA

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett asked the Sec State for Education and Science what is the percentage change in real terms, measured by the gross domestic product deflator, in the funding of each university by the University Grants Committee between 1980-81 and 1983-84, excluding those amounts representing compensation for changes in home student fees, compensation for redundancy and early retirement, changes to take account of minor capital works from the recurrent grant and changes in the level of local authority rates (a) including and (b) excluding additions made for the information technology and new blood programmes.

**Mr. Walden:** The percentage changes are as follows. The percentage changes shown will be in part the consequence of the withdrawal of the overseas student subsidy and to the extent that these losses have been made up by the increased fee income will not accurately reflect the changes in the universities financial position.

University	Percentage change in UGC funding (Academic Years) Real terms 1980-81 to 1983-84	
	(a)	(b)
	including IT and new blood programmes	excluding IT and new blood programmes
Aston	-30.9	-31.0
Bath	-4.0	-4.5
Birmingham	-14.0	-14.4
Bradford	-31.1	-31.2
Bristol	-12.7	-13.4
Brunel	-16.3	-16.6
Cambridge	-7.5	-8.2
City	-19.7	-19.8
Durham	-5.5	-5.7
East Anglia	-7.6	-8.0
Essex	-19.6	-20.0
Exeter	-14.9	-15.1
Hull	-16.6	-17.0
Keele	-32.0	-32.1
Kent	-19.3	-19.8
Lancaster	-12.1	-12.3
Leeds	-13.2	-13.4
Leicester	-6.0	-6.5
Liverpool	-15.0	-15.2
London Graduate School of Business Studies	+33.6	+33.6
London Universit	-13.6	-13.9
Loughborough	-7.4	-7.7
Manchester Business School	-25.2	-25.2
Manchester	-14.9	-15.2
University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology	-27.9	-29.2
Newcastle	-8.3	-8.7
Nottingham	-11.2	-11.8
Oxford	-8.8	-9.5
Reading	-13.2	-13.3
Salford	-42.2	-42.3
Sheffield	-11.0	-11.2
Southampton	-9.8	-10.3
Surrey	-21.7	-21.8
Sussex	-18.1	-18.9
Warwick	-11.5	-12.1
York	-0.3	-1.7
Aberystwyth U.C.	-16.3	-16.6
Bangor U.C.	-13.6	-13.8
Cardiff U.C.	-12.9	-13.0
St. David's Lampeter	+0.7	+0.7
Swansea U.C.	-16.0	-16.3
University of Wales Institute of Science and Technology	-15.7	-16.1
Welsh National School of Medicine	-7.0	-7.1
Aberdeen	-19.0	-19.2
Dundee	-15.2	-15.3
Edinburgh	-8.0	-8.6
Glasgow	-6.3	-6.7
Heriot-Watt	-9.0	-9.6
St. Andrews	-16.6	-16.9
Stirling	-20.7	-21.4
Strathclyde	-14.7	-14.8

### V89 N36

#### Drugs Campaign WA

**Mr. Wood** asked the Sec State for Social Services whether he will make a statement on the current position of the Government's drug misuse education and information campaign.

**Mr. Fowler:** The campaign of information and education about the misuse of drugs has been running since February '85. It features a set of leaflets for parents, two television commercials and a series of poster and press advertisements. In December last year a video training package entitled "Working With Drug Users" was launched.

As the next stage, the Government have launched "Double Take", a video package for young people, especially 12 to 15-year-olds. The package will be issued free for retention to any secondary school in England and Wales that applies for it. All secondary school headteachers in England and Wales are being mailed with details of the package.

The 1985 campaign as a whole has been evaluated by two independent market research companies and the initial results are now available. The evaluation consisted of a long-term "quantitative" survey to check significant shifts in opinion and attitudes as well as a smaller "qualitative" study of the campaign. The main findings of the evaluation include:

- the campaign was widely noticed and appreciated not only by young people, the main target audience, but also by parents.
- a reduction in the proportion of young people who considered heroin attractive or glamorous.
- an increased awareness of the social and physical ill-effects of misusing heroin.
- an increased resistance to the idea of experimenting with heroin.

This evaluation will form the base from which decisions about activity in 1986-87 will be made. A budget of £2 million will be available for further work in 1986-87.

#### Youth Training WA

**Sir Hector Monro** asked the Paymaster General whether he is satisfied that the Christmas undertaking under the yts that all unemployed minimum age school leavers would be offered a suitable place by Christmas 1985 has been met; and if he will make a statement.

**Mr. Trippier:** I am very pleased to say that the Government's undertaking has been effectively met for the third successive year. There are around 300,000 young people on the yts and on 3 January only 2,290 youngsters were waiting for the offer of a place. The comparable figure for the previous year was 3,850.

This is another excellent achievement by all concerned — the MSC, the careers service, employers, trade unions, local authorities, colleges and voluntary organisations—and I am grateful

for their support and commitment. I very much look forward to this continuing under the new two year scheme to be introduced in April.

The enthusiasm of young people for the yts is clearly demonstrated by these figures, and I am confident that the new scheme will be equally popular with them.

### V89 N38

#### Technical and Vocational Education WA

**Mr. Andrew F. Bennett** asked the Paymaster General, how many children in each local authority are taking part in the technical and vocational education initiative at the latest date for which data are available, and for the previous year.

**Mr. Trippier:** 14 local education authorities started projects in 1983, and have therefore had 3 student intakes; 47 further authorities started 48 projects in 1984, with Strathclyde education authority running separate projects in 2 of its divisions; 12 authorities started projects in 1985.

The following figures give the numbers of children taking part in the initiative as at September 1985, with revised totals for September 1984.

Authority	Position at September 1984	Position at September 1985
Barnsley*	708	1,144
Bedfordshire*	977	1,213
Berkshire	239	489
Birmingham	500	794
Bolton	179	419
Borders	236	534
Bradford*	510	760
Bromley†	—	228
Buckinghamshire	259	494
Bury	197	383
Cambridgeshire	225	460
Cheshire	200	390
Cleveland	214	422
Clwyd*	509	913
Cornwall	286	565
Coventry	259	518
Croydon	235	477
Cumbria	226	448
Derbyshire	236	492
Devon*	554	805
Doncaster	236	484
Dudley	250	498
Dumfries and Galloway	199	429
Durham	259	510
Dyfed†	—	250
Ealing†	—	195
East Sussex	249	502
Enfield*	412	674
Essex	235	498
Fife	232	470
Glasgow‡	238	451
Gloucestershire	271	536
Gwent	250	500
Gwynedd	230	482
Hampshire	323	586
Havering	247	494
Hereford and Worcester*	513	764
Hertfordshire*	606	876
Isle of Wight	265	528
Kent†	—	225
Kingston†	—	243
Leicestershire*	1,007	1,524
Lincolnshire	246	484
Lothian†	—	243
Mid Glamorgan	247	497
Newcastle	239	495
Norfolk	207	438
Northamptonshire	245	496
North Tyneside	253	507
Northumberland	277	550
North Yorkshire†	—	274
Powys	267	492
Renfrew‡	220	442
Richmond	256	504
Sandwell*	1,161	1,491
Shropshire	245	502
Solihull	255	502
Somerset	258	504
South Glamorgan†	—	250
South Tyneside	251	520
Staffordshire*	632	946
Stockport	251	502
Suffolk	231	452
Sunderland	240	509
Surrey	262	515
Tameside	256	545
Walsall†	—	250
Warwickshire	216	433
West Glamorgan	247	503
West Sussex†	—	206
Wiltshire†	—	256
Wigan*	450	672
Wirral*	509	766
Wolverhampton†	—	243
Totals 74	20,692	39,656

\* 1983 Project

† 1985 Project

‡ Divisions of Strathclyde EA.

### Pupil Costs WA

**Mr. Andrew F. Bennett** asked the Sec State for Education and Science (1) what is the average cost per pupil of children in (i) maintained primary schools, (ii) maintained secondary schools, (iii) maintained sixth forms, (iv) assisted places pupils up to school leaving age and (v) assisted places pupils after school leaving age for the last five years for which data is available;

(2) what is the average cost per pupil in (a) nursery schools, (b) nursery classes, (c) primary schools, (d) secondary schools, (e) sixth form colleges and (f) special schools for the latest year for which figures are available.

**Mr. Dunn:** The latest available information is as follows:

1979-80	1980-81	*1981-82 (£ Cash in England)	*1982-83	*1983-84
815	990	1,110	1,140	1,230
430	545	620	680	730
520	640	725	795	855
430	545	615	675	725
610	770	870	945	1,015
580	730	825	895	965
1,025	1,240	1,320	1,435	1,545
1,930	2,455	2,760	3,060	3,265
n/a	n/a	1,098	1,267	1,303

### V90 N40

#### Youth Training Scheme OA

**Mr. Spencer** asked the Paymaster General what is the total funding for the yts in England in the current financial year.

**Mr. Trippier:** We have made available £710 million for the yts in England in 1985-86. Including Scotland and Wales, total funding is £834 million.

**Mr. Spencer:** Is my hon. Friend aware of the Leicestershire employment and education project on Constitution Hill in my constituency? That is a YTS project and provides basic training for disadvantaged young people from the inner area. It has a high success rate and has contributed to a reduction in unemployment in my constituency of some 6.2 per cent. since September 1984.

**Mr. Trippier:** I am pleased to learn that there has been such a significant fall in the level of unemployment in my hon. and learned Friend's constituency, and I am grateful to him for paying such a warm compliment to the Leicestershire employment and education project. As he suggests, there is now ample evidence, not only in his constituency but throughout the country, that the YTS is effective in providing for a real need.

**Mr. Caborn:** Is the Minister aware that in the inner cities there are major problems with YTS, particularly in the voluntary sector? Many people in the inner cities are worried about the new arrangements for funding and about their ability to provide the type of training that has hitherto been provided. Many people, particularly in the caring services, will not go into any type of training and they will be a major problem, particularly for the inner cities. Will the Minister give consideration to representations from organisations such as NACRO and others?

**Mr. Trippier:** I will certainly give serious consideration to the point made by the hon. Gentleman and draw his remarks to the attention of the MSC. The number of premium places under the new scheme is designed to meet the needs of young people with particular training needs for whom employer-based places will not suffer. I told the hon. Gentleman that at a meeting I had with him, but if he wishes to come back and explore the ground further, I shall be happy to do so.

**Mr. Rowe:** My hon. Friend knows that I am an enthusiastic supporter of the YTS. Will the Minister accept that one of the ingredients in the demoralisation of school teachers is the feeling that a great deal of the work that they would otherwise do is being taken over by the training scheme? Will he give me an assurance that he will look carefully at closer liaison between schools and school teachers and people doing a similar job under a different budget with a different title in the YTS?

**Mr. Trippier:** I can give my hon. Friend the assurance that he seeks in the second part of his question, but I am not sure that I agree with the first part. This is Industry Year and it gives us a golden opportunity to improve links between industry and education, which perhaps should have been improved 30 years ago. As a result of the initiatives taken by the Department of Trade and Industry and followed by the Department in which I am Minister I hope the situation will improve. I do not accept that YTS courses are in any way displacing the work that should be carried out by the teaching profession.

**Mr. Foot:** Is the case that part of the burden of the yts is being transferred to local authorities? Will the hon. Gentleman tell us exactly what the figure is? Does he realise that that is most unfair, because the heaviest burden falls on some of the local authorities that have the highest unemployment? Will he look at the whole of this proposition to make sure that the full burden of the funding is carried out by central Government?

**Mr. Trippier:** The right hon. Gentleman is somewhat misled. The change of emphasis in YTS is to place more of a responsibility on employers rather than on local authorities. The principal reason for doing that is that they have a vested interest in the trainees who come out at the other end of the scheme. While I am on my feet I can hardly miss the opportunity to refer to the fact that the right hon. Gentleman's constituency has seen a fairly dramatic fall in the level of unemployment over the last 12 months, 8 per cent.

**Dr. Mawhinney:** Can my hon. Friend confirm that that part of the funding which goes to the young people is a training allowance and not a wage? Can he tell the House what he is doing to seek to help the young people themselves understand that in the face of misleading propaganda, some of it coming from the Opposition Benches?

**Mr. Trippier:** I am grateful to my hon. Friend for raising that point. It is, of course, an allowance and is not meant to be a wage. We are trying to increase awareness of that fact wherever we can through publications and the production of videos. I am grateful to my hon. Friend for giving me an opportunity to say from this Box that that is correct.

**Mr. Meadowcroft:** Does the Minister recognise the excellent contribution made to the yts by voluntary bodies? Is he aware that the rules and the way they are applied, particularly to the number of premium places mentioned earlier, are likely to mean that there will be no B1 schemes run by small voluntary bodies and that those in Yorkshire that I am acquainted with are already talking of closing? Will the Minister consider again the whole question of how the rules apply to smaller voluntary bodies that have been able to provide a variety of schemes, which the larger ones cannot provide?

**Mr. Trippier:** I give the hon. Gentleman an assurance that I will consider the matter again. I cannot believe that there will be no premium places available in any part of his constituency with any voluntary training association that has been set up. It is important for me to stress that some £40 million was spent last year on unfilled places. As guardians of the taxpayers' money we cannot consider that as responsible expenditure.

#### YTS OA

**Mr. Kirkwood** asked the Paymaster General if he will make a statement on the preparations being made to introduce the new two-year yts.

**Mr. Trippier:** My ministerial colleagues and I are satisfied with the progress that has been made on the establishment of the new two-year yts. All the main funding and administrative elements of the new scheme have been decided, and negotiations with potential training providers are going well. Plans for publicising the new scheme are also well under way.

**Mr. Pike** asked the Paymaster General if he will make a further statement on the funding arrangements for the two-year yts.

**Mr. Trippier:** The Government have approved the MSC recommendations that the funding arrangements for the new two-year yts should feature not only basic grants, premium payments and annual management fees, but also permanent additional funding for specialist training for young disabled people and extra funds for equipment and adaptations to premises for disabled trainees. Agreement has also been reached about the future funding of information technology centres and on the transitional payments to current mode B1 providers.

**Mr. Lawler** asked the Paymaster General what were the destinations of those trainees who left the yts in June.

**Mr. Trippier:** The MSC regular follow-up survey of young people leaving the yts shows that, of those who left in June 1985, 63 per cent. were in work, 3 per cent. were on a full-time course at a college/training centre, 3 per cent. were on another YTS scheme, 7 per cent. were doing something else and 24 per cent. were unemployed, some three months later. Results from the survey are placed in the Library.

**Mr. Bruce** asked the Paymaster General what percentage of yts trainees secured a job within six months of leaving the scheme for the latest date for which figures are available.

**Mr. Trippier:** Information is not available in the precise form requested. However, the most recent results from the MSC's regular follow-up survey of young people leaving the yts show that, of those who left between 1 April and 31 July, 61 per cent. were in work some three months later.

**Mr. Terry Lewis:** asked the Paymaster General if he will make a statement on mode B youth training schemes.

**Mr. Trippier:** Mode B of the present yts provides funding, on a cost-recovery basis, for programmes for unemployed young people based mainly in training workshops and information technology centres and on community projects. Under the new two-year scheme, which will have a single system of funding and administration, there will be extra premium payments and transitional funding for the next two years to current mode B1 providers who remain in the scheme, so that they can continue to offer training programmes in areas where there is a shortage of employer-based provision and to young people with special needs.

**Mr. Sheerman** asked the Paymaster General when he will next meet the chairman of the MSC to discuss the yts.

**Mr. Trippier:** I frequently discuss the progress and development of the yts with the chairman of the MSC.

**Mr. Hunter** asked the Paymaster General how many unfilled yts places there are in Hampshire.

**Mr. Trippier:** I regret the information is not available in the precise form requested. However, at the end of November 1985 some 8,863 places had been approved while there were 6,695 young people in training. It is not possible to give a precise figure of unfilled places because not all approved places will actually be available for occupation.

**Mrs. Virginia Bottomley** asked the Paymaster General how many youngsters will be able to participate in the yts each year after April 1986.

**Mr. Trippier:** We estimate that around 360,000 young people will enter the yts in 1986-87 and a similar number in 1987-88. It is too early to make forecasts for subsequent years.

#### MSC Training Schemes OA

**Mr. John Mark Taylor** asked the Paymaster General if he will make a statement on the financial disadvantages often experienced by participants in MSC schemes when they progress from part-time engagements to full-time.

**Mr. Alan Clark:** Participants on the community programme are able to move from part-time to full-time engagements. We have no evidence to suggest that those who choose to do so experience financial disadvantages.

**Mr. Greenway** asked the Paymaster General what arrangements are made for the inspection of MSC training courses; and if he will make a statement.

**Mr. Trippier:** The MSC monitors training courses to ensure that contractual obligations are met, to eliminate training practice. The pattern and frequency of monitoring visits are geared to the nature and performance of individual training courses. I am satisfied that the commission's monitoring strategy is appropriately targeted, and makes the most effective use of available resources.

#### Wages Councils

**Mr. Ray Powell** asked the Paymaster General how many workers are currently covered by wages councils; and what proportion are under 21 years of age.

**Mr. Kenneth Clarke:** About 2.75 million workers are covered by wages councils. Of these, approximately 20 per cent. are under 21 years of age.

**Mr. Powell:** Is the Paymaster General aware that my union — the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers — has expressed much anxiety about the suggestion that the Government might amend or abolish the wages council for shop workers? Is he also aware that the Shops Bill, now in the other place and which deals with the introduction of Sunday trading, will remove controls over young people working in shops? They can no longer benefit from wages council protection. Will the Minister tell the House what proposals the Government have in mind?

**Mr. Clarke:** I am happy to repeat that it is the Government's firm intention to introduce a Bill this Session to reform the wages councils. We propose to reduce the powers of the wages councils so that they can specify only one basic rate and one overtime rate. We also propose to remove employees under the age of 21 from the scope of wages councils. Our motive for doing so is that we believe that, by setting young people's wages too high in relation to adult wages, and too high in relation to the value that they add to a business, we are making more youngsters unemployed than we need to. The reform will increase the potential for more youth employment.

**Mr. Grylls:** Does my right hon. and learned Friend agree that the argument in favour of removing wages councils, at least for those aged under 21, has been won and established in the public mind, even if not in the mind of the Opposition? If wages councils destroy or deter the creation of new jobs, they are ineffective and we had better get rid of them anyway. On both counts, it would be much better to get rid of them.

**Mr. Clarke:** I trust that we have won the public argument. When we introduce the Bill we shall discover the extent to which we have won the parliamentary argument. I agree with my hon. Friend's arguments and conclusions. The wages councils have quite unintentionally reduced the number of jobs that are made available to young people in this country.

**Ms. Clare Short:** Can the Paymaster General explain why the Government intend to weaken the protection that is afforded to 3 million workers, including 1/2 million young workers, who are paid very low wages? According to the *New Earnings Survey*, since 1979 the top 20 per cent. of workers have increased their pay above the average but the bottom 20 per cent. had pay increases that were lower than the rate of inflation. They have, therefore, suffered a net drop in income. This proposal will ensure that they are paid even less.

**Mr. Clarke:** My first priority is the interests of the 3 million or so people who are unemployed, in particular the young unemployed who are included in that total. If the wages councils continue to stipulate extremely complex pay arrangements in very important trades and continue to set for young employees pay rates that are too high in relation to pay rates for experienced adults, the effect will be to reduce the number of jobs that are made available to young people in this country. The wages councils are therefore out of date in those respects and it is high time that we reformed them.

### V90 N41

#### University Grants Committee WA

**Mr. Andrew F. Bennett** asked the Sec State for Education and Science (1) what is the percentage change in the funding of each university by the University Grants Committee between 1980-81 and 1984-85, excluding those amounts representing compensation for changes in home student fees, for redundancy and for early retirement, changes to take account of minor capital works from the recurrent grant, changes in the level of local authority rates and additions made for the information technology and new blood programmes;



(2) what is the percentage change in real terms, measured by the gross domestic product deflator, in the funding of each university by the University Grants Committee between 1980-81 and 1984-85, excluding those amounts representing compensation for changes in home student fees, compensation for redundancy and early retirement, changes to take account of minor capital works from the recurrent grant and changes in the level of local authority rates (a) including and (b) excluding additions made for the information technology and new blood programmes.

**Mr. Walden:** The percentage changes in the funding of each university by the University Grants Committee in its basic recurrent and equipment grants between 1980-81 and 1984-85, excluding those amounts representing compensation for changes in the level of home student fees, compensation for redundancy and early retirement, provision for capital in recurrent expenditure, local authority rates and additions made for information technology and new blood programmes, is given in column (a). Columns (b) and (c) give the comparable percentage figures in real terms measured by the GDP deflator (b) including and (c) excluding additions made for information technology and new blood posts. The percentage changes shown will be in part the consequence of the withdrawal of the overseas student subsidy and to the extent that these losses have been made up by the increased fee income will not accurately reflect the changes in the universities' financial position.

Percentage change in UGC fund (Academic Year), 1980-81 to 1983-84

University	(1) Cash excluding Information Technology and New Blood	(b) Real terms including Information Technology and New Blood	(c) Real terms excluding Information Technology and New Blood
Aston	-14.1	-31.5	-32.0
Bath	+18.3	-5.7	-6.4
Birmingham	+6.7	-15.1	-15.6
Bradford	-14.4	-31.9	-32.3
Bristol	+8.4	-13.4	-14.3
Brunel	+4.2	-17.2	-17.6
Cambridge City	+14.7	-8.1	-9.3
Durham	+16.8	-7.4	-7.7
East Anglia	+10.2	-12.3	-12.9
Essex	+0.6	-19.8	-20.5
Exeter	+3.4	-17.9	-18.2
Hull	3.3	-17.9	-18.3
Keele	-15.5	-33.0	-33.2
Kent	-0.3	-20.4	-21.1
Lancaster	+8.6	-14.0	-14.1
Leeds	+7.6	-14.6	-14.9
Leicester	+17.8	-6.2	-6.8
Liverpool	+5.5	-16.3	-16.6
London Graduate School of Business Studies	+70.3	+35.0	+35.0
London University	+7.6	-14.4	-14.9
Loughborough	+16.8	-7.3	-7.7
Manchester Business School Manchester	-1.8	-22.5	-22.5
University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology	+5.6	-16.1	-16.5
Newcastle	-10.9	-28.8	-29.5
Nottingham	+11.9	-10.9	-11.5
Oxford	+9.5	-12.6	-13.4
Oxford	+13.7	-9.1	-10.1
Reading	+8.8	-13.7	-13.9
Salford	-28.0	-42.8	-43.0
Sheffield	+10.0	-12.7	-13.0
Southampton	+11.9	-11.0	-11.5
Surrey	-3.0	-23.0	-23.3
Sussex	+1.6	-18.7	-19.6
Warwick	+10.3	-11.9	-12.8
York	+23.8	-0.2	-2.1
Aberystwyth UC	+3.5	-17.7	-18.1
Bangor UC	+6.9	-15.3	-15.4
Cardiff UC	+7.5	-14.8	-14.9
St. David's Lampeter	+28.0	+1.3	+1.3
Swansea UC	+4.3	-17.1	-17.5
University of Wales College of Medicine University of Wales Institute of Science and Technology	+15.7	-8.3	-8.6
Aberdeen	-0.3	-20.7	-21.1
Dundee	+0.3	-20.4	-20.7
Edinburgh	+5.3	-16.3	-16.7
Glasgow	+14.5	-8.6	-9.4
Heriot-Watt	+17.5	-6.5	-7.1
St. Andrews	+12.0	-10.8	-11.4
Stirling	+2.5	-18.5	-18.9
Strathclyde	-1.7	-21.5	-22.3
Strathclyde	+5.3	-16.3	-16.7

#### Teams Games (Policy) WA

**Mr. Greenway** asked the Sec State for the Environment what is his policy on sport involving team games among under 16-year olds; and if he will make a statement.

**Mr. Tracey:** Responsibility for school sport is primarily a matter for the local education authorities and individual schools. However, I am keen to encourage greater participation by children, at school and elsewhere, in sport and recreation generally, including team sports. I am aware of concerns expressed by some organisations and individuals about standards of team sports in schools. I have asked for further evidence to support those concerns. When that is available, I shall consider whether discussions with other Ministers are appropriate.

#### Employment WA

**Mr. Andrew F. Bennett** asked the Paymaster General what are the projected future numbers of participants (a) in total and (b) by region in the various training and employment measures run by the MSC by each individual scheme and by all schemes.

**Mr. Alan Clark:** The following tables show the numbers of participants or places planned for 1986-87 on the various training and employment measures run by the MSC. I regret that a regional breakdown is not available for all schemes at this time because plans are presently being prepared. However, where regional figures are available these are shown.

Table 1

Scheme	Planned Numbers 1986-87
Adult Training Programmes	292,000
Community Industry	7,000 places
Community Programme	230,000 places*
Employment Allowance Scheme	80,000
Voluntary Projects Programme	Around 350 projects†
Youth Training Scheme	362,000

\* From June 1986.

† VPP is planned on a project basis and estimates of future numbers of participants are not available.

Table 2  
Current Regional Targets

Region	*Community Programme	Community Industry
Scotland	29,150	1,440
Northern	27,200	975
North West	36,500	1,125
Yorks and Humberside	26,850	1,045
Midlands	40,100	665
Wales	20,540	825
South West	15,500	200
South East	17,800	100
London	15,120	595

\* Targets are for June 1986. A further 1,240 places currently not allocated to regions and are also available for linked experiments.

#### European Youth Ministers WA

**Mr. Lawler** asked the Sec State for Education and Science if he will make a statement on the outcome of the European Youth Ministers' meeting in December.

**Mr. Dunn:** This Council of Europe Conference, with the theme "Participation", was held at the invitation of the French Government in Strasbourg from 16 to 19 December. The United Kingdom delegation, which I led, included the current chairperson of the British Youth Council, and advisers from the Department's youth service unit and Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools.

Ministers and delegations from all member countries attended, with representatives and observers present from some other countries, the European Commission and many international organisations, including a number of non-governmental organisations representing young people in Europe. Discussions in formal sessions concerned the situation facing young people in Europe; the scope for increasing participation by young people in member countries of the Council of Europe; and future co-operation at European level on youth matters. The conclusions of the conference have now been published by the Council of Europe and I am sending a copy to the hon. Member and placing further copies in the Library.

#### Schools (Expenditure) WA

**Mr. Andrew F. Bennett** asked the Sec State for Education and science if he will list the levels of direct and indirect spending at outturn and at 1985-86 prices on (a) public sector schools and (b) assisted and independent schools by (i) central Government and (ii) local education authorities for children (1) up to school leaving age and (2) after school leaving age up to 18 years, for each of the last 10 years, together with the percentages of children covered by the categories listed.

**Mr. Dunn:** The financial information is as follows. Figures on the total numbers of pupils supported in independent and direct grant schools are not readily available. In 1983-84 the numbers supported under the assisted places schemes were 13,000.

	Net-recurrent expenditure		
	Local education authority		Central government*
	Local education authority expenditure (£ million) Cash 1983-84 real terms	Non-maintained schools Local education authority expenditure (£ million) Cash 1983-84 real terms	expenditure (£ million) Cash 1983-84 real terms
<b>England and Wales</b>			
1974-75	2,370	7,258	47
1975-76	3,015	7,346	70
1976-77	3,420	7,364	82
1977-78	3,711	7,016	87
1978-79	4,160	7,109	84
1979-80	4,743	6,936	94
<b>England</b>			
1980-81	5,880	7,239	110
1981-82	6,109	6,831	117
1982-83	6,520	6,811	116
1983-84	6,832	6,832	116

\* From 1981-82 awards expenditure on independent schools via the assisted places schemes is included in addition to residual expenditure on direct grant schools.

# benefits

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

The column this quarter is given over to the changes in benefit rates effective from 28.7.86.

## NEW BENEFIT RATES FROM 28th JULY

### SUPPLEMENTARY BENEFIT

Normal Requirements	Ordinary rate	Long term rate
Couple	48.40	60.55
Single Householder	29.80	37.90
Non Householder over 18	23.85	30.35
16-17	18.40	23.25
11-15	15.30	
under 11	10.20	
Savings limit for claims - £3.000		

### Additional requirements

	Lower rate	Higher rate
Heating	2.20	5.55
Central Heating 1 - 4 rms.	2.20	
5+ rms.		4.40
Estate Rate Heating	4.40	8.80
Diet	1.60	3.70
for those on kidney machines or actual cost if more		10.65
Baths (each bath over 1 per week).	30p	
Blindness	1.25	
Over 80	25p	
Attendance Requirements (up to)	20.65	
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	48.10	Couple/Single Parent	70.85
Each Child	14.60	Couple (both handicapped)	79.00
Single (handcapped)	53.65		
Couple (1 handicapped) or Handicapped Single Parent	76.40		

#### 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.

16-20 on S.B., 16 and 17 on S.D.A., on YTS training, some full time students.	NIL	NIL
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### FAMILY INCOME SUPPLEMENT

Prescribed Income Level	Maximum Amount Payable
1 child in family	1 child in family
under 11 - 98.60	under 11 - 25.30
11 - 15 - 99.60	11 - 15 - 25.80
16+ - 100.60	16+ - 26.30
Each additional child	Each additional child
under 11 - 11.65	under 11 - 2.55
11 - 15 - 12.65	11 - 15 - 3.05
16+ - 13.65	16+ - 3.55

### CONTRIBUTORY BENEFITS

	Self	Adult Dep.	Each Child
Unemployment Benefit	30.80	19.00	
Sickness Benefit	29.45	18.20	
Maternity Allowance	29.45	18.20	
Retirement Pension	38.70	23.25	8.05
Earnings Limit for Ret. Pension	75.00		
Widows Allowance (1-26 wks.)	54.20		8.05
Widows Pension (after 26 wks.)	38.70		8.05
Widowed Mothers Allowance	38.70		8.05
Invalidity Pension	38.70	23.25	8.05
Age Related Increase with Invalidity or Industrial Injury Unemployment Supplement.			
When incapacity began:-			
Before Age 40	- 8.15		
40 - 49	- 5.20		
50 - 59 (men)	- 2.60		
50 - 54 (women)	- 2.60		

### NON-CONTRIBUTORY BENEFITS

	Self	Adult Dep.	Each Child
Severe Disablement Allowance	23.25	13.90	8.05
Invalid Care Allowance	23.25	13.90	8.05
Guardian Allowance	8.05		
Child Benefit	7.10		
One Parent Benefit	4.60		
Mobility Allowance	21.65		
Attendance Allowance	Higher Rate 30.95		
	Lower Rate 20.65		

### LUMP SUM GRANTS

Maternity Grant	25.00
Death Grant	30.00

## rural life - a hope for young people?

IAN JOHNSON

Continued from p.12

"Alternative Rural Services", A Community Initiatives Manual, by Stephen Woollett. Published by the NCVO at £3.50.

"Out of Town, Out of Mind?", by Simon Nicholson. Published by the Leicester Diocesan Board of Social Responsibility.

"Groundwork", by Michael D. Akehurst. Published by NAYC.

"Faith in the City", The report of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas. Published by CIO at £7.50.

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Please note the views expressed by contributors should always be seen as their own. They do not represent their employing agency.

# YOUTH the journal of critical analysis AND POLICY

## SUBMISSION

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

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## REVIEWS

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## WORKING SPACE

Editor: Malcolm Jackson, Gateshead Community Education Team, 13 Gladstone Terrace, Gateshead, Tyne & Wear.

## INSERTS

Details and rates of advertising and circulation from: Youth and Policy, 13 Hunstanton Court, Ravenswood Estate, Low Fell, Gateshead NE9 6LA.

## SUBSCRIPTIONS

Youth and Policy, 13 Hunstanton Court, Ravenswood Estate, Low Fell, Gateshead NE9 6LA.

Annual Subscription (4 issues): £14.00

Students and unwaged £11.00

Individual copies: £4.00

Back issues (if available): At cover price

Overseas rate: £19 sterling

(includes postage at 'printed paper' rate)

Special terms for orders of ten or more, on request.

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