YOUTH
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towards an integrated view
of youth policy

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Experience of 'youth policy' in Britain continues to be deeply fragmented. Indeed most of those working with young people or managing youth facilities, to say nothing of the young themselves, seem still to be forced into a largely **service** orientation to such provision. Even a journal called **Youth and Policy,** at least when dealing with contemporary issues and developments, most frequently takes as its starting point 'housing' or 'the Youth Service' or a similarly specialist focus.

Such an approach is of course hardly surprising and is certainly not the fault of those of us who adopt it. After all, services for young people **are** deeply divided and even often in competition. Particularly in a period when resources are said to be scarce, conflict rather than coherence is likely to be the dominant feature of their interactions. With these organisational facts of life most powerfully shaping individuals' **experience** of 'youth policy' what almost inevitably gets embedded in youth workers' and young people's consciousness is the assumption that common aims and priorities do not and cannot underpin public and 'voluntary' provision for youth.

The depth and extent to this fragmentation stems partly from the fact that definitions of what are appropriate and essential purposes for a youth policy are not just handed down from above. They are and always have been sharply contested, even amongst policy-makers with a wide range of shared class, race, gender and other interests. What emerges as 'policy' therefore is run through with compromises, based on much more than merely individual view and interpretation. A variety of 'societal' goals have to be satisfied, many of which are themselves sharply contradictory. For example raw and usually energetic recruits to a very traditional social order are required to learn - **internalise** - how to behave and **think**, as citizens, workers, men, women, whites, blacks, heterosexuals. How do you achieve such ends however without simultaneously denying through your actions constantly declared commitments to 'democracy', 'freedom', 'personal choice' 'and self-realisation'? Certainly not - except as a last resort - by some crude application of coercion which anyway would be most unlikely to achieve the subtly **educational** task of winning the young's **consent** to dominant societal ideas and practices. For these, rather than being mere external impositions compliantly adhered to by one individual young person after another, need to be **owned** by each rising generation as part of their culture and taken-for-granted 'world view'.

Yet anything short of coercion leaves young people considerable room to opt for other and even contrary ideas and beliefs, to the point where they may end up, at least to some degree, non-compliant, 'permissive', 'indisciplined', even actually 'subversive'. Nor is this just an academic point. Over the past 150 years or so, policy-makers, in struggling to balance these conflicting pulls, have embodied in policy some highly contradictory commitments. Did psychological insights for example, especially into young people's motivation, advance within the educational and juvenile justice fields merely because they made it easier to meet 'individual need?' Or did their growing popularity with policy-makers stem, at least in part, from their potential for helping to manage an often recalcitrant and even alientated mass clientele within increasingly large and impersonal institutions like schools and borstals? Again, did the Albemarle Committee endorse aspects of teenagery like 'skiffle - and - washboard groups' merely out of respect for young people and their 'indigineous' activies? Or were they bending to what one contemporary called the young's 'mutability'?[1] Such tacking to the changing winds of (particularly white male working class) young people's interests has been a constant feature of all youth policies, and demonstrates how even these young and formally powerless users of state and philanthropic services have exerted some leverage on policy and practice.

The formative influences on youth policies have thus been far from one-dimensional or monolithic. It is hardly surprising therefore that a national youth **policy** has been seen in Britain as neither possible, nor indeed desirable. Nonetheless, British youth policies have been run though with some important common threads which in some conditions have been woven together quite tightly to produce a reasonable and distinctive overall youth strategy. For over a decade now, for example, political and economic crisis has pushed state policy-makers into increasingly strong responses to the young. These have been aimed at rooting out the 'permissiveness' which a relatively more affluent and liberal age had tolerated and even sometimes positively encouraged. Despite ideological commitments to 'market forces', 'self-help' and 'family responsibility', policy-makers have been increasingly concerned to contain and even reduce the range of 'desirable' and 'acceptable' ideas and actions. This pressure has been applied not just to the more obviously 'politi-

cal' fields but also the personal (indeed often private) behaviour and interpersonal (especially sexual) relations.

Here, as so often in the past, 'youth' has been a touchstone of 'effective' policy. Youth workers for example with their unreliably voluntary relationships with young people, have got less and less state endorsement and financial support; YTS supervisors have been instructed not to deal with contentious (that is critical political) issues; whole teachers are now being required by law to impart a conventional sexual morality which assumes the sanctity and primacy of an institution - the traditional nuclear family - which is increasingly becoming a-typical.

Such pressures have, I conclude, forced into existence a national state youth policy whose origins and dominant features I try to identify and analyse in a book, **Threatening Youth,** published by Open University Press in October. Ultimately, I suspect, this fails to make the radical break out of conventionally divided perspectives on youth policy which is now needed. Four of its seven chapters take as given the existing service boundaries of schooling, further education and MSC schemes, Juvenile justice and the Youth Service. A bolder analysis might have adopted a thematic approach, examining for example how **across** these boundaries a radical right ideology has been embodied in policies: how for example 'vocationalism', 'consumer choice' and 'higher standards' have shaped goals and priorities for these services, their resource allocation, their organisational structures and their practice. such an analysis would, to, have taken race, gender, sexuality an disability as well as class as its organising concepts for exploring these cross-service developments.

However **Threatening Youth** does attempt to breach some of the traditional analytical constraints. One route for doing this is undoubtedly historical: tracing how at least over a century and a half a society structured around deep social divisions and dominatnt interests has shaped policies for youth and in so doing has built up an at least implicit youth policy. An historical perspective too illustrates quite concretely how the organised struggle against and more individualised resistance to these interests, mentioned earlier, have resulted in sometimes contradictory requirements being made of practitioners.

Thus schools, as well as being enjoined to 'tap the pool of ability' in order to increase 'national efficiency' have also by law expected to serve individual young people 'according to (their) age, aptitude and ability'. Vocational training has been urged not to leave underdeveloped 'the mind of any girl who can serve her homeland as well as.... her home'.[2] Juvenile justice has been charged with making 'care and control run in harness'.[3] And youth work, as well as being as helping 'ultimately (in) solving the class differences'[4] civilising 'the roughest lads'[5] and imparting Christian values, has had its '**sole** objective' defined as 'the personal development of the individual'.[6]

One way of achieving a somewhat sharper contemporary perspective on the newly emergent state youth policy is to search out where and why traditional service boundaries are breaking down. some of these shifts have now been well recognised: for example, the colonisation of the education services by the MSC. Others - apparently the result of that well known British phenomenon, absence-of-mind - have evoked less comment. Particularly striking is the intrusion of the police into both welfare and education settings. Here their 'liaison' activities with both schooling and youth work have amongst other things involved them in London in running 'Panda' quizzes for nearly 8000 primary schools, a five-aside football competition for 50,000 young people, and 'citizen training' within the actual classroom. This has all now led to a deal between the Police Federation and the main teaching unions, a report complied jointly by the Association of Chief Officers and the Society of Education Officers and - most telling of all - a legal requirement that schools give the police a unique right of access.

The police now also have a growing and officially endorsed role in enforcing school attendance, via 'hot pursuit' campaigns into public places where young people might congregate and via more active collaboration, including information-sharing, with education welfare officers and teachers. The spread of cautioning and reparation schemes has also drawn them more directly into what seem to amount to 'soft' IT-type projects, again giving them greater access to 'sensitive' information on some vulnerable groups of young people.

However these blurring boundaries do not only involve the police. Though radical right policy-makers do not particularly trust either teachers or social workers, the latter can at least have their minds concentrated on their 'soft-cop' roles by increasingly tough legislation. Responsibility for 'at risk' and delinquent young people has thus been shifted from schooling to social work or social work-type institutions. 'Sin bins for 'disruptive' pupils, which emphasise psychological explanations of problems and 'welfaring' solutions to these have proliferated. At the same time IT in its 'day-care'mode has more and more taken over some young offenders' full-time schooling. At least in one case a much closer identification between such IT centres and disruptive pupil units has been officially encouraged with central state influence on such being shifts exerted by the way funds - again via the MSC as well as the DHSS and the DES - have been allocated and their use prioritised.

These trends towards a centrally constructed strategy aimed at remoralising and containing the young have also been particularly clearly demonstrated by those state polices which affect - indeed determine - young people's material circumstances. Here, state housing policies operating against the public sector and in favour of privatisation and the 'nuclear family' have interacted extremely harshly with other policies crucial for young people. These have included the deliberate depression of the YOP/YTS 'allowance' and successive manipulations of the social security system, culminating in the 1985 changes in the board and lodging regulations. These policies' apparently pragamatic objectives of saving money and reducing 'abuse' have now been given the stamp of principle by the Fowler review of social security which with breath-taking arrogance proclaims a new age of majority:

> ...it is clear that at the age of 18 the majority of claimants are not fully independent and that the great majority of
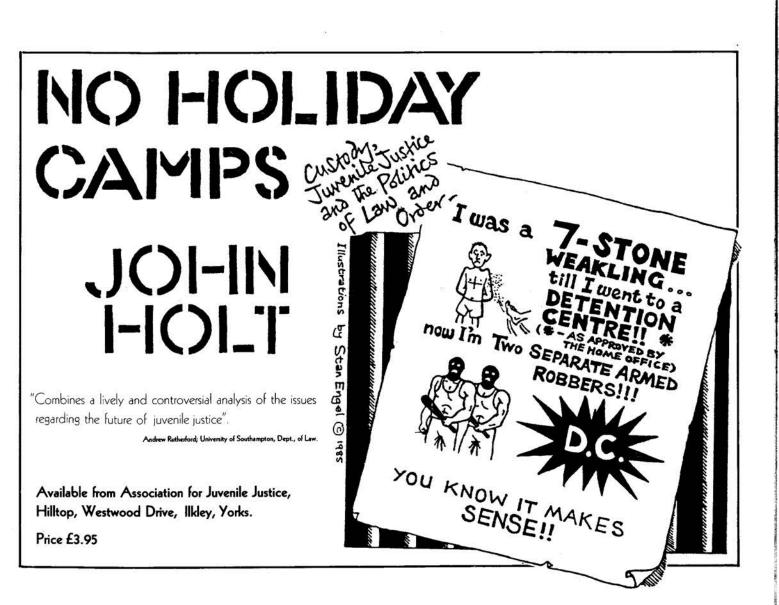
claimants above 25 are.[7]

Young people, it seems, are to be kept in deep poverty and dependent on their parents for the vital material requirements of life until their are well beyond adolescent bolshiness.

Even without breaking radically with a 'service' perspective on youth policy therefore, the latter's growing coherence and harshness can be clearly indentified and understood. For practitioners, this more integrated analysis seems important, firstly to help throw into sharper relief what is happening in their own specialised field; and secondly and perhaps more significantly to help generate a well-founded **practice** for resisting and going positively beyond the divide-and-rule situations in which most youth practitioners now fiend themselves. What is needed here, it is important to stress, is not the 'inter-professional' and 'multi-disciplinary' collaboration constantly advocated by state policy-makers. This too often amounts to little more than the slicker management and processing of young people through the state machinery. The more integrated practice responses being advocated here start by defining youth practitioners as

employees of large bureaucracies increasingly required (whether they are 'statutory' or 'voluntary') to contain or indeed coerce the young. And they assume that the intention will be, via their extended collectivity of perspective and approach, not just to counter-attack these pressures, but also to develop a more 'progressive' practice.

In this sense, a more integrated analysis of the new state youth policy would become, not an end in itself, but a crucial - perhaps a primary - tool for action in young people's interests.

References & Notes

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all change: alternative approaches to club work

JANE SHUTTLEWORTH

In November 1985 I attended the Youth and Policy Conference and as I knew very few people there I seemed to spend an endless amount of time introducing myself. "What do you do?" they would say. "I work in a youth club", I replied and by the look on their faces I had to add, "It's not an ordinary youth club". A lot of the faces mirrored what I knew already that youth clubs have a bad image and that many people who work in the broad field of 'youth work' see detached/project work as the areas where exciting and innovatory work takes place.

In many, if not the majority of cases that reputation is deserved. There does not seem to be a lot of exciting and innovatory work going on in youth clubs. But having a youth club and members - a regular cliental of young people who turn up night after night, or week after week to an identifiable place, gives workers the scope and continuity to develop innovatory ideas just as much, if not more than detached or project workers. If you disagree then you dismiss the areas of youth work which have the most contact with young people and the most resources ploughed into them by youth services across the country.

I have been a club worker in London for the past 7 years. I've been tempted by the 'grass is greener' thoughts of project work but I've stayed and struggled with trying to develop my youth club practice. It has not been easy, but I am certainly at the stage where I can say I do not work in a traditional youth club. I am not primarily concerned with 'the building' and with numbers. Workers do not collect

Boys Night Out	We Do Social Education	Bring on the Girls	I'm Into Participation We've got a Members Committee
Club a recreation centre	Club a recreation centre	Club a recreation centre	Club still mostly about recreation
There to "keep the kids off the streets"	Some concern about "social education"	Some action taken on challenging attitudes eg. Girls Night	Youth workers:
Young people passively consume "activities"	Some political issues raised	Youth workers:	- initiate
Youth workers:	Activities most important thing	- supervise	- sell the idea of involvement"
- organise	Youth workers:	- police the premises	- discuss
- supervise	- organise	- discuss	- question and challenge
- police the premises	- supervise	- question and challenge	- supervise
- talk	- police the premises	- some shared organisation	- police the building
	- discuss		- worry about their role

ACTIVITY BASED

- "Traditional Youth Work"
- Social/Political Education Issues not a Priority
- Static - no real change
- Based on low expectations of young people
- Staff do not have clear aims and objectives
- A recreation model

Contradictions and Confusions

or

Where Do I Go From Here

SITTING ON THE FENCE

ISSUES BASED

- Innovative club work
- Political education the priority
- Unpredictable - change will happen
- Based on high expectations of young people
- Staff have clear aims and objectives

Greater Expectations	All Change	Who Needs Youth Workers Anyway!
Youth Club a mixture of:	- Club concerned with social and political education	Young people initiate programme around political issues
- young people organising recreation	- Young people and youth workers create programme around political issues	Youth workers:
- initiating political education issues	Youth workers:	- support
- creating conflict, challenge to stimulate learning	- facilitate	- give advice and information when asked
	- support	
	- challenge and question	

subs, organise sports teams or supervise pool games. However the main substance of this article is not to talk about my practice now. It is to use the experience I have gained as a club based worker to outline different models or approaches I have taken and have seen (and see) other club workers taking.

It is a stimulus to thinking, not a ready made package or a definitive statement on club work. No doubt there are a lot of confusing and contradictory statements. Equally I am aware that I have used a lot of terms, for example, participation, racism, sexism, social and political education without fully explaining what I mean by these. I make no apologies for that - I simply didn't have the time to qualify everything I have written.

The diagram is a summary of the article. Each approach/model is more fully explained under the appropriate headings below.

BOYS NIGHT OUT
The club is a recreation centre.
It is there to "keep young people off the street"
Young people passively consume 'activities'

The Youth Workers - organise
         - supervise
         - police the premises
         - talk

Recognisable? Instantly? Young men come to the door, pay their 10p and if they don't they're chased around the building all night until they pay or the worker gives up and writes a note that they owe 10p. Very welcoming! Sets the scene for what's to follow.

These clubs have progressed though. 15 years ago there wouldn't have been space invaders and a coin operated pool table. There would only have been football, table tennis and of course boxing.

There's a well stocked canteen run by the 'canteen lady' and she's serving all those boys who said they didn't have any money when they were asked for their subs.

And the youth workers? Well they are well pleased when the football team wins the league and they proudly display the trophies in a cabinet. If the local neighbours don't complain then everything's hunky dory because they are keeping the young people off the streets and out of trouble and after all that's what they are paid for.

'WE DO SOCIAL EDUCATION'
The club is a recreation centre
There is some concern about 'social education'
Some political issues are raised
Activities are still the most important thing
The Youth Workers - organise
         - supervise
         - police the building
         and
         - discuss

A big difference here. Youth workers sometimes listen. You still get all the nonsense about subs, the football team or worries about the club's place in the pool league but a thing called social education has crept in. Nobody knows quite what it is. If there's a full time worker they might have an idea. The part-time staff and voluntary workers have heard of the words but haven't got a clue what they really mean because nobody's bothered to tell them. But, somewhere in the air is social education.

When it's the time of the year to think about funding everybody talks about it but what does it mean? Well, everyone must learn to get on with each other, we must tolerate and respect peoples' views. The girls have to be allowed to stay in the loo if they want to. We don't have any racism in our club, it's open to everybody regardless of race, creed or colour. We treat everybody the same here.

Great? Progress??

BRING ON THE GIRLS
The club is still about recreation. Some action is being taken about challenging attitudes e.g. having a Girls Night.

The Youth Workers - supervise
         - police the building
         - discuss
         - question and challenge
         and
         - there's some shared organisation of the programme
           (usually on Girls Night)

A definite change here. Not only is social education understood a bit more by a few more people but there is a realisation that "girls are people too". (I've picked out girls work specifically here because girls nights seem to be appearing everywhere).

The girls have now come out of the loo and got a chance once a week to have their say. This has usually taken a long struggle and one or two women staff are now labelled as eccentrics or trouble-makers by male workers. Because after all the club is supposed to cater for everyone and is it right to section a group off? But other places are doing it and the girls seem to be enjoying it.....so.....

On girls night the girls have a say in what happens but for the rest of week it's still the same. There's the football league and the pool competitions, arguments over collecting subs etc. etc.

Occasionally there's a staff meeting and the words appear again - Social Education. They now often appear more frequently when funding and resources are not an issue. But when it's the time of the year to think of grant aid applications or applications for part-time hours the football trophies get polished, girls night gets forgotten because too few attend and the numbers game is played by everyone.

Although we know we are doing social education there is still the old concern to keep people off the streets and youth workers have to demonstrate that they are keeping a lot of people off the streets and out of trouble.

I'M INTO PARTICIPATION. WE'VE GOT A MEMBERS COMMITTEE

The club is still predominantly concerned with recreation. There is some effort to involve young people in making decisions - perhaps a members committee or members representation on the management committee.

The Youth Workers - initiate
  - sell the idea that being involved is a good thing
  - discuss
  - question and challenge
  - supervise
  - police the building
  - worry about their role

A very big change here. There's all the usual trappings - need I say more - football, pool, the space invaders. Girls night is still there and the numbers are still low but it is a 'good thing'.

The weekly members meeting is a 'good thing' too, so is the members committee. Young people like to be involved. Wow! They even help us to collect the subs at the door, Wow! Sometimes the money's short (wow!) But it is all part of the process of getting them to articulate their needs and getting them to understand it's their club and the workers are there to respond to their needs. Of course the workers have to set the boundaries but it's good for young people to learn about rules and boundaries.

The weekly meetings and committees are good too. They teach everybody new skills - how meetings work, the role of the chair and the secretary, etc. That's what social education is all about. Learning new skills in a social setting so you develop as a person.

There are fairly regular staff meetings now. There's even been a training event for young people, staff and the management committee. The staff meetings are heated though - what are we here to do if the members are organising everything? - how far can the members go in this? - I'm not paid to do what the members tell me and hang on, where are the girls on the members committee?

But full steam ahead. Participation. The Thompson Report talks about it. Democracy and all that. The weekly meetings and members committee roll on. But.....problems.....is it OK for one group to dominate the meetings and the committee? Why is attendance at meetings dropping? Why are the members still saying they are bored?

We've given young people the opportunities and tried to share our power by involving them in decisions but they don't want the responsibility.

Participation doesn't work.

CONTRADICTIONS AND CONFUSIONS OR WHERE DO I GO FROM HERE?

In practice very few people go further than this point. They get confused about participation. Get caught up with the idea that committees are the answer to getting young people involved. But the young people don't want to be involved or if they do they want to organise sports activities and outings. And is that enough?

Most of these clubs are very insular. The club is this little island of democracy (?) within a society which is clearly undemocratic and unequal. After all what does it really matter if young people learn the ins and outs of running a youth club? What does it matter if they know that committees have a chair, a secondary and a treasurer? Outside the club they are unemployed, homeless, suffering discrimination because of race, sex, sexuality, disability, class, the list goes on.

These issues may or may not come into the club. Discussion may/may not take place. But the focus is not on these political issues the focus is on the club and it's activities and getting young people involved in making decisions about the club and it's activities.

Although this type of work is seen as innovative by many youth workers it is just the same medicine but with a different flavour. The young people now do a bit more of the youth workers' job but the end result is the same - activities, activities, activities, with bits of discussion tacked on.

If you wanted to have a serious discussion with a friend of yours about their problems over homelessness, or unemployment, or to raise a question over their attitudes to women or black people, would you pick a time when they are thoroughly engrossed in watching a game of pool? That's what seems to happen in the majority of youth clubs and it gets called social education - instead it should be called a quick chat over a game of pool.

It is hardly surprising that things haven't changed much. It's not about young people's needs it's about expectations. 'Traditional' club work is based on very low expectations of young people - all they want is somewhere cheap to go, lots of sports activities and a continual diet of video games. So young people come to expect that that is what youth clubs are about and when they get a chance to have a say they come up with similar ideas because that's what they have been taught clubs are about. It's a vicious circle.

The traditional model of youth clubs is also very male - from the leadership, to the membership, to the activities on offer. It is also very white orientated - whoever heard of a Reggae Dance that finished at 11. It is also very heterosexist. It very rarely caters for young people with disabilities. Last but certainly not least it is based on a liberal middle class philosophy which is about control, but control in a nice liberal middle class way.

The youth club is there for everybody (!?) the youth workers want people to co-operate, to share, to learn to make decisions together. It is consensus politics. Let's hide the conflicts and all be nice to each other in the club. Very rarely does the question get asked - on who's terms are we asking young people to participate?

So very few workers go any further than this point. They sit on the fence, occasionally dangling a foot across the other side. But there's too much conflict over there and it's easier

to brush the issues under the pool table baize and carry on with the sport and video games.

But it gets a little confusing at times because the women who work on the Girls Night are firmly off the fence. They continually raise political issues but they are not usually high enough up the heirarchy to radically change the status-quo in the club.

When a club moves on from this point conflict will happen. For as soon as you go against young people's expectations they start asking why? As soon as you start introducing materials and ideas that provoke discussions and challenge young peoples' attitudes you get argument. But you also get change.

GREATER EXPECTATIONS
Youth clubs a mixture of
- young people organising recreation activities
- youth worker initiating social/political education work - creating conflict, challenge to stimulate learning.

There are 2 camps here initially.[1] The young people who expect a youth club that is about recreation; there to keep them off the streets and provide them with things to do - usually sporting things.[2] The youth workers see their role as one of raising social/political issues. Or, perhaps I should say the youth workers see their role as political educators. Let's forget the liberal social educational bit because it's all about politics and power, right from the debates over who decides what happens in the club, to issues over police harrassment of black young people. Power and Politics, power and politics. And, after all, the personal is the political and if a young woman who has been beaten up by the man she lives with chooses to take out an injunction against him, or spend time in a refuge then there are both personal and policial decisions to be made.

The workers are clear about this. Their aims are not to keep young people off the streets. They are not merely about getting young people involved in the club. Yes 'Participation', involving young people in decision making, has value but it is a means to an end not an end in itself. The end is concerned with working towards a society where democracy and equality of opportunity mean more than the policy papers they are written on. The worker's role is about raising the political, creating opportunities where young people can explore concepts like power and oppression and understand how these terms operate both on a personal and institutional level. Who needs workers to be paid to organise sports teams and collect subs? In other words who needs youth workers to act as a controlling force? Certainly not young people, who surely have enough controlling forces around them in the form of parents, schools, the police, DHSS, MSC, employers and so on. So in Britain in 1986 who needs youth workers to act as a controlling force? Perhaps the same people who needs the miners strike to fail or who need to keep up their investments in South Africa?

I hear the cries already. Political indoctrination, manipulating the minds of young people. And yes, I would agree with them, the majority of youth work is about political indoctrination.

This type of work though is not in the majority and is not about political indoctrination. There are no hidden biases, the workers are up front about their views. The work is about presenting alternatives, about going outside the expectations young people have of themselves, adults, youth workers and youth clubs.

But ..... young people EXPECT youth clubs to be about recreation and competitive sports. Hence the 2 camps. The youth workers who see their role as political educators and the young people who expect to be kept off the streets and occupied by pool and video games. The issues versus the activities.

The young people get on with organising the activities and the youth workers get on with raising political issues. But as with most things it's not as simple as that. Youth workers have to have young people to raise the political issues with and it's also about raising political consciousness. So it's not OK that all the members want to come in and use the club as a recreation centre.

Workers often have to create conflict in order to initiate change, challenge and discussion. They often have to go outside the expectations young people have of the club and it's workers by creating a disjunction between what is expected and what is delivered. It is the issues that are thrown up by this disjunction that are the substance of the work the youth workers undertake. For example, a group of youth workers decide to take out a club's video games and pool table. They do this because they see these games stifling people, getting in the way of involvement and participation and because of the competitive atmosphere generated by playing these games workers are often asked to perform a 'controlling role'. So out they go. Obviously this goes against the expectations of young people and they don't like the decision. But this conflict about who has the power to decide what happens in the club throws up other issues - what's the club there for, what should youth workers be doing? It opens up alternative ways of working within a youth club setting. Some young people find other sports-leisure activities to take the place of pool and video games. But others begin to explore the possibilities that the club has for them and these possibilities have nothing to do with sport and leisure.

ALL CHANGE
Youth club concerned with social and political education. Young people and youth workers initiate programme around political educational issues.

Youth workers - facilitate
            - support
            - challenge and question

No flaffing around here about numbers, pool, subs and the like. The club is about policies, policies like Participation, Anti-Sexist work and Anti-Racist work. The staff are a team and that isn't just about working in the same place and attending staff meetings together. It means they know what the policies are, are committed to these and work to put them into practice. Talk and action - not just talk.

The club is not a building there to be filled. The building is

a resource like the money and staffing, and the youth workers job is about putting the policies into practice and using the resources in the most effective way. More importantly young people who attend the club know about the policies.

They know what the club stands for and when it comes down to it they choose to participate within that or not. The same as has always happened in clubs only in this case the young people are clear what they are participating in and because of a central concern over power the club as an institution does not actively discriminate against oppressed groups by intention or default. Rather, the club's policies lead the workers to be constantly examining their own attitudes and encouraging and supporting the young people to do likewise.

In this type of club if you're a member and you want to get staff to help you organise a football team, they'll most probably send you to the nearest sports centre. But if you want to organise a residential training event on Young People and Power you'll get all the support you need. If you come up with any idea you'll be asked why you want to do it and how it fits in with the club's policies.

The issues are the priority and they are the political issues because once workers and young people get away from the idea that the club is a building who's prime aim is to keep young people occupied and out of trouble then the real issues facing young people come to the top of the agenda. And these are all political issues, about choices and options, about accepting that's the way things are or about doing something to change them if you disagree. Because believe it or not, young people know there's more to life than playing pool. They just aren't given much encouragement by adults to explore where they stand politically. 'The issues', like racism/sexism/heterosexism/classism and all the other "isms", aren't invented by politically motivated youth workers. They're there, waiting to get into the club and young people are dealing with them day in, day out.....

WHO NEEDS YOUTH WORKERS ANYWAY?
Young people initiate programmes around political educational issues.

Youth workers - support
- give advice and information when asked

Do I really need to explain this one? It's when young people get on and create change, challenge, discussion for themselves and amongst themselves. Like everyone they need support for what they do and occasionally will need advice and information on what's the best way to do it. Do they need a youth worker though or does the youth worker need them?

CONCLUSION
As I said at the start of this article it is a stimulus not a definitive statement. There are therefore not quick easy conclusions to it. There are though some points I would like to stress. Clubs do not seem to have progressed much in the last 20 years. There may be pool, and video games and not so much table tennis and boxing but the overall ethos seems to be to get as many people in a building for as many nights as possible and to control them while they are in the building.

THE BUILDING. Forget it for a while. What are the workers there to do? What is the aim of the work? Is it about maintaining control and the status quo? Or is it about challenge and change? Is it about exploring issues or doing activities.

I know my answers and my work is about seeing these aims get put into practice. I also know my work is not about indoctrination, it's about looking at alternatives, and my answer to all these nice liberal trendy youth workers who "do social education"......"Don't sit on the fence we've wired it"!!!

towards a theoretical base

for youth work

CHRIS STRAWFORD & MIKE LAVELLE

For many years reports and surveys have found youth work policy and practice in Britain to be in a state of confusion. Youth Work, we are told, lacks any philosophy and frame of reference which might stimulate coherent developmental patterns and processes for the work.

In this article we are not seeking to provide a comprehensive philosophical base for youth work, but we shall try, rather, to highlight some of the issues and questions which will need to be addressed in working towards such a base. We hope also to identify the choices between some ideologically-grounded paradigms of youth work and to share a process by which we have, through a clarification of our personal beliefs, moved towards a philosophy of practice.

To clear the ground, the first question we need to ask is whether youth work is a meaningful unitary concept. Is there some broad consensus among youth work theorists and practitioners about what youth work is? Certainly the range of activities taking place.in the name of youth work is vast and diverse, and any conceptual linkages across the whole range are hard to discern. What, then, is youth work?

Can we look to the actual practice of youth work for a starting definition - in the sense that youth work is what is practiced by those people designated as youth workers? Can youth work be professionally defined by the practice of its specialist youth workers? We find this an inadequate starting point for the development of a coherent theory for (at least) two reasons.

Firstly, neither the working practices of, nor the training programmes for, professional youth workers seem to be informed by any common theory. Secondly, many people not professionally trained in youth work, not even calling themselves youth workers, would claim to be doing youth work as part of another social or professional role. The issues of non-professional practice contributing to the definition-through-practice of youth work is important both because professional youth workers are in a small minority, and because the non-professionals do not simply ape established patterns of professional practice but are sometimes skilled leaders and innovators in the field.

Is there, then, a way forward through examining the elements of the phrase youthwork itself? Youth work may thus be defined as a form of **work**, targeted at **young people.** But

what is the nature of the work? Is the inherent **nature** of the work (as distinct from its **focus** on young people) unique to youth work, or is it an aspect, a particular application, of a more generic form of work sometimes referred to as people-work?

There are two major questions here, which need to be addressed in any search for a theoretical base for youth work:

> 1. WHAT IS THE ESSENTIAL NATURE OF THE WORK THAT IS UNDERTAKEN WITH YOUNG PEOPLE IN YOUTH WORK?
> 2. IS SUCH WORK INHERENTLY UNIQUE TO YOUTH WORK (OTHER THAN IN ITS TARGET GROUP) OR IS IT A SPECIFIC APPLICATION OF A MORE GENERIC FORM OF PEOPLE-WORK?

At a certain level of generality our working preference (at least as an ideal) would be for a generic base for youth work. We appreciate some of the assumptions we are making, and the major implications for training if such assumptions can be substantiated. However, for our purpose in this paper we must raise the questions and move on, leaving them to be addressed at a later time.

If work is the functional element in the title youth work, then youth is the element defining the focus or target of such work. A working definition may, therefore, be tentatively proposed at this stage as:

> YOUTH WORK IS AN INTENTIONAL ACTIVITY BASED UPON BROAD GENERIC CRITERIA OF PEOPLE-WORK AND TARGETTED ON YOUNG PEOPLE.

This **intentional** activity generally takes the form of some intervention into, or impingement upon, the life-processes, perceptions, experiences and relationships of people who are in what our society regards as a transitional stage of human development between childhood and adulthood. It seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that the intention of any such intervention or impingement would be to affect that transitional process in some way (whether facilitatively or manipulatively) - and again we are aware of some of the complex socio-political issues raised by normative social perceptions of youth (or adolescence) as a stage of human

development and of such a stage being regarded as transitional.

Two further major questions is our quest for a theoretical base for youth work are, therefore:

> 3. WHY, IN OUR SOCIETY, SHOULD A PARICULAR FORM OF PEOPLE-WORK BE SPECIFICALLY TARGETED AT YOUNG PEOPLE?
> 4. WHAT ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT AND ADOLESCENTS' SOCIAL ROLES UNDERLIE THE PERCEIVED NEED FOR YOUTH WORK IN OUR SOCIETY?

What are the clues to the purposes and intentions of interventions into the life-processes of young peple made in the name of youth work? The practice of youthwork is usually associated with some primary purpose, indicated either by its specific title (e.g. educational youth work, recreational youth work, political youth work) or by its operation in some institutional or agency setting (e.g. church-based, police-based, school-based).

We can, then, with some prima facie justification, speak of such forms of youth work as discernably different orientations, reflecting differences in ideological intentions, within overall youth work practice. This raises for us a further major question:

> 5. DO THE DIFFERENCES IN INTENTION DISCERNABLE IN DIFFERENT YOUTH-WORK ORIENTATIONS AND AGENCY SETTINGS CONFORM TO SOME GENERIC CONCEPT AND PURPOSE OF YOUTHWORK, OR DO THEY INDICATE THE EXISTENCE OF DISTINCT IDEOLOGICAL PARADIGMS?

It seems to us that the categories of youthwork referred to above are often used in discussions as ideal-type youth work modes, indicating clear and uni-dimensional difference of purpose and intention which could be used for a sociological analysis of youth work. This, we believe, confuses by oversimplification the debate concerning youth work and ideology. Community-based youth work might, for instance, operate in a normative mode (e.g. adjusting young people uncritically to local community values), in a radical structuralist mode (e.g. preparing young people for a predetermined future role within a predictable future) or in a radical humanist mode (raising personal and socio-political awareness, so as to enable critical personal judgements and choices about preferred futures). Similarly, church-based youth work might operate in a reinforcement mode (e.g. club membership restricted to church members' families, with activities focussed on reinforcing shared beliefs and practices), a proselytizing mode (e.g. club membership open, missionary focus) or a social provision mode (e.g. open membership, secular activities). Of course, much youth work provision could contain a mix of modes, according to the varying perceptual constructs and orientations of the youth workers and agency officers involved - although one mode would be likely to predominate.

Of course, several modes of youth work may fall within a single ideological paradigm, so the identification of the many modes within which youth workers operate and the clustering of those modes around certain basic ideologies would be a complex and time-consuming task.

However, it seems clear to us that there are fundamental beliefs or assumptions which predispose individual youth workers to operate according to certain youth work modes rather than others. An important example is the different modes likely to be adopted by two youth workers, one of whom believes human beings to be essentially co-operative and social while the other believes them to be essentially competitive and individualistic.

Identifying different models of humanity seems to us to be a crucial element of training, study and investigation for students and practitioners in the people-working services - and especially for us in youth work, where there has tended to be a strong element of chauvinism towards theory.

We see the issue of the essential **nature** of humanness (i.e. what it is that makes us truly human) as the key to any development of youth work practice: are human beings motivated by co-operation, compassion and sharing (a socialistic motivation), or by competitiveness, self-interest and acquisitiveness (an individualistic motivation)?

The evolutionary adaptability of homo sapiens shows that very few behavioural patterns are rigidly built into the human brain. As Leakey and Lewin point out:

> "Within reasonable biological limits, humans, it is fair to say, could adapt to living in almost limitless numbers of ways. Indeed, this flexibility is manifest in the rich pattern of cultures expressed throughout the world".
> But they go on:
> "throughout the later stage of human evolution, from about three million years onwards, there was, however, one pattern of social behaviour that became extremely important, and we can therefore expect the forces of natural selection would have ensured its becoming deeply embedded in the brain: this is co-operation.[1]

For Leakey and Lewin, "there is a case for recognizing social co-operation as the key factor in the successful evolution of homo sapiens", and we believe there is sufficient evidence in support of their position to root any theoretical base for youth work in a view of human beings as essentially social and co-operative. We acknowledge this to be ultimately a value-based position with clear socio-political implications. The paradigm, logically, for the youth worker who holds an individualistic view of humanity is social control - whether directly, through the suppression of aggression, over-acquisitiveness and conflict, or indirectly through legitimising certain forms of competitive acquisitiveness and limiting those who ultimately benefit, to a certain elite group. The essence of work with young people is therefore the suppression and channelling of a fundamentally selfish, grabbing human nature.

The alternative model of humanity as essentially social and co-operative creates quite a different arena for the youth worker. Here the work with young people is an enabling,

releasing, unfolding process in which their social nature may be fully and authentically expressed. Such a paradigm does not ignore the reality of antagonism, violence and competitive destructiveness but regards these as distortions, not manifestations, of human nature.

Trapped in a societal framework built around negative assumptions of human nature and conditioned to conform to the acquisitive norms of that society, young people need a critical awareness of their position and the space to experiment with and experience alternatives. They need to percieve the future as potentially theirs, to gain a sense of control over their destinies. As Roger Garaudy reminds us:

> "The past is where things are irrevocably done..... But the future is the home of what remains to be done, the home of a plurality of possibilities for which we are responsible. It is the locus of freedom. Between the closed past and the open future, the present is the time of man. The future is not a script already written in which we only have to play our roles. It is a work that we have to create".

Our experience is of youth workers who are striving to develop strategies and skills in their work without being sufficiently helped in training courses to explore and embrace a theory and politic which might underpin their practice. Our own inadequacy in articulating such a theory and politic is itself a critique of our professional training. We are aware that we have only been able to raise a few questions and point up a few directions which might prove fruitful in the pursuit of a theoretical base for youth work. Our arguments may sometimes be tenuous and our logic sometimes shaky, but our main objective is simply to stimulate further enquiry and study in this area, in the belief that we must go on seeking to root our practice in a theoretical and philosophical bedrock or we shall be like straws in the wind of change, with only intuition and faith to guide us.

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political language & violent protest: ideological & policy responses to the 1981 & 1985 riots

JOHN SOLOMOS

Since the street protests on the streets of Bristol on April 2 1980, the ideological and policy responses to violent urban confrontations have taken a number of forms. First, there has been a vigorous discussion about the 'causes' of violent protest, particularly in inner city multi-racial areas.[1] Second, a more limited debate has taken place about the dynamics of riot participation in riots or more limited confrontations with the police.[2] Third, attempts have been made to show what kind of reforms and policy changes may be necessary to deal with violent protests and to prevent them becoming a regular feature of urban localities.[3]

All these questions are important and need to receive more detailed investigation. The core of this article, however, is the question of the interrelationship between the first and third set of responses, namely between the symbolic political language which has sought to explain violent protests and the language of reform and policy change. This is an issue which has received only limited attention so far, particularly in relation to the role of the police (Gilroy and Sim 1985, Benyon 1986), the media (Murdock 1984, Burgess 1985), government agencies (Parkinson and Duffy 1984) and youth policies (Gutzmore 1983, Solomos 1985). My concern in this article will be to explore the symbolic political language used in generating official and media beliefs about the riots, and the contradictory relationship of such language to the established inequalities in resources, status, power and access to public space.

It is perhaps too early to establish the full impact of the riots or the implementation of policy change, but a preliminary step can be taken by outlining the meanings and conflicting assumptions which policy makers used to explain, rationalise and respond to the events of 1980-81 and 1985. There is surprisingly little detailed analysis of the symbolic language that developed around the riots, although some preliminary attempts have been made to look at the impact on the perceptions of the media, politicians and local elites.[4] The central concerns of this article will be (a) an outline of the context in which a 'politics of riot' has emerged, (b) a critical overview of how the events of 1980-81 and 1985 were constructed politically, and (c) an exploration of the tension between the pursuit of **political legitimacy** and the **promise of reform**. In conclusion some comments will be offered about the likely course of future developments and the tensions and contraditions posed by the disparity between symbolic political language and the emergence of discontents and forms of protest which question the material inequalities and ideological values which stucture contemporary British society.

This is particularly important since, as Kettle and others have noted, there has been little attempt in official reports or academic analysis since 1980 to develop a detailed account of the origins, development and management of violent forms of protest in contemporary Britain.[5] This dearth of critical analysis means that it is all the more necessary to analyse the language and symbols which have been used to make sense of these events, and the inherent contradictions which these discourses attempt to manage. What follows is a preliminary attempt to develop such an analysis. It needs to be supplemented by studies of the language and symbolic meanings of black responses to the riots and the responses of riot participants themselves.

Before moving on to the political language used to make sense of violent protest, it is necessary to say something about the context in which the riots occurred.

The Emergence of a 'Politics of Riot' in Contemporary Britain.

The genesis of political responses to forms of collective violence in Britain needs to be traced historically, since as a number of authors have shown the concern with law and order has a long and proud history in this country (Pearson 1983). In saying this it is not my intention to pursue these links in an article which is concerned with the emergence of collective violence, particularly that which involves a 'racial' element, as a central theme in current political debates. But it is important to emphasise this historical background, since in the aftermath of both the 1980-81 protests and those of 1985 a central theme of the official response has been to categorise events such as riots as aberrant, meaningless, and almost as unnatural for such a law-abiding country (Gilroy and Sim 1985; Hall 1985). The danger of this approach, which amounts to what Stuart Hall has called 'historical forgetfulness' is that it then becomes quite easy to de-contextualise outbreaks of violent protest and see them as expressions of criminalised black subcultures, and thus to depoliticise or marginalise any element of protest or oppositions which they may contain. This tendency to depoliticise and devalue any element of protest in riot behaviour has been witnessed in other contexts, notably the United States during the 1960s (Lipsky and Olson 1977).

Taking 1985 as a good example of this depoliticisation and decontextualisation process is the remark about Handsworth by Geoffrey Dear, the West Midlands Chief Constable: "The riot came like a bolt out of the blue. Community leaders were as surprised as we were. The riot came only 24 hours after a successful carnival" (**Guardian,** November 21 1985).

Although this assertion achieved some credence even a brief glance at the history of the post-war politics of 'race', would indicate that the riots were not a 'bolt out of the blue' and that they did not occur in a social vacuum. They emerged out of a context which was overdetermined by at least four important factors:

i. **The increasing politicisation of 'race' and institutionalisation of racism**

During the period since 1945 there has been a notable racialisation within British political discourse, particularly on the issues of immigration and the assumed link between race and 'social problems'. A number of critical accounts of the racialisation of British political discourses have pointed out that it is this assumed link between immigration/race and 'social problems' which has led to the articulation of policies aimed at limiting the number of blacks in this country and providing for ameliorative reforms which lead to 'equal opportunity' for those who already reside within Britain (CCCS Race and Politics Group 1982; Reeves 1983; Miles and Phizacklea 1984). Precisely because this model of state action perceives blacks as the source of 'problems', it is argued, political ideologicies which cohere around 'race' have begun to achieve greater political resonance. Over the last two decades examples of racialised political discourse include the Powellite phenomenon of the late sixties and early seventies, the debates over immigration controls and race relations legislation, the development of overtly racist political groups, and the increasing concern that 'race' was a mainspring of political violence and instability.[6]

ii. **The politicisation of law and order and policy issues, particularly in relation to 'race'.** .

Perhaps the most important element in this process is the popular linkage of the race issue to the question of law and order, or rather the spread of disorder (Hall et al 1978; Joshua and Wallace 1983). This is a phenomenon that has its origins in the 1960s, though the articulation of popular mythologies about the 'racial' nature of 'crime' and 'street violence' became particularly evident during the early '70s. The Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration reports on **Police/Immigrant Relations** (1982) and **The West Indian Community** (1977) provide a measure of how this concern grew through this period, and the contradictory meanings which were attached to so-called 'racial crimes' such as mugging. It was against this background that Enoch Powell was able to argue that the growth of criminalised enclaves in inner city areas was a signal of impending civil war (**Birmingham Post,** May 25 1976).

iii. **The growth of high levels of unemployment among young blacks and other sections of the inner city population.**

The third variable in this concoction was provided by the growth of massive levels of unemployment among inner city residents, particularly young blacks. The process of economic marginalisation has its origins in the growing de-industrialisation of such areas, the differential impact of job loss on young blacks because of racism, and the lack of effective measures to bring about equal opportunity (Solomos, forthcoming). The importance of unemployment as a cause of political instability has been widely recognised by policy-makers through the period from 1974 onwards, and successful attempts have been made to defuse the explosive potential of high levels of black youth unemployment when combined with conflict with the police and growing dissillusionment about existing policies (Jacobs 1986, chap. 6). Indeed during the period since 1981 there has been a massive expansion of interventions by the MSC and other bodies in the whole area of 'black youth unemployment', and successive promises that 'effective measures' to bring about greater equality of opportunity (and greater social stability) were part of the main policy agenda of employment and youth training initiatives.[7]

iv. **The impact of economic and social restructuring on the socio-economic relations of inner city areas.**

Part of the underlying theme of the above three points is that the riots of 1980-81 and 1985 need to be contextualised against specific historical tendencies. The final point to be made here is that these tendencies themselves have been fashioned by a broader economic and social restructuring which has a long history in British society (Nairn 1981). The history of this 'crisis of the social fabric' is necessarily beyond the scope of this article, but it is important to note that issues such as 'race', 'law and order' and 'unemployment' form part of a wider totality. This may sound like an obvious point to make, but it is still common to see discussion of one of these issues in isolation from a wider context of social relations 'structured in dominance' (Hall 1980). The whole area of 'inner city police' is a case in point. The tendency to see the 'inner city' as a problem which can be analysed and resolved in isolation is still common, even when it is clear that the growth of unemployment, housing decay, health problems and the alienation of localities is overdetermined by processes which are external to the dynamic or urban localities in themselves. This has the effect of detracting attention from the processual variables which can help explain the changing socio-economic and political relations of inner city localities to the symptoms of the 'inner city problem'.

The recovery of this wider context in which the riots occurred is not the central concern of this paper.[8] Suffice it to say that the political language which sees the events of 1980-81 and 1985 as 'bolts out of the blue' misdirects our attention away from the historical background factors and towards political symbols which help construct popular images of violent outbursts as meaningless and irrational acts. The denial of history thus complements attempts to minimise and manage the impact of violent protests on the society as a whole. It is to this process that we now turn.

Elements of the political construction of the riots

The modalities of ideological and policy response to the riots since 1980 can be delineated along chronological and thematic lines. The advantage of the first approach is that it is clearly important to know the sequential development of such responses between Bristol in 1980 and Brixton in 1985.

In other words we need to know what happened, who participated in the actual events, the responses of various governmental and non-governmental agencies, and the prospects for the future. But the mere cataloguing of 'the fact' is not enough to tell us how the events were experienced politically, their mythological constructions, and the competing symbols which they gave rise to. It is also important to analyse the language used to construct beliefs about the significance of the events, since it is "language about political events and developments that people experience" (Edelman 1985, p.10). This will be the central concern of the rest of this article, and discussion of the specific course of events between 1981 and 1985 will be fairly limited.[9]

A number of analytical models of the ideological and policy responses to the 1960s riots in America[10] suggest that the political construction and management of violent collective action involves the following major elements. First, the articulation of forms of symbolic reassurance which holds the promise that something is being done to manage both the causes and the consequences of such events. This is particularly important if the legitimacy of political institutions is being questioned through confrontations with the police and law enforcement agencies. Second, attempts are made to depoliticise the events by locating them as extreme responses to special problems. These problems are then investigated by special commissions or judicial investigations which are supposed to provide independent evidence and make suggestions about policy changes required. Third, government or other agencies may promise in the aftermath of outbreaks of violence that they will aim to achieve certain reforms in the current situation, and institute new agencies or programmes to carry out such changes (Edelman 1971, Lipsky and Olson 1977).

It is of course possible to look at other aspects of the political management of collective violence, including the development in riot technology and crowd control tactics (Scraton 1985; Reiner 1985). But what interests me particularly in this article are the specifically political responses to the riots and the political language used to make sense of them. For this reason I shall concentrate on the ways in which the responses to the 1980-81 events and those of 1985 can be seen as following, or deviating, from the broad pattern outlined above. After this account I shall return to the implications of this analysis for the future of political legitimacy and reform.

(i) *1980-81: The 'Social Time-Bomb' Explodes*
During 1980-81 the various constituents of riot response and management which have been identified above in relation to America were also experienced in Britain, albeit in a modified and contradictory form. The Brixton events of April 10-13, 1981 led the government to set up the Scarman inquiry, which, although much more limited than the various American inquiries in the 1960s, sought to explain what happened and also what should be done by government and other agencies in the future (Scarman 1981; Benyon 1984).

The more widespread events during July 1981 led to a flurry of responses at both central and local government levels, and real and symbolic intervention which sought to prevent the further spread of disorder and violence. It is not surprising, for example, that after years of inaction many local authorities actively sought to develop equal opportunity strategies, that promises were made to reform police training to take account of multi-racialism, that initiatives to tackle the roots of racial disadvantage and discrimination were promised (Joshua and Wallace 1983). All of these responses are examples of the 'symbolic reassurance' which was noted by American analysts, but they took different issues as the core variables. There were at least four basic explanatory frameworks used, which emphasised in turn 'race', the breakdown of law and order, youth unemployment and social disadvantage and political marginality as the core issues. I want to briefly look at each of these in turn.

a. 'Race' and the Enemy Within
The racialisation[11] of the 1980-81 events was evident from the very first confrontation in Bristol on April 2 1980, although in a somewhat convoluted manner. Under the headline 'Riot Mob Stone Police' the **Daily Mail** talked of 'mobs of black youths' roaming the streets (April 3, 1980). This was a theme repeated in the coverage of the **Sun, Daily Star** and **Daily Express. The Financial Times,** however, covered the same events under the headlines: 'Bristol: a multiracial riot against the police' (April 5, 1980). The **Guardian** was even more ambiguous, with the headline: 'The Bristol confrontation: racial but not racist' (April 5, 1980).

The tension between the 'racial' and 'non-racial' elements in media coverage of the Bristol events reflected, according to Joshua and Wallace, a wider divergence in political responses to violent protest: between modes of explanations which saw race and law and order as the essential variables and those which saw them as the outcome of inner city decay and unemployment (Joshua and Wallace 1983, chap.2). This tension was partly the result of official resistance to the idea that Britain was on the brink of 'race riots' on the American model, and the wish to defuse the situation by separating out the actions of 'groups of youth' from wider social, economic and political grievances. The very fact that the events occurred in Bristol, a city with a popular image of 'good race relations' was taken as evidence that they were not a 'race riot'. A local paper reported that both William Whitelaw and Tony Benn were agreed that the events could not be described as a 'race riot' (**Evening Post,** April 3 1980).

Reactions to Bristol are worth remembering, precisely because they highlight the changing symbolism attached to 'race' as an explanatory factor in urban violence during the 1980s. Bristol represented a dilemma even for those who had warned of the possibility of urban violence, since such predictions were premised on areas such as Brixton, Handsworth, Moss Side, and Toxteth rather than St. Pauls'. It's very unexpectedness made it all the more difficult to locate the role of 'race' or racism as casual factors. But the linkage between 'black youth' and street violence was already established in popular media images.

This can be seen partly by the reactions to small scale street confrontations between Bristol 1980 and the next major outbreak, in Brixton on April 10-13, 1981. During this intervening period a number of smaller confrontations took place with the police. The most important took place on March 3,

1980, during a demonstration held to protest the death of 13 young West Indians in a fire in Deptford, South London. The **Daily Express** covered the events under the headline 'Rampage of a Mob' (March 3, 1980), while the **Daily Mail** saw them as, 'When the Black Tide Met the Thin Blue Line' (March 3, 1980). Racialisation of the confrontation between the mostly-black marchers and the police was achieved around the themes of the 'mob' and 'young blacks'. As the **Daily Mirror** saw it: "A peaceful protest by 10,000 of London's West Indians was ruined by the hooliganism of 200 young blacks" (March 4, 1981). The ambiguity of the coverage of the events in Bristol was replaced by the emphasis on the involvement of small groups of young blacks in street confrontations with the police, and the role of black militants and outside agitators in fostering violence for their own objectives.[12]

Whatever the symbolic importance of Bristol and the Deptford march there is no doubt that the period between April and July 1981 constituted the crucial phase in the racialisation of discourses about protest. Events in Brixton (April 10-13) and nationwide (July 3-28) led to a number of accounts of the events which saw them through the prism of 'race'. The most stark usage of racial symbols to explain the violence was articulated by Enoch Powell and a small but vociferous group of Conservative M.Ps and journalists. Powell had already intervened in a somewhat muted form during the Bristol events, but he made a series of interventions during 1981 which articulated his view of why the riots could not be understood without reference to 'race' and immigration. In a confrontation with William Whitelaw in Parliament he concluded by saying that in view of the "prospective future increase in the relevant population" future outbreaks were inevitable, and that "Britain has seen nothing yet" (Hansard, 1981, Vol. 3, Col. 25). By July 1981 he had warmed up to this theme and argued his case in a number of articles in the popular press, as well as in his parliamentary speeches. During a vigorous speech in the House he disagreed with Roy Hattersley that the three main causes of the July riots were poverty, unemployment and deprivation. Pouring scorn on this analysis he offered his own causal 'factor' and constructed the linkage with 'race' without actually uttering the word:

> Are we seriously saying that so long as there is poverty, unemployment and deprivation our cities will be torn to pieces, that the police in them will be objects of attack and that we shall destroy our own environment? Of course not. Everyone knows that, although those conditions do exist, there is a factor, the factor which the people concerned perfectly well know, understand and apprehend, and that unless it can be dealt with - unless the fateful inevitability, the inexorable doubling and trebling of the element of a population can be avoided - their worst fears will be fulfilled (Hansard, 1981, Vol. 8, Col. 1313).

He repeated his argument in a series of graphic warnings in the popular press over this period.[13] In addition a number of right-wing Conservative M.Ps, newspaper columnists and commentators took up Powellite themes and embelished them with different symbols,[14] as did the extreme neo-fascist groupings.[15]

If Powellite imagery was the most stark usage of 'race' as the main explanation for the riots, it was by no means the only one, whether it be in the official reports about the riots, in press and television coverage or in the general public policy debate. In all of these categories such as 'race', 'racial discrimination', or 'black youth' played a central role either implicitly or explicitly. During both the Brixton riot of April 1981 and the nationwide riots of July 1981 the press was full of images, both pictorial and written, that emphasised that 'race' was somehow a central variable or even the main one. The strength of these images is particularly clear during July 1981 when headlines proclaimed the hatred that blacks had for the police, their alienation and detachment from the mainstream values of British society, and the growth of racial tension in certain important localities. Among the early reports on the riots the **Daily Mail's** headline proclaimed simply: 'Black War on the Police' (July 6, 1981). This was perhaps the most extreme, but **The Sun** was ony marginally less direct when it talked of 'The Cities that Live in Fear' while the **Daily Mirror** proclaimed the words of Merseyside's Chief Constable, Kenneth Oxford, when it argued: "This was not a race war. It was blacks versus the police".

A number of lead articles in both the popular and the serious press over the period from July 6th to July 25th devoted much attention to the 'race issue',[16] which they saw as important in various degrees. In addition, Enoch Powell's statements and those of other politicians in favour of repatriation were widely reported, though usually with a disclaimer which distanced the paper from such extreme views.[17] Ronald Butt, writing in the **Daily Mail,** argued that the 'culprits' in the riots were 'for the most part' black and that this meant that one could not blame white society for the kinds of attitudes that led young blacks to stage disturbances. Rather the blame lay with the attitudes of young blacks and with those agitators who directed such attitudes to their own ends (July 10, 1981).

The ambivalence about whether the events in Bristol had been a 'race riot' had been replaced by July 1981 by the imagery that since a sizeable number of riot participants were black the riots were 'racial' or at least the outcome of bad relations between the police and young blacks. But racism as such was only rarely talked about, since the riots were not seen as linked to real grievances but only to the perceptions that young blacks had of their position in society, and to the wider processes which were undermining the role of law.

(b) **The Breakdown of Law and Order**
The second symbol that was prominant in debates during 1980-81 was 'Law and Order'. This was by no means an accident, since throughout the 1970s a powerful body of media, political, policy and academic opinion had been constructed around the theme of how Britain was drifting into a 'violent society', and how the basis of consent was being shifted by the pressures of forces undermining the moral fabric of British society (Hall et al 1978; Solomos et al 1982). A perceptive article by Peregrine Worsthorne during this period underlined this fear:

> The spectre haunting most ordinary people is neither that of a totalitarian state nor Big Brother but of other ordinary people being allowed to run wild. What they are

worried about is crime, violence, disorder in the schools, promiscuity, idleness, pornography, football hooliganism, vandalism and urban terrorism (Worsthorne 1978, p.151).

The riots, however, were instrumental in popularising Worsthorne's image of 'ordinary people being allowed to run wild' beyond the readership of neo-conservative tracts and readers of the **Daily Telegraph.** By forcing the debate on law and order onto the streets they helped give actuality to the warnings which had been expounded by a number of commentators for over a decade that 'lawlessness' and 'corrosive violence' were undermining traditional British values and institutions.[18]

A glimpse of the impact of the 1980-81 riots at this level can be achieved through two important debates in Parliament. The first took place in the midst of the July riots, and had as its theme: 'Civil Disturbances'. The importance of the debate is indicated that more than 60 M.Ps had indicated their wish to participate in it. The tone of the debate was set by William Whitelaw's introductory statement which spoke of the need to (a) "remove the scourge of criminal violence from our streets", and (b) the urgency of developing "policies designed to promote the mutual tolerance and understanding upon which the whole future of a free democratic society depends" (Hansard, Vol.8, 1981, Col.1405). The "scourge of criminal violence" was, Whitelaw argued, a danger to the whole framework of consent and legality on which the political institutions of British society were based. In reply Roy Hattersley supported the call for the immediate suppression of street violence, but warned that the roots of such riots could not be dealt with until all people felt they had a stake in our society (Ibid, Cols.1407-1409).

The second debate took place on 26 November 1981 and had as its theme: 'Law and Order'. The importance of the riots in pushing the law and order issue, and specifically policing, onto the main political agenda was emphasised by the Liberal Leader, David Steel, who argued that 'urgent action' to prevent a drift into lawlessness was necessary for both a moral and political perspective (Hansard, Vol.13, 1981, Cols.1009-1011). A subsequent debate on the same issue in March 1982 was also full of reference to the experience of 1981, the impact of street violence, crime, decaying urban conditions, the breakdown of consent between the police and many local communities, and the spectre of 'more violence to come' if charges at the level of policing tactics and social policy were not swiftly introduced (Hansard, Vol 20, 1982, Cols.1107-1181).

The psychological and symbolic impact of the riots was also grasped by Lord Scarman, whose report on Brixton contained the following graphic description:

> During the week-end of 10-12 April (Friday, Saturday and Sunday) the British people watched with horror and incredulity an instant audio-visual presentation on their television sets of scenes of violence and disorder in their capital city, the like of which had not previously been seen in this century in Britain. In the centre of Brixton, a few hundred young people - most, but not all of them, black - attacked the police on the streets with stones, bricks, iron bars and petrol bombs, domonstrating to

millions of their fellow citizens the fragile basis of the Queen's peace. These young people, by their criminal behaviour - for such, whatever their grievances or frustrations, it was - brought about a temporary collapse of law and order in the centre of an inner suburb of London (Scarman 1981, para.1.2).

It is perhaps all too easy to forget this sense of shock and the fear that more violence was to come which pervaded much of the discussion of the riots during and after 1981. But even a brief glance at both the popular and quality press during April 1981 and July 1981 reveals the deep sense of shock at the 'street violence' which was popularly perceived as not having occurred on the same scale during this century. On the 13th of April **The Times** reported that looters and mobs of young people had virtually taken over the Brixton area from the police. The **Guardian** saw it somewhat differently, but it still talked of 'The Battle of Brixton'. The **Daily Mail** talked of an 'army of rioting black youths' taking to the street, the **Daily Star** talked of 'Flames of Hate'. The **Daily Mirror** took a longer terms view when it warned that the Brixton events were 'The Shape of Things to Come' and that the next riots could come in Birmingham, Manchester or many other inner city localities. Under a picture of groups of youth facing and throwing stones and missiles at the police it ran the following headlines: 'THE BATTLE RAGES: Youths, white and black, hurl their barrage of missiles at point blank range as police attempt to take cover behind their shields'. Similar, and more detailed reports are to be found in most of the papers during 14th and 15th April, and intermittently throughout April and into May.

The messages which such reporting contained were complex and quite often contradictory. But the centrality of the law and order theme, the fear that disorderly street violence was becoming an established fact of the 'English way of life' and the linkages constructed with 'black youth' as the main group involved highlight the symbolic evocation of the re-establishment of order as the main concern of official political language during this period. Under the headline 'Order Before Research' a **Daily Telegraph** editorial asserted: "Mob violence must be stopped. Existing laws should be used to the full to punish the offenders and guarantee safety in our cities. If the Public Order Act.....cannot cope with the threat of disorder now, then new riot legislation must be enacted" (July 6, 1981).

The need to support the police was accepted by both the Labour and Conservative speakers in the Parliamentary Debate on the riots, and was established as a benchmark for the official response to the riots long before the Scarman Report was published in November 1981. Any substantive disagreement centred around the issue of what role social deprivation and unemployment had in bringing young people to protests violently on the streets.

A particularly interesting sub-theme within the law and order arguments was the emergence of the 'outside agitator' and the 'middle men' who were seen by some sections of the press as 'directing the violence'. Under the headline 'Search for the Masked Men' the **Daily Mail** reported on July 7:

> "Masked figures on motor cycles were seen issuing instructions to groups of rioters on the second night of

violence in the predominantly black district (of Toxteth). They appeared to be giving tactical orders to sections of the 500 strong mob of mainly white youths. As the battle developed, groups armed with petrol bombs and stones were moved quickly from street to street".

During July 1981 a whole sub-mythology grew up around this imagery of outside forces directing the actions of mobs on the street, and the purposes which they had in mind. As we shall see later this was precisely an image that was taken up and reworked in 1985 to become one of the main symbols used to analyse the causes of the riots in Handsworth, Brixton and Tottenham.

(c) Youth Unemployment and Social Disadvantage

Intermingled with the discourses about race and law and order but somewhat autonomous were constant references to unemployment, particularly among the young, and various forms of social disadvantage and poverty. The attack by Enoch Powell on the arguments articulated by Roy Hattersley was but one example of the clash between explanations of the riots on the basis of social deprivation arguments and other political discourses. Throughout 1980 and 1981 debates about the riots in the media, Parliament and in various official reports hinged around the inter-relationship between racial, law and order and social factors. The importance of this debate can be explained, partly, by the political capital which the opposition could make from linking the social and economic malaise of the country at large with violent street disturbances. Hence throughout this period numerous government ministers strenuously denied that unemployment and social deprivation were the most important roots of urban unrest.

The tone of this debate and the ambiguities contained in 'social' explanations of the riots highlight the complex dilemmas which were faced by the political establishment during 1980-81. These dilemmas became even greater when the Scarman Report was published in November 1981, to be followed by a vigorous public debate about how the report could be implemented, what other policy initiatives were necessary, and what immediate measures could prevent a recurrence of the July 1981 events in 1982.

Although the Scarman Report is often taken to be the central text which argues for a link between 'social conditions' and 'disorder', the terms of the debate were by no means set by Scarman. During both April and July 1981 vigorous exchanges took place in both the press and in Parliament about the role that deteriorating social conditions and unemployment may have played in bringing about the riots. During the July 16 Parliamentary Debate on 'Civil Disturbances' Roy Hattersley's formulation of this linkage provided a useful summary of the 'social conditions' argument. After some preliminary remarks about the Labour Party's support for the police, he went on to outline his opposition to the view of the riots as essentially anti-police outbursts:

> I repeat that I do not believe that the principal cause of last week's riots was the conduct of the police. It was the conditions of deprivation and despair in the decaying areas of our old cities - areas in which the Brixton and Toxteth riots took place, and areas from which the skinhead invaders of Southall come (Hansard, Vol.8, 1981, Col.1408).

He went on to outline the four common features shared by such areas, namely:
(i) inadequate housing and inadequate government spending on improvements
(ii) a lack of social, cultural and welfare amenities
(iii) inadequate provision of remedial education for deprived families
(iv) high levels of unemployment, particularly youth unemployment

Much of the subsequent controversy about his analysis, apart from Powell's retort which is discussed above, centred on the question of youth unemployment. Hattersley had suggested that the riots are a 'direct product' of high levels of youth unemployment, and a furious debate ensued in both Parliament and the media about this assertion.[19] Though the Scarman Report will be discussed later in the article, it is worth noting that a similar debate took place in the aftermath of its publication, linking up many of the reports arguments with the Hattersley version of the 'social conditions' argument.

What is interesting about the debate surrounding this symbol are the different emphases which were put on the 'four common features' which Hattersley identified in his parliamentary speech. While challenging any causal link between unemployment and violent protest, both William Whitelaw and Margaret Thatcher accepted that social conditions in many inner city areas were bad. What they disputed, however, was the jump from such conditions to violent confrontations on the streets between youth and the police. During the Brixton riots the Prime Minister replied angrily to Labour suggestions that unemployment was a primary cause of the riots: "If you consider that unemployment was the only case - or the main cause of the riots I would disagree with you. Nothing that has happened to unemployment would justify those riots" (Financial Times, April 15, 1981). A number of exchanges along the same lines took place during July 1981, about both unemployment and urban poverty.[20] The existence of unemployment as such was not denied, though its impact was disputed, but the formula which established a link between high levels of young unemployed and urban disorder remained a hotly debated issue.

(d) Political Marginality

The final symbolic cue used to make sense of the 1980-81 protests is more difficult to categorise, but its basic meaning can be captured by the term 'political marginality'. While a number of discussions of the roots of urban unrest in the USA have noted the salience of political marginality in determining participation in violent protests (Skolnick 1969; Fogelson 1971; Edelman 1971), this issue has received relatively little attention in Britain. Nevertheless, during the 1980-81 events and their aftermath the political context was discussed from a number of perspectives.

The Scarman Report, for example, located part of the explanation for the riots in the feelings of alienation and powerlessness experienced by young blacks living in depressed inner city areas. A successful policy for tackling the roots of urban disorder was seen as one which sought to involve all the community in dealing with the problems of each area so

that they could come to feel that they have a stake in its future (Scarman, 1981, para 6.42).

A good number of examples of the political marginality argument can also be found in the media coverage during 1980-81.[21] After the Bristol riot, for example, **The Observer** reported the events by quoting a 'lanky Rastafarian with dangling dreadlocks' who argued: "Discrimination accumulates; chickens come home to roost. They wanted to strike fear in people's hearts with law and order. You have no say in your life. People may give you some grant, some urban aid, but they are not really interested in getting to the root of the situation" (April 6, 1980). While such a viewpoint was rarely heard throughout this period the question of politics and power did enter into some aspects of the public debate about the causes of urban violence. Precisely because it raised questions about power, however, the issue of political marginality was difficult to handle and touched upon the thorny problem of how far the riots were in fact a form of political action.

The ambiguity and tension the situation in 1980-81 created meant that though the statements of 'lanky Rastafarians' could be repeated and to some extent taken on board, they were not accorded the detailed coverage in the mass media that the other symbols were given. Where such arguments did not fit in with the overarching themes of race violence and disorder and social deprivation they were either sidelined or pushed into the sub-clauses of official reports. The Scarman Report, for example, contained the following policy proposal: "I.....recommend that local communities must be fully and effectively involved in planning, in the provision of local services, and in the management and financing of specific projects" (Scarman 1981, para. 8.44). Such a move towards greater political integration was seen as essential if the gap between inner city residents and the forces of law and order was to be bridged and constructive co-operation developed.

But the concern with overcoming political marginality remained on the sidelines of the main public debate because it questioned the perception of the rioters as driven by irrational, uncivilised, and criminal instincts. According to Martin Kettle: "The attempt to depict the riots as irrational was very important. It denied legitimacy to the rioters, their actions and their views. It made them events without cause, and events that therefore posed no direct threat to any existing assumption" (Kettle 1981, p.404). This did not, however, stop the question of political marginality and the need to reform existing policies from being raised at all, as can be seen subsequently by the numerous attempts after 1981 to introduce measures both locally and nationally which could redress some of the imbalances which had been formed within political bureaucratic institutions.

These attempts will be discussed more fully in the concluding section of this article, but first it is time to turn to the question of the responses called forth by the riots of 1985.

(ii) *1985: A Sign of Failure?*
Writing in September 1982 Martin Kettle asked the pertinent question: "where did the riots go?" Kettle went on to argue that the most important event of 1982 was something

that did not happen: namely that there were no major outbreaks of violence that could be called riots (Kettle 1982, p.425). This remark by Kettle is worth repeating for two reasons. First, although once the 1985 events actually took place everybody seemed to have known all along that there was going to be rioting, the question that seemed to dominate discussion until Handsworth exploded on 9 September 1985 was precisely the one which Kettle posed. Second, and perhaps more importantly, Kettle's question raises the issue of whether the present lull can be taken as anything more than a temporary truce in a complex historical process of struggle and social change.

What is clear is that the dominant political language used during the 1985 events sought to establish the 'senselessness' of violent protest by arguing that the lessons of 1980-81 had been learned and that solutions were being applied to the main problems. Responding to the Handsworth events Douglas Hurd was moved to argue with some force that such events were senseless and reflected more on those who participated in them than on the society in which they took place: "The sound which law abiding people in Handsworth heard on Monday night, the echoes of which I picked up on Tuesday, was not a cry for help but a cry for loot" (**Financial Times,** September 13 1985). He also argued, with some irony: "It is not a case history for sociologists to pose over, but a case for the police" (**The Guardian,** September 23 1985). Such language seemed to focus attention on the individuals or groups who were 'breaking the law', 'committing criminal acts', and threatening the interests of the law-abiding 'majority'. It has also helped to rework some of the main themes that were evident in the aftermath of 1980-81 around the central role of law and order in relation to (a) 'race', (b) urban decline and unemployment, (c) crime and drugs, and (d) outside agitators.

(a) 'Race'
There are many continuities between 1980-81 and 1985 in relation to the 'race' issue. But responses in 1985 can be said to be different at least in terms of degree, and probably in relation to the extent to which the riots were seen as a 'race' phenomenon by a wider body of opinion. The ambiguities and sub-clauses to be found in much of the press coverage during 1980-81 had at least acted as a countervailing tendency against the more extreme forms of discourse which blamed the riots completely on blacks. However during the 1985 riots and their immediate aftermath the imagery of 'race' was used by sections of the press without the sense of ambiguity which could still be found in 1980-81, but as Peregrine Worsthorne pointed out the ferocity of confrontations in Handsworth, Brixton and Tottenham posed a major question mark over the possibility of assimilating the 'coloured population' into mainstream 'British values' (**Sunday Telegraph,** September 29 1985). To be sure there was still a strong response opposing Enoch Powell's call for repatriation, from all shades of political opinion,[22] but the racialisation of public debate about the riots went even further than 1980-81. Consider for example the following headlines the day after the outbreak of violence in Handsworth, September 11:

Bloodlust (Daily Mail)
Hate of Black Bomber (The Sun)
War on the Streets (The Mirror)

Torch of Hate (The Star)
England, 1985 (Daily Express)

All five headlines were next to a picture of a black petrol bomber, who was variously described as 'stalking the streets of Handsworth' or as a 'prowling West Indian'. These images fitted with the official view that this "was not a social phenomenon but crime" which was also reported by the press on the same day. They established a linkage between 'race', 'crime' and 'disorder' much more firmly than the riots of 1980-81 had done.

In this context it was the externality of West Indians and Asians which was highlighted rather than the racist institutions and processes which worked against blacks at all levels of society. The usage of 'race' during the September-October period took on new meanings, which had little if anything to do with racism. After Handsworth part of the press response was to blame the riot on rivalry between West Indians and Asians, and even after the arguments were criticised by local residents and community leaders they were used to 'explain' what happened.[23] In addition, the questions of whether the cultures and values of the black communities, their family structures, and their political attitudes bred violence were constantly raised.[24]

The actual 'facts' of who was arrested during the riots, whether black or white, were hardly debated since it was assumed that they were mostly black and mostly unemployed and involved with crime. The imagery of the 'black bomber' used in Handsworth was extended to the notion that there were groups of alienated and criminalised young blacks who saw the riots as a chance to engage in an 'orgy of looting'. The Dear Report on Handsworth captures this image and links it to the social condition of young blacks:

> ... The majority of rioters who took part in these unhappy events were young, black and of Afro-Caribbean origin. Let there be no doubt, these young criminals are not in any way representative of the vast majority of the Afro-Caribbean community whose life has contributed to the life and culture of the West Midlands over many years and whose hopes and aspirations are at one with those of every other law abiding citizen. We share a common sorrow. It is the duty of us all to ensure that an entire cultural group is not tainted by the actions of a criminal minority (Dear 1985, p. 69).

This 'black' criminal minority was constructed not only into the leading force behind the riots, but sometimes as the only force. Indeed through September and October 1985, and during the following months, the imagery of race continued to dominate debate both about the causes and the policy outcomes of the riots.

(b) Urban Decline and Unemployment
As pointed out above the 'social causes' argument was another major plank of public debate about the 1980-81 riots, particularly in relation to the highly politicised issue of unemployment. During 1985 this issue was raised once again, though by then the extent of mass unemployment and urban de-industrialisation and decay was more stark than it had been in 1981. Images of 'urban decay', 'tinderbox cities', and 'ghetto streets' linked up with the images of 'race inequality' and 'black ghettoes' to produce an analysis more complex but contradictory sets of arguments.

An interesting mixture of the various images was provided by a story in the **Daily Telegraph** under the Headline: 'Broadwater Farm: Like the Divis Flats with Reggae' (October 8, 1985). **The Mirror** described the estate as 'Living Hell', and quoted one resident as saying that "You've no idea how awful daily life is" (October 8, 1985). Such images were reworkings of arguments already used about Toxteth in 1981 and Brixton in 1981, but they were used more widely than in 1980-81. Even the Daily Mail, which deployed the clearest use of 'race' and 'outside agitator' type arguments, ran a major story on Broadway Farm under the headline: 'burnt-out hulks litter this concrete jungle.....despair hangs heavy' (October 8, 1985). A number of stories using such imagery were run by both the quality and popular press during this period, but similar arguments are to be found in Parliamentary debates (Hansard, Vol.84, 1985, cols.30-46 and Cols.388), and even in official reports produced by the police on the riots in Birmingham and London.[25]

The following editorial from **the Mirror,** printed in the aftermath of the Brixton riot illustrates the point:

> **The fire down below**
> The fires in Brixton have been damped down but the spark that ignited them is still glowing in every inner-city area with a large black population.
> That spark will not be extinguished easily or painlessly.
> There is no excuse for what happened on Saturday and there can be no mercy for those who committed crimes...
> **But bad conditions make bad people of some who would otherwise be good.**
> If they had pleasant housing, secure jobs and favourable prospects, they would be far less likely to behave as they did on Saturday (October 1, 1985).

The imagery of a 'fire down below' and the policy implication that as well as tackling the 'criminal acts' the government should be doing something about housing, employment and leisure facilities challenged the notion that the riots were a 'mere cry for loot' but only to a limited extent. It did so largely be including the causes for the 'crimes' under a broader social explanation of the roots of disorder.

The 'cities of inner despair' were conceived as the breeding ground for disorderly protest, and however hard the government tried to break the causal link between the two it was forced to take on board the need to restore order not only through the police but through promise of help for the inner cites. Much as in 1980-81 the 'social causes' argument cannot be seen separately from the broader debate about the future of the British economy and society more generally. The Government's record on unemployment was a heavily politicised issue, and just as 1981 it vehemently denied any responsibility for the riots through its pursuits of free-market policies. But the Government did find a way of accepting a link between the riots and social problems without bringing its main policies into the debate: namely by linking the growth of violent disorder to crime and drugs.

(c) Crime and Drugs

The emphasis on 'crime' and the 'criminal acts' of the rioters in the official responses to the 1985 riots took a general and a specific form. The general form relied on the argument that the riots were not a form of protesting against the unbearable social conditions of inner city areas or the actions of the police, but a 'criminal act' or a 'cry for loot'. This was an argument put most succinctly by Geoffrey Dear, Chief Constable of the West Midlands (Dear 1985) and by Douglas Hurd, the Home Secretary, in relation to Handsworth. But it recurred as a theme of official and press responses to the other riots. The specific form was built upon the notion that the outbreak of violence in Handsworth and Brixton, in particular, was brought about by 'drug barons' who saw the police attempting to curb their activities and control 'their territory'. Numerous examples of this line of argument can be found in Dear's report on Handsworth, and in a number of major press stories published during the riots.[26]

The attack on 'criminal acts' and the emphasis on order, resonated through a long debate in Parliament on October 23, 1985, on 'Urban Disturbances'. Rejecting the Labour Party's call for an independent inquiry into the causes of the riots the Government succeeded in pushing through the following resolution:

> That this House recognises the crucial importance of the maintenance of public order; applauds the courage and dedication of the police and responsible community leaders in restoring order; and welcomes Her Majesty's Government's commitment to early effective action in the light of the recent urban disturbances (Hansard, Vol.84, 1985, Col.388).

A measure of how the law and order argument was used can also be found in the numerous calls made by Douglas Hurd for people to rally round the police in order to defend the rule of law, and the acceptance by virtually all the media that, in the short term at least, the restoration of police authority in the 'streets of fear' was the first priority.

Taking the specific argument about the role of drugs and 'drug barons' in stimulating the riots, this seems to have served two purposes. First, it distanced the riots from the social, economic, political and other grievances which had been linked to them, by locating the cause outside of the 'social problems' of inner city dwellers and in the 'simple greed' of the drug barons to accumulate. Second, just as Dear's image of a few hundred 'young black criminals' was used to explain what happened in Handsworth, the problem of drugs was used to explain what happened at a national level. The issue of drugs provided an everyday image, already a national issue through saturation media coverage and public debate, around which the police, the Home Officer and other institutions could de-socialise the riots.

The notion that the growth of street violence was linked to a 'criminal element' or to 'hooliganism' was one of the main themes in accounts of the 1980-81 riot, as pointed out above.[27] But in the responses to the 1985 riots we see not only a common sense use of such ideas but a more sophisticated use of such an explanation by sections of the police. Some reference to the development has been made in rela-tion to Dear's report on Handsworth. A more developed version was offered in the aftermath of the 1985 riots by Kenneth Newman, Chief Constable of the Metropolitan Police. During the period of 1982-85 he had already made a series of influential speeches on the issue of disorder and the growth of violence in British society. In a paper delivered in 1983 he had warned that in many inner city areas the police were under threat and unable to maintain order: "In many multi-ethnic areas police encounter not merely apathy and unhelpfulness when making enquiries or engaging in order maintenance, but outright hostility and obstruction" (Newman 1983, p.28). He warned that such a situation could result in a cycle of increasing crime, law-breaking, police inability to maintain order and the reinforcement of urban decay. He argued that increasingly policing was not an iso-lated service but part of a wider set of agencies which helped to maintain social stability and order and prevent a drift towards crime and lawlessness. He saw such agencies as par-ticularly important in the areas of education, health and social services, housing and environment, and employment.

In the aftermath of the 1985 riots Newman extended this analysis by arguing that crime and the fear of crime helped to reinforce attitudes towards the police and society which allowed violent protests to break out and challenge the legitimacy of the established order (Newman 1986a and 1986b). Crime, according to Newman, provided not so much a causal explanation for riots, but one element in a broader crisis of social policy and control. He saw this as par-ticularly important in areas of a 'multi-ethnic' nature where cultural and policital hostility towards the police was grow-ing.

What is clear, therefore, is that the public pronouncements branding the riots as 'criminal acts' and a 'cry for loot' were only one element of a wider ideological construction of the events around the theme of a 'drift towards crime'. While the branding of the riots as criminal seemed to depoliticise them, it is quite clear that a more complex analysis of why crime and disorder were a growing phenomenon exercised an influence on police and other official ideologies.

(d) Outside Agitators

The theme of 'outside agitators' had been widely used to explain the 1980-81 riots, but 1985 saw a massive explosion of this imagery and its use to explain the causes of the attacks on the police. The 'masked men' of 1980-81 were to some extent unmasked. Take for example the treatment by the press of Bernie Grant, and other black and white local Labour Party leaders. They were labelled by Douglas Hurd as the 'High Priests of Race Hate', and then followed lurid press stories which attempted to show how 'GLC leftists', 'Black activists' or plain 'Reds' were behind a compaign to undermine the police, to stimulate urban violence and to bring about a collapse of law and order.[28] Such stories served a double function. First they unmasked the forces behind the riots and gave credibility to claims that even if they were not pre-planned they had been sparked off by agi-tation from 'leftists' and other folk devils. Second, they helped to depoliticise and desocialise the issue of racism by laying the blame for 'race hate' squarely on the door of the extreme left and the black activists. Indeed according to Ronald Butt, a regular columnist for **The Times** and other

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papers on race issues during 1980-81 and 1985,[29] 'race' had become a new weapon in the class war (Butt 1985).

If blaming assorted types of 'Reds' for the outbreak of street violence had taken on new forms in 1985, the traditional 'outside agitators' themes of 'masked men' and 'foreign agents' did not exactly disappear. A classic of its own kind is the following story from the **Daily Express** about the death of PC Blakelock on Broadwater Farm:

> **Moscow-trained hit squad gave orders as mob hacked PC Blakelock to death.** The thugs who murdered policeman Keith Blakelock in the Tottenham riots acted on orders of crazed left-wing extremists.
>
> Street-fighting experts trained in Moscow and Libya were behind Britain's worst violence.
>
> The chilling plot emerged last night as detectives hunted a hand-picked death squad believed to have been sent into North London hell-bent on bloodshed...
>
> They include men and women from Commonwealth countries like Jamaica, Barbados and Nigeria, who have been trained in Russia and Libya in street revolutionary tactics (October 8, 1985).

A number of similar stories resonated through the pages of the popular press, even when there was no evidence supplied or when the links seemed to be a matter of assertion.[30] Looking for the 'men behind the riots' turned out to be less a matter of the individual 'leftists' who were named in such stories but of the The symbolic political value of such metaphors has been noted in studies of riots response in the USA, where the 'outside agitators' argument was used to deflect attention away from social, economic and policing issues (Edelman 1971; Lipsky and Olson 1977). The experience of 1980-81 and 1985 in Britain suggests that such an analysis need to be contextualised against a broader historical perspective, since 'outside agitators' type of arguments do not seem to have any relation to the 'facts' of the riots as such. They seem to form part of a wider use of symbolic political language to help make sense of the crises facing British society. Ambiguous political situations such as riots help engender anxieties about the role of external threats to order, but they do not create such beliefs.

LEGITIMACY VERSUS THE LIMITS OF REFORMS

The political language used to explain and respond to the riots provides a clear example of the inherently contradictory nature of legitimacy when confronted by street violence, particularly in a context which allows only limited reform of the fundamental social and power inequalities which structure the fate of inner city residents. It may be argued that all political language is about 'symbolic reassurance' or promises that governments are in control of the situation. But this does not mean that such promises can succeed in providing legitimacy to unsuccessful policies on a permanent basis. The dilemma was captured quite well in the aftermath of the April 1981 riot in Brixton, in a leading article in the **Financial Times:**

> Last weekend's riots can be interpreted either as the growing pains of a society gradually moving towards racial integration or as the latest omen that racial tension will eventually tear society apart, particularly when it is exacerbated by a high level of unemployment among the young. Which of these interpretations eventually proves

correct may depend on large measure on what people are now prepared to believe. For there is plenty in Brixton to suggest that a genuinely multi-racial society is achievable. But racial insecurity, partly fostered by the deliberate actions of successive governments, can all too easily destroy the cohesion on which all societies must base their system of preserving authority and order (Kaletsky and Wood 1981).

This diagnosis seems to be further supported by the experience of the 1985 events. Although symbolic reassurance, depoliticisation and promises of future reform helped to bring about a temporary truce in collective violence on the 1980-81 model, the occurrence of broadly similar outbreaks during September-October 1985 is a pointer to the inherent limitations of such policy responses.

This is not to say that no attempts have been made to deal with issues such as racism and racial inequality, urban decline, unemployment, policy and community involvement. A number of attempts have been made to bring about reform in all these areas since 1981. The need for something like a 'national programme of action' on the American model to deal with collective violence was a constant theme in much of the discussion of the events of 1980-81 in Parliament, the media, policy documents from various agencies, and in the publications of the black communities themselves. By November 1981 the report of the Scarman Inquiry was published, and it articulated the need to face up to the challenge posed by events such as those in Brixton and develop a policy package to deal with the problems of policing, unemployment, poor housing and racial disadvantage and discrimination. According to Scarman's report:

> The social conditions in Brixton do not provide an excuse for disorder. But the disorders cannot be fully understood unless they are seen in the context of complex political, social and economic factors which together create a predisposition towards violent protest (Scarman 1981, para. 8.7).

Furthermore, it argued that:

> The disorders were communal disturbances arising from a complex political, social and economic situation, which is not special to Brixton. There was a strong racial element in the disorders; but they were not a race riot. The riots were essentially an outburst of anger and resentment by young black people against the police (Scarman 1981, para.8.12).

The liberal dilemma which dominates the Scarman Report is how to deal with the material context of social injustice and the psychological climate opinion which directs resentment by disadvantaged groups, such as young blacks, against the police. In other words, how to prevent society from being torn apart by injustices which can be reformed within the framework of a liberal-democratic society.

The fate of the Scarman Report and other liberal reform proposals since 1985 would seem to confirm the pertinence of Lipsky and Olson's account of the politics of riot commissions. They argue that there is 'a built-in tendency toward the whitewash', in the sense that riot commissions minimise criticism of those institutions to whom they address their

arguments for reform (Lipsky and Olson 1977). But in 'whitewashing' the complex reality such programmes of reform, Lipsky and Olson argue, inevitably turn their attention to ameliorating the outward, if dramatic, symptoms rather the cause of the riots. In the short-term such measures seem to reassure public opinion while having only a minimal impact on the grievances and pressures which result in violent protests. Whilst this may sound an unnecessarily cynical and pessimistic view of post-1980 developments, it serves as a useful benchmark from which to view actual policy change in this field. To take the example of the Scarman Report again it is important to note that the parts of the analysis which it contains about the 'rotten apples' in the police force and the need for greater training in race awareness have proved more amenable to implementation precisely because they do not tackle the major features of racism which are discussed in other parts of the Report. According to John Benyon this is because the issues of urban and racial disadvantage, racial discrimination and youth unemployment are not so highly placed on the dominant political agenda, while law and order is (Benyon 1986).

To be sure, in the aftermath of the 1985 riots there have been numerous pronouncements by government departments and ministers about the need to tackle the law and order issue not in isolation but alongside measures to deal with unemployment, inner city decline, the provision of leisure and social facilities and private enterprise. Whether the more recent promises will be more successful in dealing with the underlying issues which structure forms of violent protest is the burning question of the moment. The experience between 1981 and 1985 would seem to indicate that it is the promise of reform which is the main concern of political language rather than the implementation of a co-ordinated programme of change. Thus in relation to unemployment and urban decline promises were made in the aftermath of the July 1981 outbreaks to deal with the jobs crisis of the young, the decline of inner city areas, and to help push the economy out of the recession. The immediate publicity emphasized the broad objectives to be achieved but not the mechanisms through which they were to be implemented (a phenomenon which Lipsky and Olson show also occurred in the USA).

In a similar fashion the period after the September-October 1985 events has been full of promises of action to deal with these very same problems. By early November **The Guardian** reported that the riots had led to a review of inner city and employment policies.[31] The emphasis on order as the first priority was, however, quite unmistakeable. In fact the Government emphasized that the immediate response to the riots must be to re-establish law and order, since: "There can be no economic or sociological justification of throwing a petrol bomb. That is crime and must be dealt with as such, wherever it occurs" (**The Guardian** 6 November 1985). It should be noted also that whilst in 1980-81 it was quite often the Department of Environment that led the way in terms of public pronouncements, by 1985 it was the Home Office that served as the lead department. The 'social' departments were called in to play their part in restoring order and preventing future disturbances, but only within the context that their actions were only part of the total answer.

This perhaps tells us something about the contradictions which are inherent in the logic of responses to both the 1980-81 outbreaks and the more recent disturbances. Both sets of response represented an attempt to reassure the public that Government was still very much in control while minimizing the political impact of the protests. In addition, and this is perhaps more clear in relation to 1985, the restoration of law and order has been achieved through the imposition of tough measures to support the police. Such a strategy has necessitated that the riots be branded as 'criminal acts', 'senseless outbursts' or the work of 'drug barons'. Against such expressive political symbols the language of liberal reform has found itself pushed into a corner. During 1985 and 1986 there have been numerous calls to look more closely at the policy agenda of the Scarman Report (Clare 1985; Silverman 1986), but it is perhaps not surprising that these have not been heard. The re-imposition of order on the streets is seen within the current dominant political discourse as an objective which can be achieved without the economic and political reforms which are called for by the liberal project, at least in the medium-term. In the long-term the strong free-market economy which the present Government aims to construct is seen as the best insurance against social disorder, rather than short-term reform measures.

Caught between the repeated calls for reform voiced by liberals since 1980 and the logic of the 'free market' and the 'strong state', the inner city areas which have witnessed violent protest seem to have little chance of any fundamental change in the medium-term. Given such a situation, and there is little evidence of change, the occurrence of violent protest is not merely a possibility - it is a likelihood. Promises of a better future in some future 'free-market' paradise will do little to transform the economic and social fabric of inner city areas, political powerlessness, or the differential policing patterns which brand certain groups as 'criminal'. In such a situation the preservation of authority and order will be secured as much by force as by consent.

CONCLUSION
Between 1981 and 1985 there was much discussion whether 'the lessons' of 1980-81 had been learned, whether the political response to the riots had been 'adequate', and whether forms of collective violence had become a permanent feature of British political life. In the aftermath of Handsworth, Brixton and Tottenham 1985 a similar debate is taking shape, with profound concern being expressed whether the initiatives promised after the 1985 'riots' will prevent the recurrence of such confrontations in the near future. The array of 'inner city initiatives', expressions of government concern, and promises of more effective actions to tackle unemployment are in many ways responses to this overriding concern about how to manage and depoliticise the impact of the riots.

The actual impact of these intiatives on the lives of inner city residents will, in all likelihood, be minimal within the current reality of massive de-industrialisation, social restructuring, and the increasing arbitrariness of police powers. This is not to say that the political objectives of these forms of state intervention have not been achieved. Precisely because it is the symbolic political language about the riots which most people experience, promises of reform seem to reassure

popular opinion that something is being done and thus help ensure the 'political viability of unsuccessful policies' (Edelman 1977). But the limits of symbolic action which does little to change the underlying problems are clear enough today when we see constant complaints from black groups that promises without actual change are not enough (Ouseley et al 1986).

Perhaps this is an inevitable contradiction since it is clearly impossible to separate the analysis of the riots from the wider social and economic changes in contemporary Britain. Nor is it possible to ignore the deep political and ideological shifts which have taken place, particularly the development of nationalist and neo-racist ideologies at both the academic and the popular level (Troyna and Williams 1986). Such transformations inevitably overdetermine the possibilities of implementing reforms of existing inequalities, however limited these reforms may be. But it seems to me that this pattern, if reproduced over the next period, will result in a situation where the symbolic value protest will become an even more important form of action for oppressed and marginalised social groupings. The reforms necessary to tackle the core issues may well be beyond the limits of the current political realities.

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1. Useful, though not conclusive reviews of the literature on this aspect can be found in Benyon (1984) and Davis (1986).
2. The limited nature on this issue is clear from the fact that a few studies of riot participants have actually been carried out. But see Reicher (1984) for some insightful perspective on this question.
3. There is a voluminous body of work on this aspect of the riots, which emanates from both the academic world and from official bodies. A useful overview of some of the tensions which underly discussion about the policy impact of the riots can be found in Benyon (1985), Benyon and Solomos (1986) and Jacobs (1986).
4. Murdock (1984), provides a useful account of the perceptions of the media in 1981; another useful account can be found in Hansen (1982). More general accounts of responses can also be found in Joshua and Wallace (1983), and Burgess (1985). But all these accounts are limited in perspective and do not analyse sufficiently the ways in which an official political language has emerged to explain riots and related events since 1980. This is the main theme I try to develop in this paper.
5. Davis (1986) makes a useful attempt to lay the goundwork for an analytical clear analysis of various forms of 'colletive racial violence'. Unfortunately the historical context of contemporary forms of violent disorder has not been analysed in as much detail.
6. For a detailed analysis of this history see chapter 1 of CCCS Race and Politics Group (1982).
7. As part of the overall response to the 1980-81 riots the context of youth unemployment and youth training programmes needs to be analysed, along with the general function of the MSC and employment policies. This issue is discussed in detail in Solomos, (forthcoming), chapters 4-6.
8. But see Solomos (1985) for one account of this broader socio-political context; also Teiner (1985).
9. As Edelman (1971), points out any analysis of violence and disorder needs also to look at periods of quiescence and relative social peace. An attempt to analyse the importance of this hypothesis can be found in Solomos, (forthcoming), chapter 6.
10. There is clearly a need for a comparative analysis of commonalities and differences between America in the 1960s and Britain in the 1980s. This is, however, beyond the scope of this paper.
11. My usage of the term racialisation owes much to Reeves (1983) and Miles and Phizacklea (1985).
12. The ambiguity in coverage of Bristol suggests that we need to be careful in generalising about the role of 'race' as a metaphor during the 1980-81 riots,

since the meanings attached to 'racial factors' were by no means static over time and space.
13. See e.g. 'Well Well, Look who's talking about lackeys and loyalty', **Sunday Express**, July 12, 1981 and 'Why I see Hope in the Riots', **The Sun**, July 13, 1981.
14. An articulate example of the race and immigration theme in commentaries on the riots is R. Butt, 'Race and the mischief makers', **The Times**, July 9, 1981.
15. The use of the riots in neo-fascist and extreme right discourses during 1980-82 is dealt with in some detail by the anti-fascist magazine **Searchlight**, which produces regular information on the views of such groups on race.
16. An account of the press coverage of this issue during July 1981 can be found in Hansen (1982).
17. It is interesting, for example, that although **The Sun** gave much coverage to Powell's pronouncements it distanced itself from the call for repatriation as the only solution. See 'No, Mr. Powell, No', Editorial, July 13, 1981.
18. See CCCS Race and Politics Group (1982), chapter 1, for an account of this process.
19. See Solomos (forthcoming), chapter 6.
20. Apart from the debates cited above a number of angry exchanges took place during question time, and these were widely covered by the press.
21. In relation to 'black youth' in general the argument that they were 'alienated' or 'marginalised' from the mainstream of British society has a much longer history. See Solomos (1985).
22. Although such opposition was by no means universal within the Conservative parliamentary group for example, where a small but vociferous body of MPs gave public support to the call for repatriation and somewhat more limited support to Powell's warnings of impending bloodshed and civil war.
23. The 'ethnic rivalry' argument in relation to Handworth has a much longer history, but this is beyond the scope of this paper. For a critical view of how the media dealt with this issue see D. Rose, 'I was there in Fleet Street's tribal bloodbath', **The Guardian**, September 16, 1985.
24. The tendency to see riots as a product of the social pathology of those who engage in them has been noted in relation to America as well. See Edelman (1977) chapter 1.
25. The use of arguments about social and racial disadvantage alongside arguments about outside agitators and hooliganism is particularly clear in the Dear report on Handsworth.
26. See e.g. 'Drugs crackdown lit the Handsworth Fuse', **The Observer**, September 15, 1985; 'Ruthless drug ring that set riot city ablaze', **Daily Express**, September 17, 1985.
27. Hansen (1982) gives a careful and detailed analysis of this theme.
28. See e.g. 'Agitators Stirred Brixton Riot', **Daily Telegraph**, October 1, 1985; 'Red Butchers', **The Star**, October 8, 1985; 'GLC Leftists Undermining the Police', **Daily Telegraph**, October 9, 1985.
29. Butt has been a regular commentator on race and race-related issues of some time, but among his articles of particular relevance see: 'Mugging: factor the hard facts', **The Times**, March 8, 1982; 'Facing the Fact of Immigration', **The Times**, October 28, 1982; 'The Politics of Thatcherism', **Policy Review**, 26, 1983, 30-40.
30. The lack of evidence to support such assertions did not stop them from gaining a wide currency, and from being used to explain the riots and other forms of urban violence. As late as February 1986 stories of the role of 'agitators' and 'Labour leftists' in formenting urban unrest were circulating in the press.
31. **The Guardian**, 'Riots prompt review of inner city aid', November 11, 1985.

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feature review
sex education?

JENNY MELLOR

J. Whyte, R. Deem, L. Kant and M. Cruickshank
GIRL FRIENDLY SCHOOLING
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This volume contains a selection from the papers given at a conference on **Girl Friendly Schooling** held at Manchester Polytechnic in September 1984. There were two major concerns which preoccupied the participants. First, that although girls do better than boys in general educational attainment, certainly up to CSE and 'O' level, the gap between girls and boys in the physical sciences and mathematics has not been closed, and girls are still under-represented in technical and craft subjects. Second, and intrinsically more worrying, girls still prefer traditional option choices thus unnecessarily confining their future career opportunities. The result is, that in spite of a few spectacular successes women are still failing to achieve equality with men in the professions, industry and other fields of employment.

The authors of the book, however, are not concerned with the question 'what is it about girls which allows them to accept a limited vision of the role of education and their future employment prospects?' Instead, they focus on a different question - 'what is it about schools, that they fail to provide genuine equality of opportunity for girls, and furthermore, what can be done about it?' However, it would be a mistake to assume that girls do badly at school - they do not. As Patrick Orr notes "when the numbers taking and passing public examinations in all subjects are taken into account, girls do better than boys. They now out number boys in all categories except the group taking and passing those 'A' levels - here boys remain slightly ahead of girls but the gap is narrowing" (p.8). It might seem therefore that the whole issue of girls' under achievement is a thing of the past and concern about education would be better channelled in other directions. But Orr goes on to argue that girls have still not caught up with boys in science subjects. For example, although the number of girls passing physics 'A' level rose from 5,400 to 8,870 between 1976-83 the corresponding number of boys rose from 24,300 to 31,800. Furthermore, girls appear to confine their aspirations to equality to examination successes rather than to thinking about the long term links between education, further training and employment.

Much space in the book is given to discussing the reasons why girls tend to opt out of science in secondary schools. Their rejection of science it seems is influenced by classroom interaction, teachers' attitudes and the content of the science syllabuses. In mixed classes boys tend to dominate, taking an unfair share of the teacher's time and scarce equipment, particularly in subjects defined as exclusively masculine. Girls tend to do better in science in single sex schools, but as these are declining in number, effective change must address the problem of a co-educational setting. To encourage girls to take more interest in the subject and to gain confidence in their ability requires considerable dedication from the teacher. Unfortunately research into teachers' attitudes reveal that science teachers are among the group least committed to equal opportunities and most likely to accept sexual stereotypes. The teachers interviewed stressed the neutrality of the education system and their role within it. They felt their job was to offer subjects to all children who could then make informed choices; it was emphatically not to encourage the kind of change which would upset traditional patterns of choice. In other words, if girls did not choose to take science, there was little they as teachers could do about it. However, in an interesting account of the implementation of a 'Girls into Science and Technology' (GIST) project in Greater Manchester. Judith Whyte shows that girls were enthusiastic about science if it was presented in a way that took account of their interests. As she says "Over 50% and in some cases 60% said they would like to learn about the human heart, germs and illness, how our muscles work, what food is good for you, life in the seas, what makes a rainbow appear and how a record is made" (p.50).

She goes on to argue that boys and teachers acted in a way that made science appear an unnecessarily masculine endeavour, thus excluding girls who 'quickly took the hint and went away'. The GIST project attempted to repackage the science curriculum to make it more appealing to girls, to invite successful women scientists to visit the school, thus providing attractive female role models and to start single sex science groups to give girls a chance to study the subject without being intimidated by boys. Although the project did bring about some change in attitudes and even, to a lesser extent, in subject choice, it seemed unsurprisingly to succeed best in schools which were already used to innovation or where women held senior posts. Overall, however, the

results were disappointing both in terms of attitude change and teacher commitment.

Some science teachers did not appear to recognise the implications that giving up science would have for girls future careers. Not only does the lack of scientific qualifications close the door to many interesting occupations, but also in a technological society scientific ignorance leads to an inability to understand the physical environment and therefore to exclusion from important areas of decision making.

Other interventionist strategies discussed in the book concerned in-service training to make teachers at all levels more aware of the need for change. Research into training programmes demonstrated that men were more resistant to the idea of policy change than women, and that as Carol Adams suggests 'Tackling sexism in depth may be difficult and uncomfortable for many men' (p.127). Since the positions of power and authority in schools are still predominantly held by men, as Hilda Davidson points out in chapter 13, changing attitudes is a long slow process requiring time and effort. But as the reports of two projects show, one in Brent and one on Humberside, when the support of the local authority is committed to the extent of providing E.O. posts and money for training, the climate of opinion does gradually change and initial antagonism and even derision turns into a serious consideration of how to implement policy.

Finally, the book looks at the way in which legislation against sexual discrimination often fails to work for both pupils and teachers: it examines the obstacles to promotion which face women teachers and it critically assesses approaches made to Girl Friendly Schooling in Australia. These chapters focus on womens' position in the power structure and illustrate the complexity of the factors that militate against equality. A deficit model which assumes that girls should acquire the characterists of successful males simply does not work. For instance assertiveness, which is regarded as a positive quality in men, is viewed as aggresiveness in women. For male teachers having a family to support is considered grounds for promotion, for females it is a disadvantage. As Lesley Kant reminds us we live in a world where an influential person, a judge, can still make the following recommendation;

> Even in present times when there is a movement by women for equality with men, a sensible wife, certainly in a united home does not generally make major discussions. A solicitor should not take instructions from the wife when the husband is available" (p.167).

It is hardly surprising therefore that educational policies can only bring about change slowly.

If the book has a failing, it is that girls themselves are relatively absent from it. As Lyn Yates asks in the final chapter 'given the theme of 'girl friendly schooling' has there been sufficient attention through this volume to the experience and lives of the girls at school?' (p.219). Of course, the emphasis in these papers is on the role of educationalists in encouraging change, and as such it is to be welcomed. But as Yates points out, if the real situation of girls is avoided and new initiatives don't "take account of or connect with the current realities of the students, it is schooling trying to preach to its students about what is best for them. Such approaches often fail to take account of why boy friends and their views and the prospect of marriage and babies are so…powerful as a immediate reality" (p.228). And they will not appear 'user friendly' to the girls they were designed to help.

youth work in west belfast:

a critical approach   WENDY GARNER AND NORMAN GILLESPIE

The ESRC project, which is based at the Ulster Peoples' College, has concentrated on developing a participatory approach to the research with local community workers and young people being involved in the planning and collating stages of the project. The project is centred on two contrasting areas. These are the protestant Shankill - a traditional working class urban district which has undergone considerable physical and social change over the past 15 years due to a massive redevelopment programme - and; the catholic Upper Springfield (Ballymurphy) - a post-war housing estate adjacent to the Greater Shankill which exhibits all the problems associated with the worst aspects of such developments. Both areas have experienced a considerable level of civil disorder due to 'the troubles' in Northern Ireland and both are amongst the most deprived communities in Western Europe.

There has been a growing concern with the state of youth in the Shankill and Ballymurphy since 1969 when young people increasingly came to the fore in the street confrontations and paramilitary violence which has permeated Belfast for the past 16 years. Much of this concern has been channelled into projects which appear to concentrate heavily on 'giving young people something to do' - assuming that by occupying the recipients with 'acceptable alternative forms of behaviour' the aspirations to riot or engage in other 'anti-social' behaviour such as mugging, solvent abuse, or drinking will somehow magically disappear. There have been many other approaches most notably attempts at 'integrated holidays', 'inter-club visits', and the general development of a 'non-sectarian' ethos in youth provision.

The Northern Ireland Youth Committee which advises the Northern Ireland Office on 'youth policy' stated in its 1981 report that the objectives of the Youth Service are;
(a) to provide opportunities for the social education of young people which is based largely on learning from experience and the sharing of ideas with others;
(b) to develop a working partnership between young people and older adults through the young group in the context of the family and the wider community;
(c) to provide opportunities for the greater participation by young people in the planning and management of their own activities as a means of finding their place in the community;
(d) to give young people an opportunity to express their views;

(e) to promote greater understanding of a society with diverse traditions and approaches and willingness to communicate positively within it.[1]

We will return to these aims later but three points should be made at this stage. Firstly; it must be said that these objectives have not changed much since 1981. Secondly; most of the young people we interviewed who participated in formal youth work did not do so, mainly, for the above reasons but rather for more simply identifiable activities such as to play snooker or meet their friends. Thirdly; the section of the youth population which gives rise to most concern does not participate in formal youth activities and would probably be excluded from so doing anyway by the ideological prejudices of youth workers who often view non-participants as 'anti-social', 'disruptive, 'negative' or just 'plain ignorant'. Such views were quite widespread in our interviews with youth workers and when one considers that perhaps as many as 60-70% of young people don't participate in formal youth provision then the nature and extent of the problems and the inability of the Youth Service's attempts to remedy them are glaring.

What are the Real Needs of Young People to-day?
Attempts at somehow controlling working class leisure by the dominant class are, of course, nothing new and have exhibited various degrees of success from the inception of the 'quasi-military' youth brigades of the turn of the century to the purpose built leisure centres of to-day. Such efforts have tended to be concerned mainly with giving working class youth "something constuctive to do".[2] The more recent sophisticated attempts at curbing the informal activities of youth are a reflection of the changing social and economic climates. Urban redevelopment and the destruction of local economies have clearly left their mark. On the one hand there is the reality of the erosion of the traditional working class neighbourhood and community itself and all that went with it. On the other hand there was the failure to deliver the promised 'consumer society' which the increased geographical and educational mobility - not to mention changes in production - were to bring. Working-class youth activities became and remain the most pressing 'moral panics'[3] of the age of mass youth unemployment in 'ghost towns' which were originally designed as 'growth towns'. The changes in the shape of 'informal' youth activities are a direct reflection of the breakdown of the close inter-connec-

tions between family and neighbourhood and the weakening of informal social controls.[4] There has been a strong tendency to reduce this complex and uneven process to the famous, and simplistic, 'generation gap'.

Part of this process has been the re-orientation of the working class away from a general concern with their own well being and basic needs to a more specific consumerism which can best be summed up by reference to the increased working class demand for material goods. Working-class youths have similarly been subject to this process. "We have become dependent on capitalism" as one commentator has put it.[5] In his classic study of the working-class, Hoggart drew attention to the responsibility of the minority of political activists and convinced trade unionists within the working class:

> I have recalled their work for social reform and have stressed that it was inspired not primarily by a search for material goods but by a sense of the need for higher satisfactions by working people, satisfactions which could be more easily obtained once material improvements have been made ....(their) ideas.... are in danger of·being lost.... material improvements can be used so as to incline the body of working people to accept a mean form of materialism as a social philosophy.[6]

This is exactly what has happened to the working-class due to the relative increase in prosperity since the War. Material satisfactions have become the end rather than the means to achieving higher aims; such as; access to a higher quality of life generally, culture, peace, a healthy environment, satisfactory relationships, higher standard of education, real power and participation in the political system, safe and comfortable working conditions and meaningful work. The drive to achieve such standards in life has been largely lost to the vast majority of the working class because of the changes in social priorities over the past thirty years. One is reminded of the passage in 'The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists' when the cynical charge-hand of the house decorators tells the trade unionist, Owen, "Them things aren't for the likes of us." It is such an attitude which comes dangerously close to stagnating the growth of working class consciousness and undoubtedly plays a large part in the seemingly hopeless drive for escapism which has come to dominate working class culture in the Eighties. Formal youth work probably re-affirms this position and, as we shall see, the needs of young people, as perceived by youth workers have tended to exclude such 'higher aims'. The N.I. Youth Committee Report was also notable for its lack of considerations of such needs.

Youth Workers' Perception of Needs in the Two Areas.
We found it imperative to devote part of the project to an attempt to find, exactly, what youth workers' perceived as the need of young people and how they could be best met. We therefore included relevant questions in a questionaire which was circulated to people involved in youth work in the two areas. We also asked them to what extent their youth club/organisation helped to meet the needs.

There were some differences in responses between the two areas which tended to reflect the differences in the type of youth work practised and the different backgrounds of the workers' themselves. Briefly, the Shankill tended to be permeated by church clubs and affiliated uniformed organisations (93% of participants compared to 35% on Springfield). Statutory clubs accounted for 40% of participants on the Springfield as opposed to only 5% on the Shankill. Secular voluntary projects accounted for 25% of the participants on the Springfield as opposed to only 2% on the Shankill. See Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1 Formal Youth Participants 10-24 Age Group in Shankill and Springfield.

AREA	NO. PARTICIPANTS	10-24 POPULATION	% Participation
SHANKILL	1273	3008	42.3
SPRINGFIELD	960	2533	37.9

Source   Population Figures.   1981 Census of Northern Ireland

Table 2 Youth Club Participation For Shankill and Springfield By Type of Club.

No. Members/Regular Attenders

TYPE OF CLUB	SHANKILL NO.	%	SPRINGFIELD NO.	%	TOTAL NO.	%
STATUTORY	59	5	435	40	494	22.1
CHURCH	473	93	385	35	858	38.2
UNIFORMED	711	93	0	35	711	31.8
VOLUNTARY	30	2	280	25	310	13.9
TOTAL	1273	100	960	100	2233	100

These differences are significant and there are various reasons for them which do not concern us here. Suffice to say that there tended to be a greater percentage of professional youth workers, armed with the appropriate ethos, on the Springfield. The tendency on the Shankill was towards the one or two nights a week church members who usually had a full-time career unconnected with youth work. There was greater emphasis on 'spiritual' development of one kind or another in such clubs.

We asked the workers what they thought were the major needs of young people in their respective areas. Maximum number allowed was five. 73 youth workers (11 Springfield, 62 in Shankill) were questioned accounting for about 25% of the total. The leader-in-charge was the first to be included (2 declined) and then other workers (selected randomly) whether part-time or full-time. There were 42 projects on the Shankill and 5 on the Springfield. This gave a possibility of 235 responses to the questions. As it turned out we summarised the responses under 9 headings for simple computation and analysis. Scores overall tended to be significantly higher on the Springfield (95% as opposed to just under 50%). See Tables 3 and 4.

Table 3 Respondents in Youth Workers' Survey by Area, Sex and Type of Club.

TYPE OF CLUB	SHANKILL			SPRINGFIELD			TOTAL ALL		
	M	F	A	M	F	A	M	F	A
STATUTORY	5	0	5	6	1	7	11	1	12
CHURCH	12	5	13	1	1	2	13	6	19
UNIFORMED	15	24	39	0	0	0	15	24	39
VOLUNTARY	1	0	1	0	2	2	1	2	3
TOTAL	33	29	62	7	4	11	40	33	73

KEY: M = MALE
     F = FEMALE
     A = ALL

Table 4 Youth Workers' Perceived 'Needs' of Young People in Upper Springfield and Shankill.

CATEGORY	UPPER SPRINGFIELD			SHANKILL		
	SCORE	% ACTUAL TOTAL	% POSSIBLE TOTAL	SCORE	% ACTUAL TOTAL	% POSSIBLE TOTAL
1. Structural Needs	19	40.4	34.5	43	29.9	13.5
2. Personal Needs	4	8.5	7.3	28	19.4	8.8
3. Positive Education	5	10.6	9.1	7	4.9	2.2
4. Social Recreational Facilities	9	19.1	16.4	15	10.4	4.7
5. Youth Clubs and Facilities	6	12.8	10.9	19	13.2	6.0
6. 'Moral' Developments	1	2.1	1.8	15	10.4	4.7
7. Social Control	2	4.2	3.6	13	9.0	4.1
8. None	1	2.1	1.8	5	3.5	1.6
9. No Response	0	0.0	0.0	9	6.2	2.8
Total Actual	47	85.4	100.0	144	45.3	100.0
Total Possible	55	100.0	100.0	318	100.0	100.0

The first heading listed is the total number of responses which were concerned with 'structural needs', such as jobs, housing, 'standard of living', 'incentives' and 'better environment'. This 'scored' 19 on the Springfield and 43 on the Shankill (approx. 40% and 30% respectively of all 'scores'). This probably reflected the marginally more deprived status of Springfield, generally, to a fair degree as well as the greater inclination for professionally qualified youth and community workers to consider the wider social structure.

The second heading covered personal needs such as; 'stable home', 'parental care', 'sympathetic ear', 'acceptance', 'love', and 'friends'. This one only scored 4 on the Springfield (7% approx.) while it scored 28 on the Shankill (19% approx.) which was not significantly higher given the lower rate of responses overall.

The third category covered 'Positive Education' such as 'drugs education', 'sex education' and 'health education'. Again, this scored significantly higher on the Springfield (5) than on the Shankill (7) and again probably reflected the

'professional' versus 'voluntary religious' approaches of the workers'.

The fourth category covered 'social and recreational' facilities and included 'cheaper leisure centres', 'free day centre' and 'informal facilities'. Springfield scored 9 on this as opposed to 15 on the Shankill.

Category five covered 'Youth Club needs' and this included 'more facilities for clubs', 'more discos', 'more activities generally', 'more workers' and 'more transport'. As expected there was not a significant difference here in scores (Springfield 5, Shankill 19). It also rated highly, third, in both areas which was not surprising. Category six encompassed what can best be termed as 'moral developments' to quote one of the actual responses. This included; character building', 'spiritual leadership', 'sense of responsibility', and 'morality'. This one really was 'a Shankill baby'. This scored 15 by the mainly church-uniformed groups while it only scored 1 on the Springfield.

Category seven was a bit similar and, again, not surprisingly, was strong on the Shankill. It covered 'social control', and included 'discipline', 'supervision', 'control', 'more police', 'more organisation', 'respect for law and order', 'fewer counter activities'. It scored 13 on the Shankill and 2 in the Springfield.

Category eight covered those who simply replied 'none' in response. There was 1 from the Springfield and 5 from the Shankill.

Category 9 covered those who did not respond to the question. There were no 'no responses' from Springfield and, believe it or not, 9 from the Shankill group.

Categories 8 and 9 probably tell us quite a lot about distinctions between the two types of youth worker. One can safely expect professional youth workers, working in one of the most deprived areas of Europe to have some conception of the needs of young people. However, the fact that 14 out of 62 (nearly a quarter) of those workers on the Shankill had no idea what the needs of young people were, did not seem to think that they were in a position to say what they were, or did not think they existed is, to put it bluntly, incredible. There appears to be a wide discrepancy (is it ideological?) between professional catholic youth workers and voluntary protestant church club workers. There is thus likely to be a wide divergence in the type of youth work practised, its policy, and social consequences. However, a general point must be made and that is that overall the workers' perceived the needs of young people in material terms. (Personal needs' did come second in the Shankill sample but was still 'low' considering the lower response rate).

Forty years ago the radical American Community organiser Saul Alinsky noted, 'you don't, you dare not, come to a people who are in the gutter of despair - and offer them ....not security, but supervised recreation, handicraft classes and character building. Yet that is what is done .....we come to them with handouts of bats and balls.....'.[7]

It would appear that to a large extent that is also 'what is

being done' in West Belfast. It is no wonder that social policy makers and practitioners are continually wringing their hands and crying 'what more can we do?' The most basic characteristics, when one enters a youth club in West Belfast are the video games, the television, and the pool tables. The most consistent activities on the programmes are games of one kind or another. A large proportion of youth workers may be aware of pressing needs in the area - like finding job security - but few will claim that their club is in any way meeting this need.

Youth provision in West Belfast appears to be one of the major forms of providing 'mass entertainment' which permeates working-class social life generally. The emphasis on providing for 'mass entertainments' in deprived areas is more of an attempt at moral evasion rather than an attempt at alleviating the causes of despair.

'Mass entertainments' tend towards a view of the world in which progress is conceived as a seeking of material possessions, equality as a moral levelling, and freedom as the ground for endless irresponsible pleasure'.[8] The aim of such activities is to ensure the continuation of a 'spectators' world. They are not designed to tax the mind and serve to stifle development of the intellect amongst those who have most to gain from that. They also assist the undermining of positive and co-operative kinds of enjoyment in which one gains much by giving much.

Seabrook has noted that the market-place is the instrument whereby the dependency on such activities is created. These material advantages which young people are given ensure that they achieve satisfaction of needs without effort or struggle. This leads to a systematic under-use of their cognitive powers and possibilities, the suppression of their energies and abilities and passivity and subordination. This helps them to accept the underemployment of their skills and intelligence. By this process it is ensured that there will be an absence of purpose in their lives, an eroded sense of identity, the lack of function and definitions, and recurring bouts of boredom.

The Shankill itself, post-redevelopment, is a sort of 'mad Disneyland' of leisure centres, bingo halls, sports complexes, slot machines and car parks against a back-drop of social despair on an unprededented scale. The anticipation is, of course, that social consciousness - the perception of the conditions of existence - will be distorted in the hall of mirrors and it works. Traditional youth work provides part of this process. In particular if we look at the emphasis on 'personal development', as it is preached and practiced by the Youth Service, a little more closely, it becomes apparent that what we are seeing is really Baden-Powell's 'character building', a lá 1986. Spiritual development (which was very strong in the Shankill clubs/organisations) is another form of this and serves to prepare the disillusioned youth for the life he or she will inherit hereafter which they would probably have otherwise settled for now. Some youth workers actually stated that 'more police' was a need for young people. Yet in the various confrontations with the police in both areas it is overwhelmingly young people under-25 who are involved. A dislike of the police is something the 'kids' of Shankill and Springfield have in common.

It is becoming apparent, then, that the Youth Service falls far short of meeting the needs of young people in general. It fails even to meet the needs of young people who participate in formal youth provision never mind the other two-thirds. Neither, does it know where to begin. The departure point for the implementation of any social policy which is designed to alleviate particular problem's must first be to ascertain the nature and extent of the problem. But the Youth Service does not appear to know what these are. 'Keeping kids off the street' does not alleviate a problem or meet a need. It just keeps 'kids' off the street. There is nothing problematical about them being there providing they so choose. This led us to attempt to discover how those youth workers who did claim to know what the needs were thought they could best be met. The responses are the subject of the next section.

Table 5 Youth Workers' suggested remedies by the two Areas.

	SPRINGFIELD		SHANKILL	
	Positive Respondents = 14		Positive Respondents = 14	
	Total Responses = 17		Total Responses = 79	
	Positive Responses = 17		Positive Responses = 45	
CATEGORY	No. Responses	% Total (Positive)	No. Responses	% Total (Positive)
1. Structural Changes	9	52.9	12	26.1
2. Local Initiatives	4	23.5	12	26.1
3. Schools	0	0	5	11.0
4. Social/Rec. Initiatives	0	0	1	2.2
5. Youth Club Initiatives	4	23.5	10	21.7
6. Religious Initiatives	0	0	5	11.0
7. Don't Know	0	0	8	
8. No Response	0	0	26	
TOTAL	17	100	79	100

Percentages approx. to nearest 0.1%

The positive responses offered by both groups numbered 62 (Shankill 45, Springfield 17) which were divided into six general categories for the purpose of analysis.

The Springfield group failed to score in 3 of the categories. These were (1) Category 3 which covered better schools. The Shankill only scored 2 on this also which is surprising considering the increasing criticism on educational standards from lay-people and professionals alike as well as the pupils. The Shankill, in fact, has recently witnessed a major community campaign against school closures and cut-backs in education spending which has clearly went unheeded by those who are supposedly sympathetic to the welfare of youth (2). Category 4, which covered social and recreational initiatives (excluding youth clubs). This only scored 1 on the Shankill. Both responses here seem odd considering that both samples rated such priorities fairly high in the question

on needs. It is a case of some workers believing that a need in the areas is more bats and balls but yet they do not know how this need can be met (which seems quite clear to us). (3) Category 6 which scored 5 on the Shankill and covered 'Religous Developments'. These included 'increasing role of Church' (a), 'more church organisations' (b), and 'young people coming to Christ' (c). The response rate in this category appeared low in both areas at first glance but a number of the other strategies were suggested with the assumption that the local churches would be involved in them to one degree or another.

The highest positive score in the Springfield group and joint highest in Shankill was category 1 which comprised of structural changes in society. These included; 'promotion of family bonds', 'increased public expenditure', and giving young people 'more say'. Again, though, there was also a wide discrepancy in the ratio of support for the more radical approaches to the needs. In Springfield it was 9 out of a total of 17 (52.9%). On the other hand they scored 12 out of 46 from the Shankill group (26.1%). This would appear to suggest that the 'professional' youth worker is much more radical in terms of practice than the voluntary church/uniformed units. It could, however, reflect a much deeper analysis in terms of ideological relations in Northern Ireland generally, in simplistic terms, the radical elements of the nationalist struggle versus the subterranean conservatism and individualism of Ulster protestantism. The greater 'spread' of responses over the protestant sample would tend to suggest that those who did respond 'positively' were prepared to consider a number of different strategies within the framework of the political-economic system of Northern Ireland. The concentration of Springfield respondents on 'radical', solutions (and lower response rate) would tend to reflect the more inherent 'hopelessness' and 'alienation' of catholic West Belfast. The only other 2 initiatives considered by the respondents in Springfield were; local initiatives 'better match of local skills/services', 'community research and action', 'fostering local pride', 'employment grants', 'improve environment' and 'voluntary service/'church action', and Youth club initiatives (full-time official, committed youth leaders, more local resources, more local youthworkers, 'imaginative' programmes, purpose built centre, equipment). These scored 4 each on the Springfield (23.5%) and 12 (26.1%) and 10 (21.7%) on the Shankill respectively indicating no significant difference. It seems that Youth Workers tend to agree on the need for youth and community provisions even if they markedly differ in their form of approach and prioritisation.

On the face of it Category 2 responses may appear to be radical in nature but taken within the context of the rigid territoral interpretation of 'communities' in Northern Ireland we are more likely to see a struggle developing between deprived areas for scarce resources which in the long run would benefit no one and hinder the development of a concerted progressive effort. This brings us back to the central control issue of how the Youth Service can meet the needs of young people. The latest 'in' concepts in youth work regarding the needs of young people appear to be those of 'political' or 'social' education. Attention has been drawn to the position that when one seeks clarification of what terms like 'social', 'political', or even 'participation' mean, the educational cur-

riculum, in regard to the young, as posed by the Youth Service seems elusive and contradictory.[10] The same source has drawn attention to the tendency to avoid a focus on class as a central factor in youth work despite the fact that most of the problems associated with young people are distinctly related to their social class. The 1986 Youth Service Review for Northern Ireland concluded that, '.....it is important to stress that one of the main themes of the report is the extent to which the Youth Service should be meeting the specific needs of young people against a background of rapid social change'.[11] Clearly, the most pressing need arising out of this rapid social change is the need to find a job. In our survey area fewer than 1 in 5 young people were finding a job within a year of leaving school. The greatest draw-back is their social class and the Youth Service is absolutely powerless to meet this need because it is a class issue. Most of the young people we talked to both informally and by structured interviews did not know what class they belonged to or what the concept meant. It is little wonder that we are inheriting a 'confused' generation when they are not even aware of the cause of their greatest plight.[12] Surely it must be essential to the 'personal development' of young people for them to have at least some conception of the nature of their predicament. Should this not come under the heading of political education? Clearly in terms of the Youth Services it does not which leaves us with the irresistable assumption that the 'non-political' Youth Service is in fact political and that it exists to serve not the needs of young people but the needs of a State which depends upon the accumulation of capital for survival at the expense of the increasing degradation of those at the lower end of the social class scale. The role of the Youth Service then becomes one of fostering the reproduction of class relations by facilitating young people in their acceptance of the effects of unemployment while ignoring its causes. This is achieved through 'personal development', 'social education', and 'recreational provision'. The 1986 Northern Ireland Youth Committee Report is permeated with reference to the changes experienced in youth work to meet the problems associated with unemployment. A hundred years ago was the 'opium of the masses'. Then it became 'character building'. Nowadays it is videos, slot machines and social education.

Conclusions
The general appraisal of the extent to which youth work can meet the needs of young people in areas like West Belfast would tend to suggest that the most that could possibly be achieved in terms of the limitations laid down by the Youth Service is a 'tarting-up' exercise. This would include collusion between the Youth Service and the State in general in 'preparing' young people to come to terms with their hopeless position. This is to be carried by the implementation of an ideology of leisure stressing individual freedoms to replace the older now archaic belief that an essential indicator of ones personal success was to 'work for ones keep' for the 'communal good'.

This has been replaced by the 'slot machine' culture of the nineteen eighties - a culture which offers the freedom to participate in a vast array of leisure activities at the expense of the 'sense of purpose' which has traditionally been associated with the demands of the labour movement. Any analysis of the role of the Youth Services in Northern Ire-

land, or elsewhere for that matter, must firmly locate it within an analysis of the historical transformation and present implications of the nature of the state.

For as long as the problems of inner areas, including 'youth problems' are divorced from the overall problems of political economy, Governments will be desperately trying to fill up the 'gaping holes' with bits of plastic padding in the form of the grant here and a few bats and balls there.

Furthermore, we are left in an age of consumerism in which access to material goods has been blocked for a large portion of the population and for those with access to them the predicament is not much better. We were led to believe that the power of money could be made to cure the sufferings of the lower classes and that by ending primary poverty an emancipation (and embourgeoisement) of the working class would occur. The price to be paid for this was the

> "the determining process of the market-place has been substituted, a dependency on it so complete, that the social identity of a whole generation has been formed by it. In this way, one of the most significant aspects of human development - the social part - has been subordinated to and determined by the selling of things".[13]

The market relations of production as promoted by the State are not neutral in the terms of a class society. The role, however, of the State Ideological Apparatuses (particularly education and 'youth work') is to obscure the real position of the State by presenting it as a neutral mediator rather than the producer or facilitator of the capitalist system. Money is the means by which the market relations are presented as a system of equal exchange ('a fair days pay for a fair days work') and the 'workshop' of money has become the 'cult' of the 'eighties thus allowing the 'real' relations of production to be obscured from view.

Clearly, a radical approach to providing for the needs of young people must consider their position within a wider social structure which is ultimately responsible for their deprivations. 'Political education' within the framework of a 'service' (who or what does it really serve) which is concerned with the reproduction of social relations must be treated with scepticism to say the least. What youth work with working class people is seriously lacking is a 'political perspective' which allows for young people to consider the

possibility of changing their life conditions and expectations. We may be able to campaign for a purpose built club here and there but we must ask what the function of that club is to be in terms of the 'real' needs of our youth. It is not surprising, given the lack of a coherent explanation of the needs of young people to-day that the pages of our tabloids are forever filled with 'horror stories' of adolescent, delinquency, mugging, murder and, at times, worse as an entire generation seemingly runs amok. The superstition of religion has been replaced with the superstition of money.

'That the reaction of the victims to this imposition is unhappy, often violent and destructive, should not really surprise us'.[14] An explicit recognition of this point is crucial for anyone who claims to care about the youth of to-day. Only then can we proceed to prepare the programmes which will ensure that the world of tomorrow will be a humane society for them to inhabit.

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12. This tallies with the observation made by Jenkins that the 'kids' of Rathcoole's (a sprawling working-class protestant estate just outside North Belfast) perceptions of the deprived situation was one in which the vocabulary of social inequality and the consciously and a consciousness of class injustice was absent. They experienced the inequalities of opportunity almost entirely in terms of individual failure and their common sense thinking about their social position was dominated by a trenchant individualism which, he argued, functioned both to legitimise the very meritocracy which freezes them out of life's material rewards and to encourage fatalism about such structures of inequality and, indeed, about their deteriorating life chances in general. Jenkins, R. **'Lads, Citizens and Ordinary Kids: Working Class Youth Life-Styles in Belfast'**. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London. 1983.
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personality and psychology:

defining edwardian boys
HARRY HENDRICK

Personality and Psychology: Defining Edwardian Boys

Age relations...are part of economic relations and the political and ideological structures in which they take place. It is not the relations between ages which explain change or stability in societies, but change in societies which explains relations between different ages.[1]

Perceptions of age groups do not simply emerge - they are made, manufactured, constructed. If we accept the accuracy of this statement then a number of questions arise, such as, by whom? For what purpose? In what way? The discussion that follows concentrates on how and why a particular view of male working-class youth came to be so popular in early twentieth-century England, but hopefully some light will also be thrown on the sociological identity of those involved in the relevant processes.[2] Accordingly, this essay has three intentions. First, I suggest that much of the criticism made against young people can best be understood as a critique of their **personality,** as individuals as well as in relation to **adolescence** as a stage of life. By 'personality' I have in mind something more than 'character' which can be defined in the context of moral values; though it was certainly a concept of fundamental significance in Victorian and Edwardian political thought. However, 'Personality' is stressed here because social observation was concerned not only with personal ethical systems, but also with physical and mental display: clothes, gestures, speech, habits, manners, emotions and 'natures'. There is no claim made for any strict definition of the word, rather I use it in order to emphasise the comprehensiveness of the critique.

The second intention is to show how observers were able to transform their ageist and essentially class-based views into what could pass for, indeed, did pass for, a scientific analysis with the help of developments in child and social psychology which provided them with new insights and a specialist vocabulary. The vocabulary served two purposes: it could explain forms of bahaviour and patterns of thought which were apparantly characteristic of juveniles and, secondly, it could identify and explain those psychological and physiological features which psycho-medicine claimed were age-specific to 'adolescence'. Consequently, as we shall see, working-class youth came to be imprisoned in a set of images which were largely sustained by medical knowledge.

My third and less explicit intention is to query J.R. Gillis's account of the 'discovery' of adolescence, and his assertion that these 'critical years', as they were known, 'replaced' class as the 'perceived cause' of anti-social activity.[3] Gillis dates the 'discovery' between 1870 and 1900 and attributes it to the greater dependency of middle-class youth in their reformed public shools, in contrast to the 'freedom' of young wage-earners who were regarded as precociously independent. After 1900, he says, reformers 'imposed' adolescence on the working class in an attempt to enforce their own norms. It would, I think, be more appropriate to say that the popular understanding of adolescence as a concept had far less to do with public schools and age relations within middle-class families than with the social critique, the debate on 'boy labour' and the Child-Study movement. In fact, recognition of the concept's analytical significance occurred in the Edwardian rather than the late Victorian period, and was principally concerned with the working-class **adolescent.** This means, of course, that observers were unlikely to have confused a 'stage of life' with 'station in life' as the source of the youth problem.

Introduction: Indiscipline, Independence and Precocity

Before describing certain aspects of the adolescent personality, as presented by the critics, it might be helpful to sketch in something of the background to the problem. One of the charges (and there were many) made against young wage-earners claimed that nowhere was their freedom and independence more manifest than in their choice of leisure pursuits: they were said to be completely free from restraint or guidance; they mixed with friends of their own choosing (and often with undesirable adults); and they were thriftless with money. Generally speaking, criticism focused on the deleterious environment of 'the streets', especially 'hanging around' or 'wandering about'; visiting music halls and the cinema; smoking and gambling; reading a 'low' kind of literature; playing games in the wrong spirit; and, more ambiguously expressed, social exchange between the sexes where 'coarse' behaviour was said to be too much in evidence. While there was some discussion as to whether or not all these activities were positively harmful, there was unanimous agreement that they were at best 'unelevating'.[4]

Much of the adverse commentary arose from the contemporary concern with the workings of the juvenile labour market. Definitions of the problem centred around 'blind-alley' employment, the apparent decline of old-style apprenticeship, the so-called 'excessive' occupational mobility, and the 'haphazard' transition from school to full-

time wage-earning. The social and economic consequences of 'boy labour' were equally disturbing as numerous observers warned that it led to a weakening of the work ethic, a shortage of properly trained skilled and semi-skilled workers, and the perpetual creation of unskilled, often merely casual, labourers, which in turn helped to create or exacerbate adult unemployment, poverty and demoralisation and, in the long term, posed a threat to the stability of the family. Furthermore, the condition of juvenile labour not only threatened the future of young workers as they grew into adulthood, it was also held responsible for their indiscipline and precocious independence.[5]

The vilification of adolescent employees, and it is worth remembering that they were active participants in the labour market, often depended on a connection being made between their social behaviour and their wage-earning ability. Sidney Webb did just this in his evidence before the Poor Law Commission when he described them as: 'indisciplined.....precocious in evil, earning at 17 or 18 more wages than suffice to keep (them), independent of home control and yet unsteadied by a man's responsibilities'. According to R.A. Bray, a settlement worker and one of the most respected of the 'boy labour' reformers, the combination of relatively high wages and the urban environment had a disastrous effect on family life. In the 'lowest' type of household, he claimed, there was 'no supervision.....the boy is self-supporting, and troubles little about the home'; parents were said to be afraid to exercise their authority, 'lest the lad should take his earnings elsewhere'. The boy was in the position of a 'favoured lodger' who had to be well treated. Bray expressed a widespread anxiety when he warned that modern industrial and urban conditions were undermining all aspects of parental control: the 'city bred youth' was 'growing up in a state of unrestrained liberty'; the 'old patriarchal system is gone'; the family has 'become democratized; we have in it an association of equals in authority'. Other observers wrote of youths being 'openly independent' and staying out late at night. 'All restraint', it seemed, was being 'cast aside.....and the young labourer, at the critical age of adolescence, becomes a victim of whim and impulse, finding an outlet of his newly awakened energies in some form of hooliganism, and in the excitement of the streets and music halls'.[6]

The urgency of re-establishing control and independence was usually presented within the context of schooling and in relation to the concept of precocity. By the 1890s the elementary school enjoyed enormous popularity among virtually all commentators who lamented the fact that on reaching the leaving age young teenagers moved away from its influence, especially its civic and moral discipline. Helen Bosanquet, the noted and influential social analyst tapped what she knew to be an important chord when she reminded her readers that the

> 'greatest influence in our parish outside the home is beyond doubt the school...For good or for evil the rising generation is there receiving instruction and discipline...in face of all criticism...our children are being firmly and gently brought into line...I do not think we attach nearly sufficient weight to this fact in estimating the advance that has been made towards reclaiming the 'submerged' classes of the community'.

Once the boy became a wage-earner, however, he showed his 'outrageous impertinence, conceit, and disrespect for us who are clearly his betters'. The recurring complaint was that within a short time the freedom of the streets, coupled with lax supervision at home, 'have played havoc with habits of attention and discipline. Boys, it was said, became 'sulkily stupid'.[7]

But the core of the problem was not simply that the youth had left the school, rather it was that he found himself hurried into the adult world by virtue of becoming a full-time wage-earner. It was the haste with which the 'status of manhood' fell upon the boy that caused apprehension among reformers: 'the suddenness with which this independence occurs'. As Bray exclaimed, 'the lad goes to bed a boy; he wakes up as a man'. Similarly, the Rev. Spencer Gibb, a frequent writer on young workers, commented on how the '"golden gates" of childhood close with a snap: the boy seems to spring at a bound into a youth that is in haste to become manhood. The average boy grows up too quickly; and the forcing agency is clearly the work'. Consequently, he experienced a 'too early maturity.... Boyishness is suppressed: manishness, if not manliness, developed'. Sometimes it seemed as if 'a species of manchild' was being created,

> 'in whom the natural instincts of boyhood are almost universally overwhelmed by the feverish anxiety to become a man. It is at this stage that he begins with a disagreeable precocity to imitate the habits of his elders - smoking daily an unwholesome number of cheap and nasty 'fags', acquiring with painful pertinacity the habit of expectoration.....and adding to his vocabulary the wealth of coarse and profane expletives which defile all his ordinary conversation with his mates.....'[8]

The hurrying of the pubescent into what was considered premature adulthood was a continuing theme in the social critique. It was an anxiety which developed out of a long tradition of hostility toward the precociousness of the working-class **child**, as was evident in the mid-nineteenth century debate on juvenile delinquency when Mathew Davenport Hill described the delinquent as 'a little stunted man already' who had 'much to unlearn' and was 'to be turned again into a child'. By the late Victorian period, however, the intention was not so much to revive childhood as to maintain 'boyhood'. One reason for the continued emphasis on precocity was that so many of the reformers were ex-public school pupils and, therefore, were conscious of the effort made in the school to prolong and cultivate 'boyishness'. The dependence of schooled adolescents on their parents was well known and in conjunction with public school discipline was widely believed to be responsible for the allegedly superior behaviour and manners of middle-class youth. Another reason, and ultimately a more compelling one, was that the new child psychology was beginning to provide observers with a popular developmental theory which identified **adolescence** as a particular stage of life, and explained the importance of exercising proper adult guidance during its tempestuous journey.[9]

The Young Worker's Personality
If, as J.R. Gillis suggests, the public schools were instrumental in institutionalising 'adolescence' among the middle

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class, they were far less involved in the 'invention' of the working-class **adolescent**. In order to understand how psychology came to dominate the interpretation of the pathology of young urban workers, it is necessary to appreciate the nature of the social critique to which they were subjected. This was a critique which used a vocabulary rich in metaphor and simile, that dwelt on contrast and comparison, that exploited the dramatic potential of language. In some respects certain features of the commentary were as old as time itself. Aristotle had long ago bemoaned the moral weakness of juveniles as they constantly gave way to sexual desire because they could 'exercise no self-restraint'; they were 'changeful.....and fickle'; passionate, irascible', liable to be 'carried away by their impulses', and their faults were always 'on the side of excess and exaggeration'. The Old Testament provided the animal similes which have been regularly employed throughout the ages: the young were like 'wild asses and wild heifers'; each youth was 'like a young colt, wanton and foolish, till he be broken by education and correction'. In early modern England, moralists and theologians denounced youth 'as the dangeous period when restraint was most needed'; it was 'a slippery age, full of passion, rashness and wilfullness'. The Statute of Artificers (1559) based its regulations on the belief that 'until a man grow into the age of twenty-four years he for the most part, though not always, is wild, without judgment, and not of sufficient experience to govern himself'. And throughout the nineteenth century there was common agreement that young people were 'rude, sensual and ignorant', and that the adolescent years were those of 'the greatest moral peril'.[10]

It will soon become clear that these and similar criticisms were frequently expressed during the Edwardian era. There were, however, two points of difference between Edwardian commentary and that of earlier periods. First, the **social** analysis was developed alongside the debate on what at the time, R.H. Tawney called 'the economics of boy labour' (though the two were never entirely separate) and, secondly, the critique was given a new status by the support it received for its conclusions from psycho-medicine. Moreover, the fact that so many observers drew attention, either explicitly or implicitly, to the assumed peculiarity of the adolescent **personality,** made it especially conducive to psychological interpretation.

How, then, was the personality of working-class youth perceived? It is worth stating at the outset that for the majority of observers the adolescent was to be viewed with extreme ambivalence. If he was loud and boisterous, he was also thoughtful and reflective; if he was rebellious and quarrelsome, he was also loyal and idealistic. The psychologists were beginning to show how 'the critical years' of adolescence were particularly sensitive to good and bad influences; and, furthermore, in many respects it was a dialectical stage of life in so far as it contained the remains of what it had been and the seeds of what it was to become. The ambivalence was present in the first important study of young workers, **Boy Life in Our Cities** (1904), edited by E.J. Urwick, a sociologist and resident at the Toynbee Hall settlement. It has been said, he wrote,

'that the heart of a boy is half angel, half savage. In the boys we are considering here there are no half tints; the lights and shades stand out in strong relief; but though at first view the lurid lights of the savage element alone appear, there is a rich background formed of the finer shades of the angel element, waiting for the skilled hand to bring forwards and develop till the two unite to form harmonious character'.

And in his conclusion he optimistically declared that the significant features of youth were 'those of strong, healthy, and normal vitality, full of the possibilities of real and lasting progress, full of hope and promise for the future'.[11] This optimism, though usually accompanied by a sense of uneasiness, was a characteristic feature of the critics' approach to the problem. At the same time, few doubted that without the appropriate guidance from the 'skilled hand', the 'finer shades' would be swamped by the 'savage element'. Such an eventuality was unlikely to occur, but it was not impossible.

The significance of young people as wage-earners has already been mentioned, and certainly observers rarely hesitated to condemn their behaviour and their attitudes in the labour market. For example, where occupational choice was concerned, apparently the youth had only a 'hazy' notion; when it came to job-changing, he was 'light-hearted', 'thoughtless' and 'irresponsible'; as a result of certain forms of unskilled labour, he developed 'careless and lazy' habits and positively enjoyed 'aimless drifting'. Perhaps even more disturbing, he became 'a victim of whim and impulse', exhibited 'a craving for excitement', revelled in 'boisterous activities' and had 'harsh' laughter. Without supervision, warned one of the leading campaigners for vocational guidance, the youth would continue to display a 'restlessness of mind'.[12]

However, the scale and scope of the assault on the adolescent personality is best illustrated not only by reference to particular themes, but also to writings of several of the better known reformers. First, E.J. Urwick, who wrote from the perspective of the professionalist sociologist and the philanthropy of the settlement movement. The town boy, he said, despite everything, managed to 'remain a boy at heart'. He was

'ready to fall into the depths of childish depression over trifles; yet quick to regain the almost abnormal bouyancy of animal spirits which are his undoubted birthright; disgracefully casual, but keen enough when his interest is aroused; a creature full of obvious shallows and unsuspected depths; superficially very sharp, though very seldom clever; unreasonably self-confident, but not yet self-reliant; exasperatingly suspicious, with that odd mixture of incredulity and credulity, both equally misplaced, which makes him so difficult to teach; such is the town boy's nature'.

And, echoing the contemporary concern with racial efficiency and urban deterioration, he described the lowest class of boys who, overcoming their environment and inherited disease, exhibited 'a remarkable toughness of fibre, a sort of indiarubber capacity of recovery from fatigue or injury...as well as an alertness and quickness of movement' together with 'a superficial and mercurial versatility'. In fact, they were developing 'under the stress of city life, a new type of humanity'.[13]

We shall return to the idea of the 'city type' later on, but for the moment it is worthwhile pausing to say that Urwick's vocabulary was to be found time and time again in the years after 1904. Not that it was unique to this period; far from it. But the deluge of 'boy labour' publications, especially after 1909, gave it a new prominence. One very important consequence was to distance young people from ordinary society, so they were 'odd', 'abnormal', 'animal', 'misplaced', coupled with the assertion, almost casually mentioned, that they had a particular 'nature'. Of course, this was meant to imply that it was natural for urban working-class youth to display a particular set of personality traits - or, put another way, they could not help but be what their class and their 'age' determined for them.

The same implication was also to be seen in the writings of the Rev. Spencer Gibb, a member of the Christian Social Union and one of the first observers to draw attention to the 'boy labour problem'. Gibb saw young workers as 'eager, light-hearted, volatile'; but once they became wage-earners, they lived 'for the day', seldom looking beyond. (The momentariness of working-class life was constantly referred to by commentators and philanthropists). In the friendly but patronising tone, so common among the critics, he described the youth as 'living on friendly terms with all the world; companionable and ready for a chat; faithful and loyal to his chums...his feelings and thoughts on serious things of life and religion are unfathomable to others, and, while he is...wholly inarticulate...he is without his depths'; his conversations 'consist of the non-essential with the essential wrapped up in a remote corner'; he was 'sensitive and magnifies small grievances; hopeful, and expects an Eldorado elsewhere'. And, though the youth was fickle, this didn't imply any **uncommon** instability of character, but is merely the combined result of **boyish** thoughtlessness, **boyish** expectations, **boyish** restlessness, and the total absence of any clear guidance'. (my emphasis) Some guidance was essential because without it 'our boy' with his 'cheerfulness, activity, vim, and pluck; with his inexperience, aimlessness, and **natural** irresponsibility' was 'fatally adapted' to 'fall victim' to the most undesirable influences. (my emphasis)[14] The assumption that boyhood necessarily involved 'natural instability' was one which the psychologists were rapidly transforming into scientific fact.

Charles Russell, pioneer club founder, author of numerous texts and later Inspector-General of Reformatories also drew attention to the 'mercurial' temperament of the 'city lads' who, he said, were 'quicker, more active' than village boys. While urban youth was often wild, disordered and reckless, they were also often 'merry, jolly...full of fun, and with a certain dare-devil spirit', although they were ruined by growing up in an anti-social environment. Russell thought that as a species, boys were stern critics: 'Forgiveness - of all virtues the most difficult perhaps - is most rare'. Nevertheless, he acknowledged that many street-boys were 'loyal, generous, open-hearted, exceedingly self-sacrificing'. On matters of religion, their 'shyness and diffidence' were signs of 'delicacy and refinement of feeling' for which they too seldom received the credit. When all was said and done, however, Russell regarded the adolescent as suffering from 'flabbiness and want of grit' and was 'indeed a puzzling, inconsistent, exasperating creature...a strange, peculiar

creature; sometimes one would think, hardly accountable for what he does'.[15]

Finally, we can look at the views of Alexander Paterson, author of the famous **Across the Bridges** (1911), a study of life in South London, which was made compulsory reading at Eton. The London boy, claimed Paterson, was 'more vicious and neurotic' than his fellows in the North, the reason being 'a life long diet of tea, cheap jam, and fish'. (Here he was giving vent to a common middle-class interest in, and concern with, the working-class diet). The boys were also said to be 'quicker' in their speech; their ideas were 'more chaotic' and their motives 'a more inconsequent series'. Temperamentally, London youths were 'emotional and affectionate', but there was a 'quick transience of mood and motive' which made their character 'the more difficult to gauge or mould'. In conversation, their 'conclusions and moral judgement are rarely or never original'; their wit was usually borrowed from the music hall, and they were not 'naturally reflective'. He warned his readers, however, that it would be unfair to describe the youths as 'fickle' for 'behind these rapid changes there is, as a rule, no attempt to deceive; they merely reflect the chaos and inconsequence of a boys' motives'.[16] Thus 'nature' burdened the back of adolescence yet again!

It is clear from the initial ambivalence, illustrated by the first quotation from Urwick, that through the welter of abuse and condescension, there was an observable procedure which did so much to lock adolescents into a series of negative images. Even without the psychological assessment, the social identity of adolescence as constructed by the critics was one which denied young people any capacity for either serious thought or rational action. The manner in which the identity was created is worth noting because it shows how in the hands of skilled practitioners, and before a sympathetic audience, language can produce a verisimiliar description of metal and physical behaviour. The process was in three parts. First, the youth was protrayed as a sort of hybrid - human but with personality traits more akin to those of other species, hence the boy was an 'odd', 'strange, peculiar creature', with an 'abnormal bouyancy of animal spirits', a 'creature full of obvious shallows and unsuspected depths'. The second stage was to associate young people with unreliability, unreasonableness, emotionalism and often neurosis by the constant use of such adjectives as 'fickle', 'puzzling', 'thoughtless', 'volatile', 'depression', 'difficult', 'inarticulate', 'puzzling', 'unfathomable', 'inconsistent', 'irresponsible', 'reckless', and so on. The third element, which relied on psychological references, suggested that their behaviour and attitudes were 'natural', being a clinical feature of 'boyishness'. This last stage was important because it revealed the others as transitory - provided, that is, the youth escaped permanent mental and moral injury during the adolescent period. Moreover, the psychologically informed view that there was such a 'natural' condition was necessary for the intellectual coherence of the critique, for by juxtaposing the critical adjectives with 'the town boy's nature', the vocabulary appeared to confirm its own perspective by virtue of identifying and explaining this 'natural' state.

This is not to say that observers **consciously** invented a voc-

abulary and manipulated language. It seems much more likely that they drew upon a tradition of class-based social commentary which had its roots in nineteenth centry religion, politics and science. But, as previously mentioned, there was also the older ageist inspired tradition, which condemned the life-style of the young. Both forms of observation had worked together, with the former explaining - in terms of social class - much of what the latter found so disturbing. And, as we shall see, this continued to be so throughout our period. It is, perhaps a moot point whether or not such traditions were consciously deployed. What is beyond doubt was the deliberate insertion of psychological argument and rhetoric into the critique under consideration here.

So far, little has been said about social class and yet, as a conditioning and often determining factor, it was rarely absent from Edwardian age relations. In their examination of the adolescent personality, observers were acutely aware of the influence of 'station in life'. Sometimes their awareness was explicitly expressed, as when they criticised the role of parents in helping their children to make the transition from school to work. On the other hand, their frequent comparisons of working-class 'character' with that of the middle class was usually more implicit. However, historians know that a recurring theme in the sociological literature was the supposed mental and moral weakness which was said to characterise all but the most respectable members of the working class. Two of the main charges were that they lacked personal self-control and were either unable or unwilling to abide by ethical principles, possibly because they could neither recognise nor formulate them.[17]

Unsurprisingly, then, almost all commentators made some reference to the failure of the young worker to exert self-restraint. Club managers constantly referred to the matter, claiming that boys came with 'weak wills, little power of self-control, strong temptations, undisciplined natures, much emotion, and little principle'. Charles Russell thought it was essential that the club teach not only cleanliness, order and obedience, but also 'self-respect and self-control'. Boy labour reformers were prone to lament the absence of self-restraint, perseverance and self-discipline (all three were clearly related) which, they argued, was a direct consequence of wage-earning independence, and as evidence they cited 'excessive' job-changing. One provincial observer, writing in praise of youth organisations and calling for compulsory part-time day continuation schools, hoped they would make young workers 'more self-controlled and resourceful than the present "general labourers"', and then it would not be so difficult to induce them to '"stick to" anything that involves effort'. As it was, the boy had 'a perpetual ache for change and adventure..... He cannot keep his mind for any length of time on any end.....he is capable only of casual and disjointed tasks'.[18]

But it would be a mistake to attribute the emphasis on self-control to a crude mixture of ageism and class prejudice; much more was involved. Although it is not possible to enquire into all the issues here, we should at least be aware of the deeply rooted unease about the consequences of urban life, as expressed most famously and graphically by C.F.G. Masterman, the liberal journalist and politician.[19]

'With the opening of the new century', we are, he warned, in a well known passage, 'face to face with a phenomenon unique to the world's history':

'turbulent rioting.....hooliganism, and a certain temper of fickle excitability has revealed to observers during the past few months that a new race, hitherto unreckon and of incalculable action is entering the sphere of practical importance - the 'City Type' of the coming years; the 'street-bred' people of the twentieth century; the 'new' generation knocking at our doors'.

The result, claimed Masterman, was 'the production of a characteristic physical type of town-dweller: stunted, narrow-chested, easily wearied; yet voluable, excitable, with little ballast, stamina or endurance'. In the city crowd there was a 'note of menace' combined with 'evidence of possibilities of violence in its waywardness, its caprice, its always incalculable mettle and temper'. Anxieties of this sort help to make clear why popularising eugenists, such as Calab Saleeby, saw the proper education of **adolescence** as so important for racial progress. Above all else, urged Saleeby, the adolescent years were those when young people had to learn self-control, given their environment where 'the whole ethic of control and responsibility and keeping your promises and bargains and not being hustled by the crowd, seems to be imperilled by modern forces and tendencies'. Thus many commentators (of all political beliefs) feared that the 'town-bred' adolescent, with either his 'animal' or 'mercurial' temperament **could** succumb to degenerate moral and physical influences. If Masterman's 'New Generation' should be found without the 'ethic of control and responsibility', what would this augur for the future of Progress?[20]

There is another reason why we should resist an historically naive interpretation of the critique: middle-class observers were anxious to educate urban youth in what they regarded as superior values because they themselves **believed** in these values - their own mental and spiritual success (not to mention the material) seemed to be proof of the benefits of virtue. The notion of self-control was crucial to the middle-class psyche - it was almost a tangible means of understanding the world: it made sense of time, relationships, desires and, not to be underestimated, those fears that could threaten to unbalance a life. It was able to achieve these ends, so beneficaries claimed, by introducing elements of order, thought and heirarchy into the mass of sensations which were forever bombarding the individual. But such restraint (and the accompanying perseverance and self-discipline) did not come 'naturally', it had to be **learned**, as it was in observers' homes and, most conspicuously, in their public schools.[21]

The public school, of course, was one of the pivots on which middle-class culture turned; this was certainly true from the 1870s onwards when the schools had organised themselves into a coherent system of education with a shared common code and ethos. Nor is there any doubt as to their influence on the organised youth movement, whose leaders constantly stressed their ability to provide a similar kind of educational experience for boys of the lower-middle and working classes. It was widely understood that the overriding aim of the schools was to cultivate an **esprit de corps**, which was 'so dif-

ficult exactly to define, and yet so ennobling in its effect upon character'. In terms of politics, 'character' was visibly manifested in Imperial duties performed in distant parts of the world. Perhaps more importantly, however, in relation to 'life', **esprit de corps** and 'character' were demonstrated on the playing fields: games made men. The **playing** of the game taught not only fair play, self-reliance, obedience, endurance and agility, but also self-control, for example being compelled to work as part of a team, not kicking wildly at the ball, and not lashing out with the fist during a boxing match. Charles Russell voiced a near universal opinion when he wrote that games showed the boy 'how to take a beating', and in the same context quoted the famous American psychologist, G. Stanley Hall on the educational value of boxing which, he said, could do 'moral work' for

> 'At its best, it is indeed a manly art, a superb school for quickness of eye and hand, decision, force of will, and self-control. The moment this is lost stinging punishment follows. Hence it is the surest of all cures for excessive irrascibility, and has been found to have a most beneficient effect upon a peevish or unmanly disposition'.

So it was that games could shape 'undeveloped bodies and unformed characters'.[22]

From absence of self-control to lack of principle was but a short step for most of the critics. The immorality of youth was so generally accepted that at least one medical authority defined 'moral instability' as a characteristic of adolescence. This apparent failure to make proper moral distinctions was specified by Barclay Baron, a missionary worker and member of the Christian Social Union, in his appropriately entitled **The Growing Generation** (1911), in which he advised his readers of

> the greater "naturalness" of working boys and girls **(which)** must ever be in the forefront of any discussion of their behaviour on given occasions. They are not ashamed of naive methods in sport as in the other business of every day for the simple and sufficient reason that shame pre-supposes a recognition of transgressions, and of this they are often quite unconscious.....**'they are'**.....untroubled.....by very strong feelings of discipline or nice regard of rule'.

This was tantamount to claiming that young workers had no moral code - their behaviour and attitudes being 'natural' and, therefore, devoid of thought or reason. Leaving aside, for the moment, the ambiguities of the word 'natural', it is fairly obvious that self-restraint, forethought, reason, consciousness and 'nice regard of rule' were seen as the prerequisites of 'principle'. In the minds of most commentators there was little doubt as to why adolescents were morally deficient: they had been brought up that way by their parents. (I am not certain how much responsibility was attributed **solely** to parents and how much to the psychological condition of adolescence. But as class and age were so intimately connected by all observers, including the psychomedical professionals, it is probable that the responsibility shifted back and forth between the two, depending on particular circumstances. Either way, the parental role was felt to be of great significance). These parents, especially those from the less respectable groups within the working class, were part of what Masterman termed 'the multitude', who lived their lives, in his words, closer to 'emotional' than to

'intellectual' experience:

> 'Generosity ranks far before justice, sympathy before truth, a pliant and obliging disposition before a rigidly honest one. In brief, the less admixture of intellect required for the practice of any virtue, the higher it stands in popular estimation'.

The specific complaint against the working-class home was that in it children were trained according to the dictates of 'personal comfort' rather than 'to any delicate distinction between right and wrong'; they were given no idea 'of the meaning of character', instead they learned by example that 'Acts and not motives alone count for anything'. Or, as Margery Loane, a health visitor, remarked, among the poor, character depended on habits, having 'no conscious connection with principles'.[23]

An examination of the relationship between habits, principles and character would take us far beyond the scope of this article. It is, however, worth bearing in mind that Loane's readers would have recognised the implications of her reference to 'habits', for together with 'instincts', 'impulses' and 'energies' it was part of the vocabulary of social science, in particular social psychology. Helen Bosanquet, in her book, **The Strength of the People** (1902), cited William James, the seminal psychologist, who warned against individuals making a hell on earth for themselves by 'habitually fashioning' their characters 'in the wrong way'. Could the young, he wrote, 'but realise how soon they will become mere walking bundles of habits, they would give more heed to their conduct while in the plastic state. We are spinning our own fates, good or evil, and never to be undone'. The point being made was not that habits **per se** were bad, but that care needed to be taken in the formation of habits because of their psychological significance. Habits were clearly not unproblematic. The implication seemed to be that without 'thought', habit would be destructive of good character. This is probably what Loane meant when she noted the absence of principle from the character of the poor. She no doubt understood, as did James, that habit could be 'insidiously corrosive'. (Collini) The anxiety was simply stated by Urwick: 'Habit.....becomes.....dangerous if it is allowed to usurp the place of thought as applied to the higher processes of life'. Thus, 'wrong' habits and too much habit were to be avoided - the former led to 'bad' actions and attitudes, while the latter was, to quote Urwick again, 'inimical to thinking'. It might not be an exaggeration to suggest that habit (like instinct) **could** imprison consciousness by banishing forethought and the distinction between right and wrong, which was the assumed essence of principle. Without consciouness, conscience would lapse and a crude untilitarianism would prevail. Hence the relevance of the criticism of working-class parents for rearing their children according to the dictates of comfort, rather than to a principled distinction between different values. This also explains why Barclay Baron had referred to the 'naturalness' of young workers and their alleged failure to recognise 'transgressions'.[24]

It must now be obvious that Edwardian social observation knew no age boundaries. Even so, we should not assume that the critique of youth was merely a reflection of the general assault on working-class values. The criticisms made

against adults - their emotionalism, impetuousity, love of excitement, absence of forethought, and momentariness - were ascribed to class culture: ignorance, economic circumstances, physical and mental demoralisation, the environment, and organisational incompetence.[25] When these and similar characteristics were displayed by adolescents, however, they were explained primarily in terms of physiology and psychology - **their** behaviour and mental perspective was said to arise from a specific stage of development, marked above all else by emotional turmoil. It was this state of **adolescence**, aggravated as it was by indiscipline, precocious independence and urban chaos, which was held to be responsible for the young person's 'nature'.

The Psychological Portrait

The psychological perception of youth is a critical but neglected aspect of the intellectual history of the late Victorian and Edwardian periods. The aim here, however, is not to examine the ramifications of that perception in relation to for example the evolution of social policy, but to suggest that the critique which has been described above, drew much of its intellectual substance and status from the writings of psycho-medical figures who were actively and consciously popularising both the concept of adolescence and the precarious condition of the urban working-class adolescent. The three principal participants in the campaign to produce a psychologically constructed adolescent were G. Stanley Hall, J.W. Slaughter and Sir Thomas Clouston. Stanley Hall was well known then, as he is now, for his pioneering work on child development in America, for his theory of recapitulation, and for his ponderous but extremely influential two volume study of adolscence which was widely quoted on both sides of the Atlantic. J.W. Slaughter, his pupil and disciple, lived in England where he was chairman of the Eugenic Education Society and Secretary of the Sociological Society. These positions gave him access to some of the most important debates of the time, as well as the opportunity to disseminate Hall's views. But it was his desire to spread these views among the rank and file of those who worked with young people 'in whatever capacity', that led him to write a slim volume, **The Adolescence**, first published in 1910 and reprinted three times by 1919. Sir Thomas Clouston was an eminent Edinburgh psychiatrist and a founder member of the British Child Study Association who publicised his medical interpretation of adolescence through lectures and articles.[26]

An awareness of child psychology and mental hygiene on the part of social scientists, educationalists, youth workers and others had existed for some time prior to 1900. Since at least the 1880's there had been a growing interest in the mind of the child following on from the work of Darwin and Galton. The pioneer of the British movement was probably James Sully, Professor of Philosophy at London University, and author of the **Teacher's Handbook of Psychology** (1886) and **Studies of Childhood** (1895). In 1894, together with several progressive women teachers (who were influenced by Hall) and Clouston, he was instrumental in founding the British Child Study Association. The coming of compulsory school attendance made possible mass surveys of the physical and mental condition of children, and in 1888 the BMA appointed a committee to make such an enquiry. Other committees and enquiries soon followed and in 1896 The

Childhood Society was formed with an emphasis on statistical work, of which Sully disapproved, though by 1907 it had joined with the Association to become the Child-Study Society.[27]

At the turn of the century, then, observers were beginning to be familiar with a range of psycho-medical opinion which was buttressed by a rapidly growing volume of research.[28] So, in what ways did psychology furnish a portrait of the working-class adolescent while simultaneously providing a specialist vocabulary for the social critics? It is common place to say that the major figure in the 'discovery' of adolescence was the American psychologist Stanley Hall, the father of child study, founder of the **Pedagogical Seminary** and author of many articles and books on the psychological and educational problems of youth. Hall aspired to be the 'Darwin of the mind' and sought to apply his evolutionary theory to psychology and social philosophy. Hall's particular adaption of Darwinism was to resurrect the theory of recapitulation which argued that 'every phase of a person's growth represents one of the different levels at which the human race was once mature; hence every person recapitulates or repeats the history of the race in his development'. The idea of recapitulation was a favourite theme of the European Romantic movement, as was the concept of adolescence as a period of 'storm and stress' during which the sexual passions were aroused. In language strongly reminiscent of Rousseau, Hall described adolescence as 'a new birth, for the higher and more completely human traits are now born'. What Hall did was to put these old ideas into 'the framework of post-Darwinian biology' so that the turbulence of adolescence was liked to 'a wide spectrum of physiological and psychological changes determined by evolution'. Henceforth, adolescence was saddled with the mantle of evolutionary progress, with all the mysticism that this implied for youth as the standard bearer of the future.[29]

Drawing upon a whole range of psychological and medical writings (his index of names had nearly 2000 entries), Hall portrayed the adolescent stage as characterised by a number of unique features, among which two of the most important were a rapid acceleration of physical, mental and emotional growth and a new investment of vigour. His own prose is more colourful: 'The floodgates of heredity seem opened and we hear from our remoter forebears, and receive our life dower of energy..... Passions and desires spring into vigorous life'. Development, in all senses, he said, was far less gradual, 'more saltatory, suggestive of some ancient period of storm and stress when old moorings were broken and a higher level attained'. The comprehensiveness of the changes and their intensity were signals for a new birth: 'The functions of every sense undergo reconstruction, and their relations to other psychic functions change, and new sensations, some of them very intense, arise, and new associations in the sense sphere are formed.[30]

Of all the characteristics which Hall attributed to young people, perhaps the most socially debilitating was his emphasis on the apparent emotionalism of their behaviour and mental processes. He described the emotions as being liable to 'instability and fluctuation', which, he said, 'was natural during adolescence', and claimed that they were expressed with a Hegelian logic as each one developed: 'By

contrast and reaction into the opposite'. For example, ardour in any form was followed by 'feeling limp, languid, inert, indifferent, fatigued, apathetic, sleepy, lazy'; similarly, depressive and expansive states existed side by side: 'self-feeling' and arrogance were often bravado to hide 'distrust of self and sinking of heart'; and likewise with altruism and selfishness. Furthermore, this confusion and instability could be exacerbated by immature reasoning. Youth, argued Hall, had a passion for 'callow ratiocination':

> 'The tender intellect sometimes crepiates and grows dizzy in the orgy and flux and loses its orientation and may waste powers in unifying the irreconcilable, in elaborating distinctions that have no existence, or giving the best arguments to the worst cause, and a kind of reasoning mania is easily possible'.[31]

All in all, the picture was one of adolescence not knowing itself, Janus-like, uncertain of its direction and unstable.

Hall promoted another important theme, which provided reformers with one of their principal justifications for programmes of moral and civic discipline. Early adolescence (14-16), he warned, was a period when psychoses and neuroses were more common than at any other time of life. These illnesses manifested themselves via great 'emotional strain.....which some have described as a kind of repressed insanity that is nevertheless **normal at this period'**; it was also extremely difficult to suppress the 'morbid impulses'. (my emphasis) Even the healthy boy could be led into crime and immorality as a result of a 'blind impulse' on which 'consciousness does not act at all'. The importance of consciousness and self-control for the development and recognition of 'principle' has already been discussed. In his references Hall was introducing, or rather reintroducing (for it was not new) a psychiatric perspective to substantiate his essentially social criticism. His middle-class audience had little difficulty in visualising a progression from 'morbid' and 'blind' impulses to the spectre of adolescent insanity, repressed or otherwise. Thus it was not merely coincidence which led him to cite Henry Maudsley, the great Victorian medical authority, who claimed that such insanity rested on 'the conception that reason is an apparatus of restraint, superimposed upon intense and brutal impulses, and that in characteristic outbursts this curb is broken', and when this happens, savagery ensues, or 'dehumanization'; once the 'high social reflex' associated with self-control was lost, 'diffidence and reserve give place to pertness, self-will, turbulence **(and)** aimless interaction'.[32] Almost by definition, adolescents lacked moral reasoning powers and, therefore, they were unable to restrain their initial and thoughtless urges. This is why self-control was deemed to be such a crucial facet of character - without the 'high social reflex', 'dehumanization' beckoned.

Put simply, the problem of adolescence, said Hall, was that it had awakened to 'a new world and understands neither it nor itself'. Consequently, without protection, guidance or care, 'every step of the way is strewn with the wreckage of body, mind and morals'.[33] In some respects, this alleged lack of self-knowledge was said to exemplify the adolescent condition. Young people found themselves imprisoned by their own physiological and psychological development, for they had not yet learned how to control either their bodies or their psyches; they were forever being buffeted back and forth across a chasm of stimuli, and all the while they were unconscious of what was happening to them. However, the obverse of this vulnerability was that left to themselves, adolescents posed a number of social, economic and, for those who thought like Hall, racial threats.

In order to understand Stanley Hall's theory of recapitulation, we have to appreciate his fears (which were widely shared) about the detrimental influence of the urban environment. One of the worst dangers, he claimed, came with 'modern civilisation', which was putting 'unknown obstacles' in the path of adolescents who were 'leaping rather than growing into maturity'. Never, he continued, 'has youth been exposed to such dangers of both perversion and arrest as in our own day':

> 'The vast majority of American children now leave school near the dawn of adolescence.....it is precisely this nascent and most educable period that under our present conditions we fail to reach..... The decay of the apprentice system, the general uselessness of boys and girls under new city conditions, the specialisation of industry, the utter inadequacy of the manual training movement.....to cope with the present situation.....make a grave situation involving inestimable moral and economic waste.....'

And the tragedy was that the adolescent period gave educators such wonderful opportunities, for 'everything is plastic..... No age is so responsive to all the best and wisest adult endeavour'.[34] In other words, Hall was pleading for a recognition of the social context in which physiological and psychological maturity occurred and, furthermore, he was also insisting that his context should not be divorced from **individual** physical and mental growth.

There is no doubt that Hall's message was enormously popular, as was evident from the demand for him to address meetings of parents, teachers, youth workers and fellow scientists. Nevertheless, it remained a fact that his own writings were very difficult to absorb and were often inpenetrable, at least to the ordinary school teacher and club manager. It was in an attempt to rectify this situation that J.W. Slaughter published his more prosaic but more accessible accout in **The Adolescence**. The significance of the book for our purposes is twofold: first, it was deliberately written to familiarise a lay audience with a psycho-social approach to young people, which indicates the importance of psychology in Edwardian age relations; and, secondly, by simplifying Hall's views, it projected into the public arena a few fundamental and comprehensible ideas which could easily be incorporated into the social critique.

According to Slaughter, the chief characteristic of adolescence was 'emotional change'. Intellectual transformations, for example, followed and were subsidiary to those of an 'emotional character'. Similarly, the main distinction between savagery and civilisation, in individual terms, was largely 'a matter of the emotions', especially their organisation and orientation. Youth, he said, found life difficult because it brought 'a higher intensity' to its daily experiences by the use of artificial stimulants which resulted in the alternation of excitement and depression. Furthermore, what he called 'the melancholy of adolescence' was seldom

able 'to define itself, it covers like a fog the whole landscape of the spirit and is intensified by a vague longing, the objects of which are unknown'.[35]

The portrayal of adolescence as a period of emotionalism, confusion and mental agitation was extended further by Slaughter in his chapter on 'Pathology and Hygiene', in which he explained certain forms of undesirable behaviour by relating physiological and psychological traits to each other. As adolescence was clearly a stage of physical growth, with every part of the body having its own 'proportions of disease and its own accelerations and retardations', so there occurred 'disproportion in growth' which meant that 'each organ and system has its time of undue strain with consequent liability to disarrangement of function'. One of the most important consequences of this growth pase, however, was its effect on the 'large muscles' which incited youth to 'activity of a violent kind'. The control of muscles was crucial because, as Hall had argued, they were 'the organs of the will' and participants in the development of 'mind and morals'. 'Muscles', he proclaimed, 'are the vehicles of habituation, imitation, obedience, character, and even of manners and customs'. Apart from moral damage, violent activity could put undue pressure on the heart. But Slaughter felt that the strain of growth was most obviously reflected in the digestive system, especially in the numerous ailments of the alimentary canal, and these had 'psychological manifestations', some causal and others consequential: youths rejected children's diet and development an appetite which was 'capricious', showing a tendency towards 'unwholesome' foods with a love of seasoning, pickles and sweets. There was also a craving for alcohol, tea, coffee and other drugs, including tobacco, to aid the process of contributing to the 'feeling of independence'.[36] Notice here how swiftly the presentation moves from physiology, through psychology and into social comment.

The rejection of wholesome food was only one aspect of what Slaughter went on to term the 'perpetual inclination to rebel against established order', which he saw as an impatience with restriction and a desire for freedom. Echoing Hall and the Romantics, adolescents were, he said, adrift from their 'old moorings' and new ones had not yet been found. It was during these years that 'degenerate tendencies of all kinds assert themselves', and even a normal tendency or characteristic could easily lead to crime. But Slaughter reminded his readers that the source of all outbreaks of antisocial behaviour lay in 'the general psychological' condition, already described - when 'new emotions and impulses' brought about 'an upheaval and reformation of the whole moral situation'. During this period, 'years of discipline' were required 'before the newly made character possesses sufficient stability to keep it from being overturned in any one of many directions'. The purpose of the discipline was meant to confine youth, on the contrary, it was intended to be ultimately liberating in support of the young person as he struggled to 'ride the storm'.[37]

While the views of Hall and his pupil took up hundreds of pages, those of Sir Thomas Clouston, the Scottish psychiatrist, were expressed in short articles and conference papers for the Child-Study Society. Adolescents, he claimed, were liable to 'indolence, laziness, ineptitude or even immatur-

ity'; they had difficulty in digesting food, they were subject to 'foolish and impulsive actions' and were often possessed by 'cravings'. Moreover, it was at this time of life that hysteria, epilepsy, asthma, dipsomania, migraine, neurasthenia, and insanity first appeared, as did 'pathological, mental and moral conditions' such as 'perversions of the moral sense, of volition, uncontrollable impulsiveness, tendencies to law-breaking and crime, unteachableness, stupidities, morbid pessimism and melancholy, as well as 'perverted sexual and reproductive instincts'. Furthermore, every normal adolescent, he said, 'showed a want of respect for law, a contempt for age, and a restiveness to routine'.[38]

Such a breathless condemnation of young people made no allowance for either their integrity, moral conscience or reasoning powers. If want of virtue was 'normal' in adolescents, this could be explained by their 'nature'. Clearly, much of what Clouston had to say merely repeated the opinions of Hall and Slaughter and, indeed, of psycho-medical knowledge as it had developed throughout the nineteenth century. Clouston's particular importance, however, was that his views were aired in a concise form before the interested and committed audiences of Child-Study circles. This made his portrait of adolescence especially relevant to the social critique. There were, I think, two features of his description which were attractive to commentators in support of their own analysis. First, Clouston drew attention to the developing brain cells which, he said, had to be trained because all the complex qualities, summed up as 'character', resided there. The significance of these cells (when properly 'trained') lay in their ability to act as the 'inhibitory or controlling centres of the brain'; although, there was always the danger that while being stimulated, they would become '"too explosive"' - 'keenness' in youth was necessary, but it had to be 'regulated by sufficient inhibition'. The adolescent, of course, was seen as particularly susceptible to unregulated stimulation for at no other stage of life was the power of the cells to receive 'impressions' greater than during these years.[39] The second feature, also involving restraint, was his emphasis on the 'faculty of inhibition' which was essential for the control of muscular action. The faculty began to develop in childhood, but at adolescence it was not yet able to order 'impulse and desire, passion and temptation'. Recognition of this limitation was crucial given the precarious development of 'the critical years' during which maximum pressure was exerted in various and often conflicting and perilous directions: adolescence was not only a 'new birth', but also 'a real "crisis" in life'.[40]

On one level the psychologists' writings provided a vocabulary, even a language, which could be exploited by observers in pursuit of their own interests. However, I do not mean to suggest that they were unduly selfish for, on another and equally significant level, the introduction of psychology into the critique had far reaching effects not only on the evolution of social policy and age relations, but also on the status of the subject within the social sciences. It is worth remembering that Hearnshaw, in his **Short History of British Psychology** (1964), sees the impetus for the development of psychology as an academic subject coming from those areas where it was allowed entry into contemporary debates - medicine, industry and education. In other words, psychology identified itself by claiming to be able to answer certain

questions, three of which concerned young people: how to categorise and 'explain' juvenile behaviour; how to guide and 'educate' adolescents; and how to solve the 'problem' of working-class youth.[41]

But to return to the vocabulary and its impact on social observation. So often critics incorporated commonly understood words which had been given new meanings, apparently more precise, more 'scientific': 'passions', 'desires', 'intensity', 'perversions', 'melancholy', 'confusion', 'mania', 'emotions', 'instincts' and, of course, 'storm and stress' to name one the most popular. Similarly, the accuracy of these descriptive nouns seemed to be validated by a more technical language which spoke of 'motor power', 'functions', 'muscle culture', 'brain cells', 'the faculty of inhibition', the 'psychological manifestations' of the digestive system, and so on. Thus psychology appeared to offer, and in many respects did offer, the means by which 'traditional' social criticism could be made objective. With the new consciousness of 'adolescence', which psycho-medicine and sociological commentary did so much to create, the middle class and their surrogates - reformers, teachers, social scientists, educationalists, club workers, clerics and assorted moralists - now had, ready to hand, a text of references, laden with scientific terms, which could be used to substantiate both ageist and class biased complaints against young people. It is important to appreciate the extent to which the vocabulary contributed to the 'invention' of the working-class **adolescent** and how this in turn permeated a whole range of issues affecting age and class relations, such as the 'boy labour problem', the proposal for part-time day continuation schools, the beginnings of organised vocational guidance schemes and the various programmes for 'rational' recreation.[42]

Conclusion

This essay has been concerned with several themes, not all of which have received equal attention and, therefore, it is perhaps worth clarifying the main arguments. First, it has been suggested that the Edwardian social critique can be most effectively interpreted if observers are seen to have focused on the 'personality' of the young workers. How far they were conscious of their emphasis is uncertain. The majority of them, however, were certainly familiar with the concept of 'character' which had figured so prominently in nineteenth century social and political thought.[43] On the other hand, in their own minds there was probably little to distinguish between the two notions. Nevertheless, I have argued here for the greater significance of personality, not only because it emcompasses more than character, but also in order to illustrate the limitations of 'culture' as an explanatory factor in the critique - **it** is **too** closely associated with class. Personality seems to me to emphasize the **personal** identity both individually and collectively - as in a group of persons together - in this case: adolescents. The Personal aspect was crucial in allowing commentators to attribute all actions and attitudes to the **individual** youth while simultaneously claiming that the governing influence was the adolescent stage of life. And yet, class also mattered for how else could location of the youth problem be explained? Obviously, there existed a tension between sociological and psychological reasoning. The difficulty was resolved with the help of the word 'natural': working-class

adolescents behaved and thought in 'natural' manner - as befitted both their 'station in life' and their age.

Secondly, it has been argued that young workers, via 'personality', were subjected to psycho-medical analysis as 'nature' became available for scientific enquiry. Prior to Hall and the child-study movement, what was 'natural' was simply that which could be observed in the everyday behaviour of the young. By the early 1900s these common observations had been clinically examined, while the conclusions were regarded as the basis for further theoretical and empirical investigation. Not only did psychology explain adolescence as a developmental stage, but also it confirmed and offered justifications for the traditional perception of youth: yes, it **was** a problem, and this being the case, it **did** require careful discipline, supervision and education. In addition the concept of adolescence proved useful to the professional middle class in assisting them to structure the youth problem, or rather a series of anxieties relating to juvenile labour, further education, delinquency, and moral and civic duty. The concept imposed a kind of **order** and at the same time it suggested a number of solutions. The psycho-medical vocabulary in particular gave the professionals the confidence to assert that they knew how and why these difficulties had arisen and how they could be resolved. But we misunderstand both the critique and the impact of psychology if they are viewed solely in terms of pessimism. The fundamental optimism of the critics has already been noted, after all adolescents stood poised for their 'new birth'. Being born again, however, was full of danger and, therefore, nature needed a guiding hand, but delicately used. As Hall had written, when young people were left to themselves 'they tend to disorder and triviality, and controlled too much they tend to lose their zest and spontaneity; thus the problem is to find the golden mean between both'.[44] There is little doubt that most observers felt that the task was well in hand, though much still remained to be done.

While the alliance between lay commentators and the 'new' psychology identified and clarified the meaning of 'adolescence', it must be obvious that the social prestige of young people was in no way enhanced, except possibly by way of mystical rhetoric proclaiming them the guardians of future racial progress. In fact the concept of adolescence imprisoned them in a personality image where the definitions and processes of definition were the property of certain forms of knowledge which lay well outside their jurisdiction. Working-class youth found that as all their thought and actions could be instantly filed and catalogued under the appropriate social or psycho-medical heading, they were never able to participate in the debate about their own lives; they were disenfranchised from a consciousness of their own position, for in their 'natural' condition, it was axiomatic that they could not know who or how they were.

Finally, it is implicit in the argument presented here that the early years of this century witnessed the 'discovery' of **adolescence** in so far as contemporaried used the work descriptively, evaluatively and analytically. The intellectual historian, Stefan Collini, has recently remarked, 'charting the way in which concepts long available come to acquire a new prominence and resonance, partly in response to the rise of new political preoccupations, would require a major

effort of intellectual history'. Nevertheless, we can say that adolescence ceased to be an 'idea' but was transformed into a 'social fact'.[45] The central figure to emerge from this transformation was the working-class adolescent. Thus not only was the idea socially identifiable, but also there was a social group - young workers - giving it concrete expression. As the term became part of the vocabulary of the social observation, so observers 'invented' the **adolescent.** In the past, the concept had been more or less confined to medical literature, but Hall began to put flesh and blood onto its essential features and introduced it into the drawing-room of social reform. Nor should it be overlooked that he did this in an attempt to relate youth, as a stage of life, to socio-economic concerns racial development and urban growth. Everyone knew that young people were involved in these issues - the social sciences had been showing this since the 1880s - the question was how to understand the nature of their activities. Proclaiming the specificity of the adolescent seemed to provide part of the answer. In this respect, the focus of attention on working-class youth and the subsequent 'invention' were the outcome of a preoccupation with national economic and social affairs. Thus, it seems reasonable to reiterate the claim made by Sheila Allen in our opening quotation:

'Age relations.....are part of economic relations and the political and ideological structures in which they take place. It is not the relations between ages which explain change or stability in societies, but change in societies which explains relations between different ages'.[46]

REFERENCES & NOTES

1. Sheila Allen, 'Some Theoretical Problems in the Study of Youth', **Sociological Review**, 16, (1968), p.321.

2. The view with which I am concerned in this essay was expressed in what I have termed the **social** critique in order to distinguish it from the Edwardian interest in the juvenile labour market, described at the time as the 'boy labour problem'. My interest is primarily with the social considerations, though in practice the two debates were inextricably interwoven as economic factors influenced the social perspective and **vice versa.** On the economic critique see my 'Belabouring Youth: the First Great Debate', in Phil Cohen and Graham Murdock (eds), **The Making of the Youth Question, 1880-1914** (forthcoming, Macmillan) and my '"The Boy Labour Problem" in Edwardian England. A Study in the Relationship between Middle-Class reformers and Working-Class Adolescents', (Sheffield Ph.D thesis, 1986), chapter 4. In my thesis and in this present essay my focus is exclusively on boys and I have presented the 'youth problem', very much in make terms. I am of course aware that in certain respects girls were also part of the problem, as least as far as organised leisure and education were concerned. However, a critical examination of the working girl requires a different sort of focus from that which will be found in the following pages. Recent studies which do deal exclusively with girls and women include Carol Dyhouse, **Girl growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England** (1981), especially chapter 4 which considers the psychological portrait of the girl; Deborah Gorham, **The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal** (1982); Elizabeth Roberts, **A Woman's Place** (1984) and Barbara Hudson, 'Femininity and Adolescence' in Angela McRobbie and Mica Nava (eds), **Gender and Generation** (1984) **pp.31-53.**

3. J.R. Gillis, **Youth and History. Tradition and Change in European Age Relations 1770 - Present** (1974), chapters 3 & 4, and his 'The Evolution of Juvenile Delinquency in England, 1890-1914', **Past and Present,** 67 (May 1975), pp.96-126. On adolescence in America and the 'invention' of the **adolescent,** see Joseph Kett, **Rites of Passage. Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present** (New York, 1977), p.243. One of the difficulties in accepting Gillis's interpretation in its entirety lies in showing that the middle class **consciously** recognised the teenaged years as constituting a psychologically defined developmental period. Conscious, that is, in so far as the term was used in a descriptive sense in social commentary. But Victorian observers did not generally use the word, and Gillis implicitly admits this when he writes that the discovery corresponded 'to what **we now call "adolescence"'.** (My emphasis). In other words, 'adolescence' had little or no linguistic role to play in the Victorian description of youth.

4. For details see my thesis, chapter 5.

5. See, for example, R.A. Bray, **Boy Labour and Apprenticeship** (1911); Arnold Freeman, **Boy Life and Labour** (1914); Rev. Spencer Gibb, **The Problem of Boy Work** (1906); R.H. Tawney, 'The Economics of Boy Labour', **Economic Journal,** xix, (December 1909), pp. 517-37. and my thesis, chapter 4.

6. **Royal Commission on the Poor Laws,** vol, IX, Cd. 5068, 1910, xlix, p.183, answer VII - evidence of Sidney Webb; Bray, op.cit., pp.101-2; Alexander Paterson, **Across the Bridges** (1911), pp.22-3 and 125-6; Lily Montague, 'The Girl in the Background', in E.J. Urwick (ed.), **Studies of Boy Life in Our Cities** (1904), pp.246 and 235.

7. Helen Bosanquet, **Rich and Poor** (1896, 1908 ed.), p.50; Urwick (ed.), op. cit., p.295; Paterson, op.cit., p.212; and Helen Denby, 'The Children of Working London' in Bernard Bosanquet (ed.), **Aspects of the Social Problem** (1895), p.42.

8. Bray, op.cit., p.103; Freeman, op.cit., p.90; Gibb, **The Boy and His Work** (1911), pp.76-7; Urwick (ed.), op.cit., p.xii.

9. Margaret May, 'Innocence and Experience: the evolution of the concept of juvenile delinquency in the mid-nineteenth century' **Victorian Studies,** 17,1, (Sept 1973), pp.7-29 and Gillis, **Youth in History,** op.cit.

10. For details see my thesis, chapter 5.

11. Urwick (ed.), op.cit., pp.xiii-iv and pp.255-6.

12. For details see my thesis, chapter 4.

13. Urwick (ed.), op.cit., p.xiii and pp.266 and 283.

14. Gibb, **The Problem of Boy Work,** pp.1,2 & 5-6; **The Boy and his Work,** pp.3,4 & 12, and his 'The Choice of Employment for Boys' **Economic Review** (October 1904), p.447.

15. C.E.B. Russell, 'City Lads', **The Child** (April 1911), pp.587-93 and his **Manchester Boys** (Manchester 1905), pp.1,2,3,49 and 122.

16. Paterson, op.cit., chapters IX and X.

17. For an excellent account of middle-class views on working-class life see R.I. McKibbin, 'Social Class and Social Observation in Edwardian England', **Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,** 28 (1978), pp.175-99.

18. Violet Brooke-Hunt, **Clubs for Boys and Young Men** (SPCK, 1897), p.15; C.E.B. Russell, **Working Lads' Clubs** (1932 ed.), p.15, and Violet Butler, **Social Conditions in Oxford** (1912), pp.90-1 and 181.

19. C.F.G. Masterman, **The Heart of the Empire. Discussion of Problems of Modern City Life in England** (1901); **From the Abyss** (1903); and **The Condition of England** (1909).

20. Masterman, **Heart of the Empire,** p.7-8; **Condition of England,** p.120 and chapter IV; Calab Saleeby, **The Progress of Eugenics** (1914), pp. 92-8. On the meaning and importance of 'Progress', see, for example, Stefan Collini, **Liberalism and Sociology. L.T. Hobhouse and Political Thought in England, 1880-1914** (Cambridge 1979), and Michael Freedon, **The New Liberalism. An Ideology of Social Reform** (Oxford 1978).

21. On 'learning' see McKibbin, op.cit., p.184; J.A. Mangan, **Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School** (Cambridge 1981), and Paterson, op.cit. p.173).

22. Brian Simon & Ian Bradley (eds) **The Victorian Public School** (Dublin 1975), pp.10-11; John Springhall, **Youth, Empire and Society** (1977), p.123; M.A.. Lewis **A Club for Boys. Why Not Open One?** (SPCK, 1905), p.5; C.E.B. Russell & L.M. Rigby, **Working Lads' Clubs** (1908 ed.), p.138 and G. Stanley Hall, **Adolescence** (New York, 1904), vol.i, p.218.

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24. Helen Bosanquet, **The Strength of the People** (1902), pp.32-3, also quoted in Collini, 'The Idea of "Character" in Victorian Political Thought', **Transactions of the Royal Historical Society** (1986) pp.34-5; E.J. Urwick, **A Philosophy of Social Progress** (1912, 1920 ed.), p.82.

25. See McKibbin, passim.

26. For the life of Hall see Dorothy Ross, **G. Stanley Hall. The Psychologist as Prophet** (Chicago 1972); see also R.E. Grinder, 'The Concept of Adolescence in the Genetic Psychology of G. Stanley Hall', **Child Development,** 40, 2 (June 1969), pp.355-69 and R.E. Grinder and C.E. Strickland, 'G. Stanley Hall and the Social Significance of Adolescence', **Teachers' College Record,** lxiv, (February 1963), pp.390-99.

27. A.G. Caws, 'Child Study Fifty Years Ago', **Quarterly Bulletin of British Psychological Society,** 1,3, (January 1949), pp.104-9.

28. See J.C. Flugel, **A Hundred Years of Psychology** (1933); L.S. Hearnshaw, **A Short History of British Psychology, 1840-1940** (1964), and Nikolas Rose, **The Psychological Complex. Psychology, Politics and Society in England, 1869-1939** (1985).

29. Hall's principal work was **Adolescence: Its Psychology and the Relation to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education.** (New York 1904), 2 volumes; see also Ross, op.cit., p.333.

30. Hall, vol.i, pp.xiii-iv and 308, and Ross, op.cit., p.326.

31. Hall, vol.ii, pp.75 & 77 and 533, and vol.i, p.xiv-xv.

32. Hall, vol.i, pp265-6, 284, 293 and 297.

33. Ibid., vol.i, pp.xiv-xv.

34. Ibid., vol.i, pp.xv, xviii and 54.

35. J.W. Slaughter, **The Adolescent** (1910), p.24.

36. Ibid, pp.60-62 and Hall, vol.i, pp.129-32.

37. Ibid, 62 and 72-3 and J.J. Findlay (educationalist) in Introduction, p.xiii.

38. Sir Thomas Clouston, 'The Psychology of Youth', in T.N. Kelynack (ed.) **Youth** (1913), p.30; and his 'Adolescence' **Child Study,** 5,2, (July 1912), pp. 96-7.

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40. Clouston, 'Adolescence', p.7 and **Child Study** (July 1912), pp. 90 & 95.

41. Hearnshaw, op.cit., p.211 also quoted in Rose, op.cit., p.4.

42. For details see my thesis chapter 6.

43. Collini, 'The Idea of "Chapter"', p.31.

44. Hall, ii, p.432.

45. For 'social fact' see David Bakan, 'Adolescence in America: From Idea to Social Fact', **Daedalus,** (Fall, 1971). pp.979-95.

46. Allen, 'Some Theoretical Problems', p.321.

reviews in this issue:

For those of you who want to expand your knowledge of working class young people **Growing Up at the Margins** by Frank Coffield, Carol Borrill and Sarah Marshall could be the book for you. It is an essential piece of reading for anyone interested in young people. This is a very interesting publication which delves into the lives of working class young people in the North East of England. The book itself is written as an account of how the particular young people in this region feel.

Growing up at the Margins has been structured into sections and chapters which makes it easy to read. Section I is intriguing and the lives of the young people are well protrayed via the method of profiles. Chapter two of this section raises some very pertinent questions with regard to relationships; friendship networks, family and kinship ties, peer group pressure, the effects of unemployment and the strength of the working class community. This section presents itself as an introduction to the above issues which are explored in the subsequent parts.

'In and out of the labour market' heads Section II, which provides some excellent accounts of 'Life on the Dole' 'Shit Jobs and Govvy Schemes'. My feelings were aroused by this section as it reminded me so much of the life experienced by the young unemployed in the working class communities of Belfast, where I live. Indeed I can support the authors protrayals of how young people feel a sense of hopelessness and despair by the unemployment situation. Surely, many young people in Belfast feel exploited and used by govvy schemes and shit jobs. The lives of the young people of the North East of England and Belfast are strikingly similar. As Section II of the Book illustrates the young people mentioned; experience the temptaion of the Mail Order Syndrome and the Credit Card Blues in order to participate in the fashions of the employed. The authors have given considerable recognition to the stigmatization of being unemployed. Alongside this they have provided some valuable accounts of the lifestyles of the unemployed.

'Relationships', the title of Section III, is one of the more interesting collections wherein the relationships between neighbours and family are well documented. These accounts of the relationships that exist in the North East of England can be identified in the working class communities of Belfast. The strength of the extended family still prevails in both the North East of England and Belfast. Much of the lives of the young people in both places can be controlled by the extended family. The authors have given considerable recognition to the effect alcohol plays in the lives of the young people from the North East of England. As is the case in the North East the youth culture of the young people in the working class communities in Belfast hinge aroung their weekly over consumption of alcohol. Yet, Borrill, Coffield and Marshall have given credit to the sense of fun achieved by the young people who enjoy alcohol, which is, after all, one of their main reasons for drinking. The importance of friends and partners is well illustrated and very insightful.

As the athors near their final chapters they provide us with more information on the physical and mental horizons of the young people from the North East of England. Again, lack of social mobility experienced by the young people from the North East of England can be illustrated in the lives of many of the young people in Belfast. Like those from the North East many young people from Belfast are mentally and physically tied to their working class communities. This section poses some interesting debates about the strength of the working class community. Other interesting issues explored included:-
The roles of men/women, theories of adolescence and the culture of young people.

Growing Up at the Margins, pleasantly offers many recommendations in its final chapter. Such recommendations include:- a new Government Policy for the young; closer involvement of employers in the training of young people; changes to MSC and the DES; Community education to combat racism and promote social awareness and health education; programmes of positive discrimination in favour of young women and the offer to young adults of real participation.

Growing Up at the Margins offers those interested in young people an exciting yet consistent account of the lives of the young people from the North East of England. It offers many interesting Sections on youth Culture, unemployment, relationships and more. This book is challenging and analytically examines the structure of British Society. It is a warm book which offers pictorial accounts of life in a working class community; a picture which I could easily identify in the working class communities of Belfast. **Growing Up at the Margins** is an intriguing book and the authors must be credited for expressing their real concern for the young people from the North East of England.

Wendy Garner

Reading Street Wise '85 was a real trip down memory lane. Not only do I know well the council estate where the detached project outlined in the report is based - I spent my adolescence nearby when my family moved to Tyneside from Yorkshire and became naturalised 'geordies' - but I have also been employed as a detached youth worker myself. I felt, therefore, empathy with the authors and their work.

It is a brief report, illustrated with cartoons and photographs, of the first fifteen months of a detached youth work project in the Meadowell Estate in North Shields. For the uninitiated, North Shields is that part of North Tyneside where the River Tyne meets the North Sea. According to the authors, the Meadowell Estate - known by most of the locals, including me, by its former name of 'The Ridges' - is designated a priority area with high levels of unemployment, one parent families, and vandalism. Much of the latter, we are told, was directed against a newly constructed station on the Metro Line between Newcastle and the coast. Again for the uninitiated, a metro is a cross between a bus and a train that runs on lines and is nothing to do with British Leyland. The Passenger Transport Executives initial response to the vandalism was to establish a strong police pressence which resulted in heavy fines and

imprisonment for successful convictions. A Working Party was subsequently established in 1983 to consider more positive approaches, namely appointing two full-time detached workers with funding for 3 years from Inner Areas Programme via the Metro Vandalism Fund (!) with support from the Education Department of North Tyneside Borough Council. An imaginary, cynical councillor might wonder why detached workers should be employed to protect a railway, but I would not dare.

After setting the scene, Street Wise continues with a brief and, in my opinion, over complicated outline of the nature of detached youth work 'borrowed' from an NAYC 1981 publication followed by a series of examples of how, where and with whom the workers fulfilled their role, such as: with various groups of unemployed youngsters using videos, trips and motorbikes; supporting a group of girls in planning and organising a trip to the Lake District; helping a holiday project; working with junior age groups and those defined by authority figures as 'troublesome'; using an outdoor pursuits experiece to bridge the gap between the police and youngsters; attempting to re-establish relationships between local residents and young people accused of damaging and stealing cars and motorbikes; setting up a series of weekly drama workshops for adolescents and truants, and making links with other agencies involved with the young people on the estate such as social and intermediate treatment workers, advice workers, pub and shop tenants.

The report concludes with a reminder of the strong need for full and adequate support for workers, the difficulties in evaluating the success of their work by traditionally accepted methods and the value of detached work in identifying and meeting the needs of anti-social adolescents. To quote my imaginary cynical councillor, however, 'they would say that wouldn't they!'

While I enjoyed reading Street Wise '85, not least since it let me wallow in nostalgia, it did disappoint me for a number of reasons. Firstly, as a report, I found it confusing and shallow on important issues. It did not make clear why it had been written, who it is aimed at and what it is attempting to achieve. It is difficult, therefore, to know how to review such a publication. Secondly, I found a similar lack of clarity about the project itself as presented in the report. I would not dare repeat the first comment of my imaginery councillor above, but as no other aims for the project are specified one is left to make up one's own, which only adds to the difficulties of evaluating success or failure in such work. Thirdly, I am amazed that reports on detached youth work projects like that at Meadowell are still being produced. My bookshelves abound with similar reports (including three of my own!) on similar detached projects from all over the country going back 16 years and they almost all seem to be saying the same things in the same way as a means of explaining and justifying detached youth work. It cannot be so difficult for elected representatives and policy makers to grasp, or is it that they and many of us in youth work are too bound up with evaluating our work in quantitative and product-oriented rather than in qualitative and process-orientated ways that we dismiss it too easily. Wouldn't it be good if every youth centre was expected to publish similar annual evaluative reports to explain and justify their existance. I wonder how many would survive? Fourthly, I am saddened how relatively little detached work has moved since I was last employed as a worker 13 years ago. It must be 21

years since the concept was introduced to the U.K. in Mary Morse's infamous little pelican and at least 12 years since the first Keele Conferences on detached work began. Yet, if Street Wise '85 is anything to go by, I do not detect much development of the approach in the intervening years. In the late 60's, early 70's, it was an exciting, alternative approach. Detached workers had a mission to knock their complacent colleagues imprisoned in buildings. I missed some of this zeal in Street Wise, which may not be too bad a thing, but, with the exception of having to cope with the rise in unemployment, I felt too much déja vu about the report for comfort.

I wish the workers well: I know how hard the work is. But I do wish reports like this were not still necessary.

Neil Kendra.

M.H. Scholtes
SNIFFING IT - SNUFFING IT -
Information on Solvent Abuse
Hope Press Publications
Hope House, 45 Great Peter Street,
LONDON SW1P 3LT
ISBN 0946507 007
pp 12

This booklet claims to give information on solvent abuse and how to respond to it and to a very limited extent it does so. The problem is that the way the (very few) facts are used helps to present a highly questionable argument about the nature and possible responses to solvent abuse.

There is a useful page inside the back cover which spells out what to do in cases of emergency and how to recognise the signs of someone "sniffing". The usefulness of the booklet ends there as far as I am concerned. For example, "sniffers" in trouble are advised to go to their head teacher, family doctor or Samaritans for help. In my experience there are not many young people who would turn to head teachers if they considered their solvent abuse was a problem and they needed help.

More crucially the booklet presents an inaccurate picture of the issues of solvent abuse and has the effect, not only of reinforcing existing myths about the practice of sniffing but also helps to create new ones. The graphics seem to me to be somewhat obscene, because again they reinforce myths and stereotypes.

The author seems to have jumped on the bandwagon with many other moral entrepreneurs to create a panic that is so out of proportion that it has itself become the problem.

It is difficult to know to whom the publication is aimed, whether it be the solvent abuser, the professional or parents. It would, in my view, be an insult to the professional and, in my experience, also to young people who, for whatever reason, find themselves abusing solvents. If it is aimed at parents, then it would have the effect of worrying them to an early grave, causing severe family problems within the household which are probably part of the reason for a lot of young people sniffing in the first place. It could even create a need for that other widely abused drug the tranquillizer!

One must assume that the author means well and thinks that this kind of scare tactic will have an

effect on any young people who read it. I feel the effect could well be the opposite, because it seems that the purpose is to scare young people away from solvent abuse. It could, however, add to the excitement and feeling of power, it could increase the "buzz" and encourage the "so what, I'm not scared" attitude of the solvent abuser.

Furthermore, the author seems to be unaware that one of the biggest problems faced by the solvent abuser is the title "glue sniffer". The way it is presented in the media and in books such as this, as well as in recent legislation, glue is not seen in its true light - as the safest option of all the solvents that are widely abused. In this booklet, the term glue sniffing is highlighted as the ultimate evil.

I would strongly recommend that young people and parents stay well clear of this booklet. Professionals who are interested in solvent abuse would also be well advised to keep their distance. If, however, any of them are interested in studying panics and their effect on society, this publication is a most interesting example of the process.

Terry Hall

G. Vorhaus
POLICE IN THE CLASSROOM
HLRC Publication, Uxbridge 1984
Hillingdon Legal Resource Centre 1984
12 Harold Avenue, Hayes, Middlesex UB3 4QW
£3.50
pp 129

Until recently, police visits to schools have not been an issue. They were and in the main still are, likely to fit into a general interest section of the curriculum with broad educational objectives. The police largely take part because they are committed to enhancing (or recapturing) public confidence in their function. As in their other public relations initiatives, the police who carry out school liaison duties are hand picked for their affability and social skills; teaching skills are intuitive rather than a training necessity.

The above research was commissioned by Hillingdon Legal Resource Centre and carried out by G. Vorhaus, among 295 fourteen to sixteen year old pupils of schools in the London Borough of Hillingdon. The survey attempts to assess the efficiency of police involvement in the Borough's schools. However, given that the curriculum objectives were unclear, these were identified by the researcher drawing from perceptions whilst conducting the enquiry, therefore measuring effectiveness became a difficult task.

Vorhaus believes that the 'educational' objectives in practice were those of the police who wished to generate consent among pupils for police practice, including indiscriminate stop-and-search of young people. The research confirms common sense notions in that the young people who had experienced being stopped and searched were more likely to be anti-police than those who had not. And as can be expected, young people's negative experiences of the police outside of school far outweighed the efforts by the "nice guy" police officers to negate the anti-police feelings which "dragnet" policing produced.

It was also found that young people who had experienced both sides of the police could discern the differences in the behaviour between individuals and sections of the police; they were less likely

to see the police as "all the same", except in a political sense. This broader view seems nowadays to be acknowledged more often by the police themselves who are less likely to absolutely refute malpractice but explain it away as a minority of young officers who no doubt with the public's patience will grow up to be 'good' police officers.

The research also challenges the, now flagging, myth of 'liberated youth' in that it found the attitudes of the target group to be conservative and wanting a tightly controlled society with strict laws and savage penalties - "prisons should be more like prisons and not like hotels".

Overall the work raises a number of concerns. Young people, and probably teachers as well, generally have very little knowledge of the law. Should this knowledge be part of the school curriculum? If so who should teach it? What areas of the law would be most relevant to young people's experience? Are the police the best agency to teach civil rights, for instance? Clearly the educative paradox of social control objectives and encouraging young people to be inquiring, critical participants in society cannot be resolved by the use of a single agency whose job is primarily one of control. Perhaps it is naive to expect schools to produce a balanced programme where lawyers, civil rights campaigners and reform groups are involved in a thought-out educational programme which includes the police. If this were the case the police may face a passive disinterested class less often than they do at present.

The study is limited in what it has attempted but at the same time it is extremely thorough in the area selected for study and hopefully will contribute to a much needed broader debate on the issue of law and order in the school curriculum.

Chris Strawford

Geoffrey Barlow & Alison Hill
VIDEO VIOLENCE AND CHILDREN
Hodder and Stoughton, 1985
ISBN 0 340 38917 6
£4.95 (pbk)
pp.182

It must surely be unusual for a reviewer to find, when reading his assigned book, that he himself is being besmirched, though not by name, for being associated with dubious forces. Such was the case for me when I came to read this one. A context is needed, to understand how this might have come about.

In 1983, as the campaign against 'video nasties' reached its climax, there came together a group, much influenced by the evangelical movement (central in this later connection was Raymond Johnston, formerly of the Festival of Light, now of the Order for Christian Unity). They proposed to do some research to prove beyond doubt that children were being damaged by watching violent videos. With such evidence they would be able to begin to 'turn back the tide of liberalism'. Fortuitously coinciding with Graham Bright MP agreeing to adopt a Home Office Bill on videos as his Private Member's own, they hurried to launch their initiative.

Part 1, an 'interim report', was rushed out just in time to coincide with the Second Reading in Parliament. (Coyly, the present volume tells how "surprised" they were at its enthusiastic media recep-

tion). However this publication also met with deep suspicions elsewhere. Some very peculiar circumstance surrounded the dismissal of Oxford Polytechnic researchers from the project. They had protested that not only had the interim report been rushed out when figures were hardly available - and some that appeared were outrageously misleading - but also that written guarantees that their research would not be used propagandistically, were simply dumped. (The present volume says of this: "No conclusions were offered but rather a series of questions were posed by the interim results". (p.28) This is a bit much. The draft of Part 1 did directly state conclusions, such as : "With the adulation of violence among children and teenagers that is revealed in this survey it would seem reasonable to conclude that we are priming a timebomb of violence that will explode upon our city streets in some 5 or 10 years time". Only on loud protests from the Oxford team were statements like this changed to rhetorical questions).

I was among the critics of Part 1; and in a number of places I tried to draw attention to the wholly unsatisfactory research procedures and evidence. In response, the hint was dropped that I was 'in the pay' of the video trade. (For the record, let it be said that my entire payment was one cup of coffee on the single occasion I visited the offices of the British Videogram Association to talk to its Director and consult its press cuttings).

With the critical Oxford team dismissed, the research proceeded. Part II was issued to coincide with another Parliamentary stage. Again the media obliged with banner headlines, so no MP could miss the message. Part II was apparently 'cleaner' - until you looked closer. In the volume I edited (**The Video Nasties**, Pluto Press 1984) both Brian Brown (from the Oxford team) and Graham Murdock detailed its problems. A tiny sample: among its list of pornographic films being seen by children was **The Best Little Whorehouse in Texas** - in fact a hilarious musical romp recently shown on TV. But in the climate of the times, who would notice absurdities like that?

Now comes the final publication, when they have won (at least the first step in) their batle. This volume, in addition to retelling in detail the original survey on children's viewing habits and part-duplicating this with an NSPCC survey of 'problem-families', also has a survey of the 'professional opinions' of psychiatrists and paediatricians, a scatter of case-studies of children apparently being disturbed by violent videos, and a small sample of teachers' and children's comments. All this, after a highly tendentious survey of the state of research into TV and violence, which manages to mention only one out of the many challenges to studies done within the laboratory-psychological paradigm (and that one, to dismiss the value of Howitt & Cumberbatch's assessment (p.19) on the grounds of the latter's criticisms of their Part 1). There are, finally, some grossly distorted precis of some of the films.

This volume is wretched. It makes repeated claims, not substantiated, that we are now experiencing "new forms of violent conduct" (eg.p.14), which are "threatening the very fabric of society" (p.6); it indulges in truly awful post-functionalist pop sociology (pp.162-3), speculating that all our institutions are now producng social change at unprecedented rates, such that our society is now teetering on the edge of - well, what? It sets up a bogus opposition, who are a combination of simple-minded anti-censorship liberals, and socialisation theorists who don't

think it's worth changing anything unless you change everything. There is also a gratuitous suggestion (p.5) that a lot of this is due to the increase in one-parent families. Where **do** they find these caricatures?

Within this almost concealed framework come elaborate and virtually useless statistical breakdowns of who views what, where, how often, and what parents psychiatrists, and paeditricians think about it. All these only mean anything if you make some pretty strong assumptions. First, the entire study is based on self-report techniques. We have to accept their assurances (for they are largely that) that their questionnaires to children produced reliable data on how many have been seeing films they oughtn't (though nothing in what they say of their techniques leads me to see how they have avoided classic experimenter-effects, or the predictable processes of kids presenting a self-image of films they'd like to have seen, or have heard about). But when they give us psychiatrists'and paediatricians' beliefs that some children may have been harmed by seeing violent videos (note the loose category), to make anything of their evidence we have to believe that all these professional men and women have been entirely uninfluenced by the massive media campaign on the issue. And we really have to work at believing it when we are told that the professionals who had opinions on the topic before the survey were more likley to believe videos harmful, than those who didn't!

The other vast and tellingly stupid assumption is that, in taking the DPP as effective definer of what is a 'video nasty', they have a coherent research variable. How many children watch 'them'? Are they influenced by 'them'? In reviewing Part 1, I noted how contradictory their concept of 'identification' was. They asserted **both** that we are more likely to be influenced by seeing whole films, **and** that video is particularly dangerous because of re-run and slow-motion possibilities. These contradictions have persisted and deepened. Obviously the authors believe they have made a singular discovery, given how often they repeat that these videos are particularly dangerous in encouraging identification by 'putting us in the position of the aggressor' (eg, pp.89, 124 & 160). Now even if this simplistic view were true, which it isn't they would immediately have to delete two of their highest-scoring films (**The Evil Dead,** and **I Spit On Your Grave**) which do not use any such filmic devices.

These comments are nibbles at the edge of a morass of problems. This volume will have to go down as one of those on which Geoff Pearson's **Hooligan** virtually says it all. The difference is, we're still living this "respectable fear", and I fear that the intent and direction of this panic is far more serious than just a bunch of passing, often puerile, frequently badly-made films. But then, who knows who's paying me to say this?

Martin Barker

Tim Bond
GAMES FOR SOCIAL AND LIFESKILLS
Hutchinson, 1986
ISBN 0 09 162541 6
£4.95 (pbk)
pp 280

It is probably worth declaring from the start that I am a member of a small, and I suspect increasingly

exclusive, minority grouping. I am proud to count myself among those relatively few people, who do not know, have never met and in no way are related to, a person who has written a book on "Social and Life Skills". Nobody that I socialise with has penned such a tract nor have any of my colleagues. However, it is a facet of minority groups that frequently they find pressure being exerted upon them to conform to the dominant cultural "wisdom". I am sure that soon I will find myself, though clearly not by choice, outside my cherished fraternity. I suspect that my reaction will roughly equate with the feelings of the most bitter Kent coal miner on being forced back to work, for like them I will consider the result a betrayal. Just as the N.C.B. betrayed the lives and livelihoods of miners, so the Life and Social Skills Brigade frequently heap the blame for Britain's youth unemployment on the young themselves. What greater fallacy could there be? Yet for some, the authors and publishers, the concept is a Money-Spinner. Such gain is clearly parasitical.

Social and Life Skills books have various approaches. Some are composed of the age old topics like, "The Life of a Cheque", "How our rates are spent", "Creative use of the condom" or "Our Police force, its independance and care for the community" though many pedagogues have difficulty in presenting the latter, never mind sustaining it!

Other tomes fall into the "games and simulations" type of instruction based on the concept that simulations prepare people for the real thing (just as 11 years of compulsory schooling in Britain abjectly fails to prepare children for their bizarre society!) Alternatively, games which have as their raison d'etre that "learning can be fun" necessarily have to convince people that the games are worth believing in, even for a short while. A necessary precondition of such behaviour is to engender a degree of **trust** and a certain degree of morbid introspection. So it was that I turned to Bond's work, with little hope of being pleasantly surprised, and as a result - I wasn't. There they were, all the old familiar little elements neatly laid out waiting for consumption. All the self-awareness exercises, and the non verbal communications, the decision making work that identifies this clone for what it is, and of course, there nestled away in the rump of the book was the old favourite of the Life and Social Skills lobby - trust games. Trust, it may be considered, is well worth learning. Bond considers its advantages include the fact that "people find it easier to talk more openly". So what aspects, in Bond's view, are worth learning about trust, in the pursuance of more "open conversation". Well for a start, take two people, one supine and the other kneeling: the latter lifts the supine, person's head up and down and from side to side to relax the muscles.

If that piece of work fails to elicit a more garrulous response, then perhaps "Face trust" would succeed. Here two people are placed facing each other, with eyes closed and they take turns to explore each others faces. If for some inconceivable reason that exercise maintains resolute silence then "knee sitting" is clearly called for. "Knee sitting", however, being a paradigm of social interaction, does have a degree of failure associated with it. Ten or more people stand in a tight circle, each person faces another's back with their hands on the shoulders of the person in front. At an agreed signal each person attempts to sit on the knee of the one behind. ("Collapses are likely").

Now this might be the jaundiced reaction of a socially unskilled commentator, but I really fail to accept such behaviour as being a "social skill" or even leading to a "social skill" save it be in some pre-school playgroup, drunken rugby gathering or extravagent Buñuel film. This said though, perhaps next time I am interviewed for promotion then a touch of "back-lifting" (p.245) (standing back to back with linked arms and bending forward) may help to impress the interviewer of my attributes, or perhaps the interview panel would all join me in a spot of "knee-bending" to open up the conversation.

Now I would not say that I actively seek out such works of art that these books so clearly represent. I certainly have not searched through every possible example of the genre, however, I have come across several of the leading examples of the various approaches and examined their contents. What I did find rather arrogant at the beginning of the book was the warning against reproduction of any of the contents on any general scale. **Games for Social and Life Skills** must therefore be blazing some new trail? But wait, what historical gems do we find snuggling inside the covers of this, no doubt covetted manual? Bond's book brings to our attention the wonders of "Listening Chains" (Chinese Whispers to most of us) "Job Interviews" (Job Interviews to most of us) but perhaps the most glaring assertion is to the rights over Tangrams! Under what possible pretext could someone claim a lien over these areas? There were several other examples, many of which I should point out were regarded as somewhat old-hat long before the author's entry into society or perhaps his 'personal life-game kicked off'.

Games for Social Life Skills fits into the mould of other 'games-type' books before it, and offers like that would distinguish it from its competitors. Indeed, reading this in parts is enough to give deja vue a bad name.

One heading that I mistakenly looked forward to reading was that relating to "sharing, negotiation and compromise". Now few would object to the idea that such topics would be usefully explored in a book relating to Life and Social Skills. Sharing, negotiation and compromise are important values and need careful assessment. This games book unfortunately treats these particular examples in a trivial and facile respect. In one case a rich benefactor gives a group a car, and the group have to discuss sharing arrangements. In another, a dream holiday is won and two people have to agree on a mutually acceptable venue. A third game asks people to discuss the personality of 3 new workmates being considered. At the end, the participants are asked to review their feelings had Blacks or homosexuals been involved. What a missed opportunity! What an affront to the possibility of achieving worthwhile ends.

Let us assume for a moment that this book is aimed primarily at unemployed young people, either at school or afterwards. If it is aimed at those in full employment, rather than cosmetic schemes designed for the obfuscation of unemployment figures, then perhaps even greater criticism should be levelled at this work. What then does this author have to offer those unemployed people as examples of sharing or negotiating? Nothing, unfortunately, but inane and remote materialist fantasies. How many young unemployed people will meet rich benefactors or give-away holiday companies? If, on the one hand, these games are merely **games** then be creative! Set the thing on Mars! Set it in prehis-

toric times. But if it has a relationship to Life and Social Skills for young unemployed people, then in the name of all that's sensible, **make the situation relevant.** The situation should relate to youth unemployment because its title implies its purpose is to direct itself to such an area.

I am not suggesting that the situation chosen to elucidate sharing or negotiation need necessarily be set in a Social Security Office, for instance, or the dole queue. Make the situations as fabulous and elaborate as required. But make it **relevant**, otherwise rename the book, and drop the pretensions to guidance for young people today.

The reason that this book, like many other falls so flat on its face, is that it fails to address the cause of the dilema of the youth. It appears sublimely unaware of the cause of the social phenomenon that confronts us. In no way is it a problem of lack of self awareness or deficiency of social skills that causes young people to be unemployed. The real cause of the problem is the capitalist system in crisis yet again.

In this situation it is nothing short of scandalous to lay on young people the need to adjust their personalities, to smarten up their self awareness and to increase their ability to trust. It's similar in moral terms to the widespread publication of books on the "Enjoyment of Good Food" to the starving masses of the third world. When will these Life and Social Skillers start being honest and stop kicking those who are down?

I believe a central lesson to teach young people would be **distrust.** I don't for instance, believe we should trust Thatcher. I believe Thatcher is a liar. I consider that feeling Thatcher's face with eyes closed, or open, would fail to increase the veracity of any of the perverted and distorted comments that she makes. Thatcher knowingly presides over high levels of unemployment, spends incredible amounts of money on highly destructive unusable weapons, agrees with regressive, residualising housing and health policies and placed an equally socially odious, and intellectually barren buffoon in charge of Education and Sciences. I consider it essential to distrust and to channel activity against her and her Government.

Young people also came in contact with remote and austere bureaucracies. Negotiating a dream holiday is an utter irrelevance when DHSS officials chased young people from towns because they were coastal resorts! What possible skill can result in discussing what characteristics you like in a workmate when you may well be more in need of negotiating a special needs payment from Social Security.

Yet in spite of all this, Thatcher has enjoyed two electoral successes. When the wealth of other atrocities she has committed are also piled up, the Falklands, adult unemployment, defence expenditure generally, the hegemony in Ireland and racial and sexual intolerance, then no wonder young people seem confused at her success!

With the system so impenetrable and the policies and leadership designed to aid the richest members of society at the expense of the poorest sector, then Life and Social Skills **should** be about exposing the facts and offering at least some enlightened analysis. Instead of controlled knee-sitting, I suggest some careful knee-jerking!

Bond's book clearly falls into the class of analysis which appears to suggest that "yes yes the coun-

try's in a mess, it's all very nasty, but if only we could communicate more effectively.....be aware of ourselves.....**trust people**....." Then what?

Then Thatcher will get elected again and our demise trundles onwards. When I suggest that this book is an insult to young people, it is because it is of the "stable" of books intent on requiring young people to reassess themselves as a reaction to their social situation, rather than attack the very much more difficult economic and political reality. We need fewer handbooks on psuedo psychological and behaviourial methodology and more handbooks on direct action. We need to show young people how to organise, we need to educate them in class lessons and to rally behind their activity wherever possible. There is, I suggest, more trust developed between young people in one day's struggle than will ever be achieved in a library of trust games.

In a game called the "Mace" (p114) an object is set to resemble the mace in the House of Commons. Only the person holding the "mace" can speak. (Roll over Golding-your conch has just been discovered). But the discussion at the end of this game are all about **personal** feelings. Surely social skills are really about **co-operative** strength, of conjoining and persuing egalitarian objectives, not morbid obsessions with personal feelings and predelictions. However, one thing is comforting to think about. Having read this book, it is good to know that even in a capitalist society - paper is recyclable.

Steve Waldie

David Hartley
UNDERSTANDING THE PRIMARY SCHOOL
Beckenham, Croom Helm, 1985
ISBN 0 7099 3742 3
pp. 284 £19.95 hardback

David Hartley's ethnography of a Scottish urban primary school is likely to be welcomed by students on both initial and inservice courses. Major sociological studies of primary education are few and far between. **Understanding the Primary School** will no doubt be seen as complementing established works, such as Sharp and Green's **Education and Social Control** (1975) and King's **All Things Bright and Beautiful** (1978) as well as other more recent accounts, such as Pollard's **The Social World of the Primary School** (1985).

Hartley's study, which is concerned **inter alia** with the construction of educational ideologies and the politics of education at a micro level, is especially timely. 'Progressive', 'child-centred' forms of pedagogy, such as those legitimated by the influential Plowden Report in 1967, have been subsequently challenged with the publication of the Black Papers, William Tyndale dispute and shift towards greater accountability and more centralised control. Although there are indications that primary teachers may embrace the **rhetoric** of progressivism more enthusiastically than its associated practice, little is known about the extent to which the professional ideologies of primary teachers may have been transformed as a result of changes in the political climate.

Readers hoping for a detailed and systematic discussion of theoretical issues will be disappointed. Hartley prefaces his substantive research with a few perfunctory remarks about the sociology of the primary school. There is the obligatory dismis-

sal of functionalism followed by a cryptic account of the 'new' sociology of education and the influence of symbolic interaction, social phenomenology and ethnomethodology. Criticising proponents of the latter paradigm for failing to take sufficient cognisance of structural factors, and their neo-marxist successors for their reductionism and apparent neglect of 'intra class status differentials', such as gender and ethnicity, Hartley nails his colours to Weber and the **Verstehen** approach.

The three year study on which Hartley's book is based was undertaken at Rockfield School. The school, in his words, is located 'in a working class area enmeshed in social problems' and caters for many children who are 'deprived, both materially and/or emotionally' (pp17-18). He provides the following rationale for the study:-

> "to understand, to typify and to explain the ideologies of the teachers within an urban primary school whose remit is to provide 'positive discrimination' in the education of its pupils; to indicate the extent to which these ideologies are shared by, or imposed upon, others; to consider the correspondence between the 'professed' and 'practised' ideologies of the teachers by observing the teachers in the classroom and by obtaining the views which the pupils hold of them. The major theme.....raises the hitherto largely unexamined issue of status differentiation within working class education and addresses the following; does the ethnic, gender and social class background of the pupil have consequences for the ways in which teachers define his (sic) ability and performance. Do pupils who share common 'objective', physiological characteristics - race and sex - appear to define themselves **subjectively** as one, or, in Weberian terminology, as a 'status' group? (pp15-16)

This would appear to be an appropriate point for me to comment on Hartley's terminology. I find it somewhat incongruous that an author researching gender should continue to employ the masculine pronoun when referring collectively to both males and females. Although seemingly unaware of the part played by language in reinforcing patriarchal relations, he is nevertheless more sensitive to the issue of 'race'. He recognises, for example, that researchers 'may be culpable of unconscious racism' and is critical of teachers at Rockfield School who often referred to their British Asian pupils as 'immigrants' (pp18-19). However, despite such strictures, there are occasions when racist terminology is employed by the researcher during interview and arguably the racial attitudes of his respondents reinforced. Consider, for example, the following transcript (p170):-

> White boy: The teachers take more time with learning the blacks English than with us.
> DH: Do you think the teachers treat the 'immigrants' any differently?
> Girls (3): Yes!
> Girl: They are not as strict.
> Girl: I think they're petted.
> Girl: Mrs..... favours 'immigrants' more than whites.

Hartley, although fully aware of the ideological significance of the concept 'immigrants', introduces it to this discussion. Perhaps Hartley felt restrained, as a participant observer, by the self-imposed methodological imperative, of achieving 'an aura of non-detachment' and non-partiality' (p51). Presumably, in this instance, it was

assumed that the goal could be achieved by using a value-laden concept!

These considerations should not detract from other (more acceptable) aspects of Hartley's work, such as his analysis of primary teachers' taken-for-granted beliefs and assumptions about pedagogy and children; that is, their expressed educational ideologies. In an attempt to highlight the diversity of opinion among Rockfield School's staff, Hartley employs the following typology to analyse his data; 'stretchers' are defined as taking a more meritocratic and academic view of schooling than the 'stabilisers'. Instead of 'cossetting the children in a "cosy" atmosphere', the 'stretchers' variously emphasised work, effort, discipline, credentials and standards. They tended to underplay the importance of social background as the key determinant of educational outcomes stressing instead the importance of 'good teaching'. Although the official ideology of the School and the headteacher was one of 'stabilisation', the 'stretchers' were primarily concerned with affective and social goals rather than academic ones; 'good teaching to surmount the perceived inadequacies of working class pupils' homes was thought 'to be neither possible nor worthwhile'. Since pupils required 'a level of "enrichment" and "compensation" beyond the school's capacity' (p97). (Of course, this ideology has been criticised over the years by commentators of all political persuasions from Rhodes Boyson through to Michael Rutter and Maureen Stone) Between the 'stretchers' and 'stabilisers' stood the 'straddlers'. In Hartley's view (p115), 'what typified the ideology of the 'straddlers' was a willingness to take from the "stabilisers" **a concern for the child** as an individual in difficult home circumstances, and from the "stretchers" an **optimism** that children at Rockfield **could succeed academically!** (emphasis added)

Not surprisingly, the strategies employed by the staff varied in accordance with these ideologies. For example, the 'stabilisers' were more inclined to employ a consensual approach to discipline than the 'stretchers'. Various pejorative labels were used to describe 'problem' public. All members of staff, irrespective of their expressed educational ideology referred to recalcitrant, disaffected pupils as 'nutters' and pupils 'whose attendance was spasmodic, whose clothing was inadequate, whose bodies were neglected in that they were underfed and dirty, and whose skin and minds bore the scars of physical and psychological damage'! (p139), as 'tragedies'. By and large the teachers felt that they should make life easier for the latter group at school since they were unable 'to change the ways of the their parents', or 'ameliorate their material condition'. The headteacher advised his staff not 'to flog dead horses'. ('Dead horse' was the term applied by teachers to a pupil (p145) 'defined as virtually unteachable since he (sic) lacked the requisite ability or was thought to lack it'). Teachers were found to differ in their treatment of 'dead horses'. According to Hartley (p150):-

> "the 'stretchers' sought to bring up the 'tail' of the class including the 'dead horse'. They appeared to take the view that the 'tail' had just as much right to the teacher's time as did the 'top'. The 'straddlers' took a similar view but their pedagogy differed. As for the 'stabilisers', the 'dead horse' could not be 'stretched' because they were thought to be incapable of being taught much more, and because the teacher's time was spent negotiating the compliance of the 'nutters' and those similarly inclined".

There had been little attempt at Rockfield to reduce gender imbalances in the classroom, or to embrace innovations such as multicultural or anti-racist education. Leaving aside the assimilationist perspective of many staff, and their stereotypes of Asian parents as 'less interested in their children's education than whites' and Asian pupils as 'reticent', Hartley's (qualitative and quantitative) data show that teachers often differentiated on the basis of gender. Although girls (in common with 'dead horses') were not flogged, corporal punishment was still used with the boys. In general, teachers at Rockfield (as elsewhere) tended to perceive boys as more disobedient, noisy, aggressive and untidy than their female counterparts. As well as holding more favourable opinions of girls' behaviour, teachers also viewed their academic performance and potential in a more positive light; girls' reading and IQ scores were consistently over estimated by staff and boys' scores underestimated. In so far as there was little disjunction between pupils' rating of their own academic standing in the class and their teachers' ratings of it the study can be seen as contributing to the continuing debate about the 'self-fulfilling' prophecy'.

Hartley's book is written in a comprehensible and humorous manner. Despite its limitations it nevertheless constitutes an important addition to a neglected area of educational research, and it should find a wide audience among teachers.

Bruce Carrington

Wilson P.
GUTTER FEELINGS. YOUTH WORK IN THE INNER-CITY
Marshalls 1985
ISBN 0 551 01282 X
£1.95 (Pbk)
pp 155

The book is an autobiographical account by the worker. Beginning with his experiences of living and working in St. Helens much of the book concentrates on his experience of east London and in particular his work in the Mayflower Centre in Canning Town. The Mayflower Centre is an evangelical family centre with a large purpose-built youth club, a day nursery and housing. He also talks about his vision of evangelical youth work.

It is with some difficulty that I describe this book. I have problems sorting out exactly what the book is about. There is a lack of logical structure in the text which rambles on to no clear point. The author links accounts of incidents or conversations involving young people with descriptions of theories/ideas of his own. He moves backwards and forwards from idea to incident, adding another incident and more ideas into a confusing spiral that doesn't amount to any lucid argument. I found myself constantly referring back to the

chapter headings and previous pages in order to try and make sense of what I was reading.

For example on page 88 he moves from a quotation by Mia Kellmer Pringle through to an analogy between cows and human need; an idea of his own (complicated by constant definitions of words he is using); a mention of the Gospels; an African proverb, and then finishes the page with a quote from John Bowley. Wilson appears on this page to be making a point about deprivation but quite what the point is, and how it builds into an overall argument, I'm not sure.

Accounts of work with young people and descriptions of ideas in themselves though interesting don't necessarily tell us anything new. Pip Wilson seemed to be exitedly telling me something that was always frustratingly unclear.

Wilson uses many words throughout the book which have become associated with sloppy youth work. People talking about 'getting alongside' or 'starting where young people are at' etc. The title of this book is an example 'Gutter Feelings'. Feelings is a word which Wilson uses heavily throughout the book. He places a great deal of emphasis on feelings, how important feelings are in his Christian view of the world. It seems very important to love the young people, to want to clasp them to you and love them. Christianity depends on this, good youth work depends on this.

Quite where evangelists get this image from I don't know. The Jesus of the Gospels uses intellectual argument to make his points. He is shown repeatedly setting out the pros and cons of believing the message he had to give. In fact he often appears abrubt, 'You know the law what do you think', or 'leave the dead to bury the dead'. There is no biblical equivalent of Jesus 'letting it all hang out', or 'getting alongside', simply a man with a message who delivers it in a thinking and direct manner. So whoever the model is for this kind of behaviour it does not appear to be Jesus.

Going along with all this talk of feelings there is a lot of touching. This I think is where the 'gutter' part of the title comes in. The touching is always violent. People greet each other by kicking, punching or exchanging insults. Wilson tells us that this is how a worker knows that s/he is accepted and, indeed, what a worker must do to be accepted. Presumably you must behave as the people in the gutter behave. It reminds me in part of instructions to people on how to behave with animals, patting them on the head, making physical contact, because, of course, they don't understand anything else.

There's more than a hint of machismo about all this. It starts on the front cover where Pip Wilson is shown, posed with hands in pockets, wearing dark glasses and black leather bomber jacket, leaning against a grim looking gate covered in grafitti. The title is scrawled in red at the top of the page as if grafitti. The whole image is of violence

and masculinity.

The distorted images continue throughout the book with the violence of the young people of Canning Town constantly emphasised at the expense of any other view. The east end of London has long been a hunting ground for do gooders and those wanting to save the working classes from their depravity. The east end was at one time as full of missionaries as Africa. There are still many youth clubs based in what were once upon a time settlements and many of these retain their original view of the people they work among. The Mayflower is no exception. The working classes are viewed as criminal, violent, promiscuous, lacking in proper feeling, not kowing what's good for them and brutalised. From the number of descriptions in this book which range from describing young people as future hardened criminals to the constant harping on their violence it would seem to be Pip Wilsons' view of young people too.

This paternalistic view of the world locates the problem firmly with the working classes and enables people to ignore the structures which create poverty and deprivation. Deprivation is about lack of love Wilson asserts, 'while other factors such as bad environment, education and housing add to the problem but are not causes in themselves'. At the same time as he makes this startling statement he also manages to completely contradict the argument he puts forward on page 87 where he uses Maslow to demonstrate the importance of emotional security.

He writes about young people who have their shutters down when it comes to letting Jesus into their lives. Here seems to be a worker who puts up his own shutters, who seems to operate in a belief system which does not allow him to see the reality of the young peoplle he has lived and worked among for so long.

This book almost sounds in parts like an appeal to a congregation. I could imagine 18 to 30 year olds in congregations being inspired to try their hand at inner city youth work, to prove themselves Christians in handling the violence and loving the 'kids'. Is this the kind of youth worker the youth service wants to attract? Those who go looking for violence will surely find it.

His descriptions of life in Canning Town are an insult to the working class and to the people of Newham. He writes about their violence, criminality, lack of proper feeling. Nowhere does he speak of their humour, affection, loyalty, intelligence. I have lived in this part of London all my life and have worked with the young people of Canning Town. I would argue that they are seen as violent and criminal because of the distorted view of the perceiver. They are in fact young people as young people anywhere.

Chris Rogers

analysis

law

In the Spring 1986 Issue of 'Youth and Policy', the 'Law Column brought readers up-to-date on the progress onto the Statute Books of the proposed new criminal offence of 'Disorderly Conduct'. We promised to keep readers informed of developments, a promise which we shall honour just as soon as the Public Order Bill becomes an Act. This Quarter's column is also concerned about the relationship between the police and young people. However it reads more like a book review than the combination of law and practical advice which usually forms the content of the column. In view of the significance of the subject matter, we make no apologies for this.

The Broadway Farm Inquiry
We urge readers to obtain and read a copy of 'The Broadwater Farm Inquiry', the Report[1] of the independent inquiry into the disturbances of October 1985 at the Broadwater Farm Estate, Tottenham, chaired by Lord Gifford, Q.C. The disturbances, recently described by an Old Bailey Judge[2] as 'the worst outbreak of violent disorder that this country has seen for many many years', was the subject of much attention by the media a year ago, not least because of the tragic death of P.C. Blakelock. The Gifford Report is the end-result of a most thorough investigation into the background to and the cause of, the disturbances. It should be essential reading for all those concerned about inner city policing. It is exasperating that its findings will never filter through to the general public, and that they, the public, will be left with the memory of sensationalised, biased and inaccurate accounts served up by an irresponsible Press.

The Report's Contents.
The Report is in two parts. Part 1 describes the Estate and its residents, the history of the policing of the Estate, the background to the death of Mrs. Cynthia Jarrett, the development of the disturbances, and their immediate aftermath. It concludes with the findings of a survey carried out for the Inquiry Team by a group of social scientists from Middlesex Polytechnic. The survey analyses the composition of the estate's population and its attitudes towards crime and policing. Part 2 looks forward. It gives the Inquiry Team's opinion as to why the disturbances occurred, and makes some recommendations both to minimise the possibility of any recurrence and to combat the economic and social hardships of the Estate's residents. In all the Report, based as it is on a careful consideration of the views of many who actually live or/and work in the area of the disturbances, has invaluable information and lessons for youth workers, community workers, politicians and the police. However in view of the fact that the Metropolitan Commissioner[3] has drawn different conclusions from the 'riots' (as opposed to 'disturbances'), and at the same time concluded that plastic bullets C.S. Gas, armoured trucks, and possibly water cannon, should be available to the police as weapons of last resort, it seems rather unlikely that the police will take heed of the Report until at least some fundamental changes are made with regard to police accountability.

The Inquiry's Findings.
It is impossible in a few paragraphs to do justice to the Inquiry Team's conscientious work. We can do no better than to quote from the penultimate chapter of the Report:
'The reason for the fighting which erupted on 6th. October....is to be found rather in the history ... of failed initiatives in police/community relations; and in the dreadful sequence of events which started with the arrest of Floyd Jarrett and which continued until the clash at Willan Road. That clash ... was between a group of youths who, along with many others, were full of sorrow and anger because a mother had died and because nothing effective was being done about her death; and a unit of police officers who were, with many others in reserve, heavily equipped, hostile to the people on the estate, expecting trouble to start, and ready at a moment's notice to quell it with force. Thus the disturbances came about because of an appalling state of distrust and hostility which existed on 6th. October between the police and the people who lived in and frequented Broadwater Farm'.[4]

The Team goes on to set out the circumstances in which there would have been 'far less likelihood of serious disturbances'.[5] Some of these can be summarised as follows:
1. If the local senior officers had responded positively to the Estate's community organisations; and if efforts had been made to ensure that the home beat officers 'knew, understood and respected' the members of the very active Estate Youth Association.
2. If the 'contradiction between co-operative community policing and the incursion of intimidatory mobile units' had been thought through;
3. If the Council and the Police leadership had combined to establish a genuinely representative consultative forum;
4. If the Estate's real concern about drug pushers had been sensitively and effectively responded to by the police. (The Survey demonstrated so clearly that the residents want police action against heroin dealers and the perpetrators of other serious crime, but that present police practice is not only ineffective but such as to discourage co-operation from the Public).
5. (a) If police officers had not gone on a 'speculative and unjustified' search of Mrs. Jarrett's home. It was this search which led to her tragic death, a search for which on evidence clearly set out in the Report it would seem unlikely that there was a signed magistrates warrant.

(b) If the officers involved in the search had been immediately suspended, and the relevant senior police officers had demonstrated their 'desire for the full truth about the tragedy to be uncovered'. (The Report highlights yet another example of the woeful inadequacy of the existing Police Complaints machinery, and the urgent need for it to be replaced by a truly independent system).
6. If during the evening of October 6th., the police had not responded as they did, but had 'maintained the restrained response which they had shown during the afternoon demonstration'. (The disturbances were in the evening, and were preceded by a seemingly well-policed afternoon demonstration outside Tottenham Police Station following the death of Mrs. Jarrett on the previous day). (Tottenham is yet another example of where the manner of the police's response to trouble has in itself played a major role in the development of the disturbances).

The Inquiry's Recommendations
In making recommendations the Team has tried to avoid 'both naive optimism and grim defeatism'. Its most substantial recommendation is the introduction of genuine community policing into Tottenham. They believe that the term 'community policing' has become 'so hackneyed' that they prefer to use the term 'co-operative policing' by which they mean 'a policing strategy by which the police at all levels co-operate (on the basis of mutual respect and equality) with those various agencies which represent the community, in order to deter and detect those crimes which the community believe to be priority evils'.[7]

In addition they call for a complete review of police training, and a commitment to eradicate oppressive and racist policing. The Home Secretary should be replaced by a body of elected representatives as London's police authority, and there should be a completely independent authority for the investigation of complaints against the police.
They acknowledge that it is inappropriate to consider the disturbances solely in the context of policing, by urging in particular the following:
1. Increased resources from central Government into areas such as Tottenham;
2. Investment and support for projects which will generate local employment (and in so recommending, they specify some ideas for small businesses);
3. A continued development of community facilities;
4. Housing policies, particularly those concerned with allocation, to be based on full consultation with local people;
5. An improvement in the Borough's education provision, particularly so as to counter racism.

They concluded by condemning the 'gross distortion'[8] presented by the media, and the role irresponsible media coverage plays in promoting racism. They believe that the Press can play an 'active, positive and critical role in improving race relations and community relations',[9] and urge the Media Unions and the Press Council to enforce standards and monitor press coverage of sensitive issues and major public disturbances.

Conculsion
At the time of this issue of 'Youth and Policy' going to press, a 19 yr. old is starting a 7 year sentence for his part in the Tottenham disturbances. He is the first to be convicted of a serious offence arising from the disturbances (he was found guilty of affray and burglary). The judge said 'the sentence has to be a heavy one not only to reflect public horror, **but to deter others**'.[10] Such a statement takes no account of the complexity of the situation which gave raise to the disturbances and which is so valuably exposed in the Gifford Report. It should be read by all, not least by Judges.

References
1. Available from The Civic Centre, Haringey Council, Wood Green, London, N.22.
2. Judge Neil Denison, reported in the Press on 3/10/86.
3. In 'Public Order Review; Civil Disturbances, 1981-1985'. Metropolitan Police.
4. para 8.2.
5. para 8.3.
6. Lord Gifford reported in Guardian 8/7/86.
7. para 8.11.
8. para 9.45.
9. para 9.50.
10. Judge Neil Denison, reported in the Press on 3/10/86.

monitor:

winter 1985 - spring 1986

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

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V90 N42

Violent Behaviour

Mr. Livsey asked the Sec State for the Home Department what recent inquiries he has made into possible links between violence depicted on television and violent behaviour by young people.

Mr. Hurd: The Home Office research unit published a review of the research on this subject in 1977. Work is in hand to update the review, and will be published later in the year.

Mr. Livsey: In view of that statement, will the Sec State consider publishing a consultative document which can be discussed publicly as there is great anxiety about the issue?

Mr. Hurd: There is no doubt from my postbag, especially from letters that I receive from right hon. and hon. Members, that substantial anxiety exists. The Home Office receives about 20 letters a day on the matter. That is why I took an initiative just before Christmas. I am to some extent reassured by what the broadcasting authorities have said and done since then. The House will have a chance to go further into the subject on Friday.

Mr. Stokes: Is my right hon. Friend aware that the public as a whole are sick and tired of the amount of violence shown on television? If the broadcasting authorities are unable or unwilling to deal with that problem, surely the government must step in at once.

Mr. Hurd: Parliament has given the broadcasting authorities - the IBA and BBC governors - in the charter and in Broadcasting Act 1981 clear and specific duties which it has not given to the Government. Most hon. Members would agree that is right, but it is perfectly reasonable that the public, including the House, should keep a close and warchful eye on how the broadcasting authorities perform those responsibilities, and draw their own conclusions.

Mr. Meadowcroft: Is the Sec State aware that the BBC is currently discussing the updating of its guidelines about portraying scenes of violence? Will he consider making that document availaole for the Adjournment debate so that the House can discuss the matter, and see whether there is a distinction between television violence which is vicarious and prevents the acting out of violence and television violence which encourages violence? There is evidence on both sides of the questions.

Mr. Hurd: I accept that. I welcome what I have been told about the BBC's intentions to which the hon. Gentleman referred. The House will have an opportunity on Friday, and perhaps thereafter, to express its views more clearly on the subject.

Mr. Lawrence: Has my right hon. Friend noticed that not only the BBC, but ITV, announced plans to reduce the amount of violence shown on television programmes? Is that attempt to self-regulate the industry not extremely welcome and long overdue?

Mr. Hurd: It is extremely welcome.

Aids WA

Mr. Rathbone asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science in his Department's educational material for schools about drug misuse, what mention there is of the danger of acquired immune deficiency syndrome.

Mr. Dunn: The Department recently issued guidance of AIDS in draft form to the local education authorities, and it is intended that, following consultation, this should be formally published in the near future.

The Education Departments' booklet "Drug Misuse and the Young" does not mention AIDS specifically, but in the section dealing with the physical dangers of drug taking it draws attention to the risk of unsterile injecting practices in general.

Drug Abuse WA

Mr. Heathcoat-Amory asked the Sec State for the Home Department if he will make a statement on recent initiatives taken within the Government's overall strategy for tackling drug abuse.

Mr. Mellor: We continue to give a very high priority to our comprehensive strategy for tackling drug misuse. Since 1 January we have announced record provisional figures for customs' seizures in 1985; and the continuation of our successful prevention campaign, beginning with the launch of a two-part video package for young people. Our Drug Trafficking Offences Bill, which is now before Parliament, constitutes a further major initiative against drug trafficking. We have also recently announced the provision of an additional £5 million a year to health authorities from 1986-87 specifically for the expansion of services for drug misusers.

Dr. Twinn asked the Sec State for the Home Department if he will itemise the special resources which HM's Government have so far committed to the main elements of its strategy on drug misuse.

Mr. Mellor: Since 1 January 1985 we have announced provision for:

(i) £1.5 million over three years to combat drug production and trafficking in South America and elsewhere;

(ii) a further £2.4 million aid grant to help to eradicate opium poppy cultivation in Pakistan;

(iii) the creation of drugs wings in police regional crime squads, involving a 20 per cent. increase in their manpower, and the enhancement of the national drugs intelligence unit;

(iv) 50 more customs specialist investigators in 1985-86;

(v) 350 additional posts in 1986-87 for customs work (mainly on the prevention of drug smuggling);

(vii) an increase to over £17 million of the fund to pump-prime local projects for durg misusers for three years;

(viii) from 1986-87, an additional £5 million a year to health authorities specifically for the expansion of services for drug misusers.

Many of our main continuing programmes also contribute to our strategy: for example, the value of urban programme support drug projects is now nearly £1 million each year.

Drug-related Offences OA

Mr. Alex Carlile asked the Sec State Home Department how many people have been convicted of supplying heroin or the possession of heroin with intention to supply in each of the years 1982 to 1985; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. John Fraser asked the Sec State Home Department what is the number of drug-related offences during the most recent of 12 months for which figures are available, compared with the number of the previous 12 months.

The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Office (Mr. David Mellor): The available information relates to persons found guilty of or cautioned for offences involving controlled drugs. The total numbers found guilty or cautioned for such offences in the United Kingdom in the years 1982 to 1984 were 20,300 in 1982, 23,330 in 1983 and 25,000 in 1984. Within those totals, the numbers who were found guilty of supplying, or of possession with intent to supply, heroin were 210 in 1982, 260 in 1983 and 570 in 1984. Corresponding figures for 1985 are not yet available.

Mr. Carlile: As convictions largely depend upon the importation of drugs, will the Minister assure the House that, while the Government are rightly considering precautions against the importation of rabies through the Channel tunnel, they will also seriously consider the level of precautions to be taken against the importation of drugs through the tunnel? Will the Goverment be prepared to come to the House in due course and make a statement about the level of security against the importation of drugs?

Mr. Mellor: That is a fair point. Work on the matter is already in hand. There is no reason to think that security for the Channel tunnel will pose any greater difficulties than in the case of the other methods of getting into the United Kingdom. However, that is a matter worthy of consideration and it will receive it.

Mr. John Fraser: Does the Minister realise that most of the people convicted of supplying heroin are addicts and that the police have success only when they catch a dealer who is rich, ostensibly respectable, and is not an addict? The real problem is that the drug squads in London do not have enough manpower to follow the leads up to the higher levels of supply. What is the point of banning overtime for policemen when one is trying to stamp out the serious drug trade in London? Will there be any change in manning procedures for drug squads?

Mr. Mellor: The Metropolitan police drug squad has already been increased in size, and authority has been given for a further 50 officers to be recruited. Mainstream officers are also engaged in work on drugs. It is no longer left solely to drug squads. As the hon. Gentleman is aware, the strength of the Metropolitan police has increased by about 4,800 officers while the Government have been in office. When one adds to that the creation and increased resources of the national drugs intelligence unit and the creation in regional crime squads of designated drugs wings, involving an increase of 20 per cent. in the strength of regional crime squads, I think we are taking the steps that the hon. Gentleman wants. Perhaps he will appreciate that in due course.

Sir Edward Gardner: Does my hon. Friend agree that, although the importation and possession of heroin is a great problem, there is an equally serious, if not worse problem looming up behind it and threatening to overtake it - the possession and importation of cocaine? Will he assure the House that every step will be taken to ensure that that traffic is stamped on as quickly and severely as possible?

Mr. Mellor: Yes. I know that my hon. and learned Friend has had the same experience as me in seeing what is happening in America. An additional squad has been formed in Customs to deal with investigations into cocaine and the dangers that the United States experience reveals. So far, I am happy to say, there has been no sign of the great explosion in cocaine that some predicted. The seizure figure by Customs of 73 kilos in 1983 and of 79 kilos in 1985 does not show a great increase. But we are not complacent about the matter.

Mr. Martin: Has the Minister contacted his hon. Friend the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State north of the border about the fact that, after public houses, council houses are being used to push drugs, which is causing a great nuisance, particularly in my constituency and, no doubt, in council estates throughout the country, to tenants who want a quiet life? Will the hon. Gentleman take steps to advise local authorities on what action should be taken?

Mr.Mellor: The hon. Gentleman made an effective speech on that point two nights ago. I know that my hon. Friend the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Scotland is aware of what he said. He sits on the Committee that I chair. His point is important and will be treated as such by my colleagues in the Scottish Office.

Young Offenders WA

Mr. Bermingham asked the Sec State for the Home Department (1) how many young offenders under the age of 21 years were sentenced to detention centre or youth custody in 1984;

(2) how many young offenders who were sentenced to periods of youth custody in 1984 received sentences in excess of 12 months;

(3) how many young offenders under the age of 21 years were sentenced to detention centre or youth custody for offences of theft or burglary where the value of the property stolen was less that £50;

(4) how many young offenders under the age of 21 years were sentenced to detention centre or youth custody in 1984 for offences of attempted theft or attempted burglary;

(5) how many young offenders under the age of 21 years were sentenced to detention centre or youth custody in 1984 where the court had found it unnecessary to obtain a social enquiry report;

(6) what proportion of those young offenders who were sentenced to detention centre or youth custody in 1984 had declared themselves unwilling or unable to comply with a non-custodial sentence.

Mr. Mellor: The available information on persons sentenced to detention centre or youth custody is published annually in "Criminal Statistics. England and Wales". Supplementary tables, volume 1, sl.1(c) and sl.1.(d) show, for offences aged 14 and under 17 and 17 and under 21 respectively, the number of offenders sentenced in magistrates courts. Corresponding information for the Crown court is published in volume 2, s2.1(c) and s2.1(d). Attempts to commit offences are classified under the substantive offence. Information on the length of sentence for youth custody at the Crown court is shown in volume 2, table s2.5. The information is summarised in tables 7.15, 7.16 of the Command Paper for 1984 (Cmnd. 9621). Information on the value of property stolen and on whether a social inquiry report was made is not collected centrally in the results of court proceedings.

V90 N43

School Leaving Age WA

Mr. Thurnham asked the Sec State for Education and Science what representations he has received advocating that the school leaving age should be raised for all those who do not take a place on the yts, or any other recognised trainig scheme; and if he will make a statment.

Mr. Dunn: None. The Government are not considering raising the school leaving age and believe that the many educational and training opportunities currently available for young people are most effectively offered on a voluntary basis.

V90 N45

Teachers (Child Abuse) WA

Mr. Cartwrighe asked the Sec State for Education and Science what steps he is taking to ensure that both initial and in-service training enables teachers both to recognise cases of child abuse among their pupils and to take the action necessary to protect children at risk.

Mr. Chris Patten: The criteria which now govern all courses of initial teacher training require, inter alia, that the courses should prepare students for their pastoral responsibilities as teachers. LEAs are responsible for ensuring that their schools have adequate arrangements to identify children at risk and that their teachers are aware of these arrangements. A range of training activities to promote awareness of how to identify and deal with child abuse is promoted by local authorities and is available to school staff. My right hon. Friend the Sec State Social Services is currently reviewing his procedural guidance on child abuse and will be issuing a consultation paper shortly which will include recommendatinos on training.

Drug Abuse WA

Mr. Corbett asked the Sec State Social Services what evidence he has of any change of attitude among young people towards the misuse of heroin and cocaine following Government's anti-drugs advertising campaign.

Mr. Whitney: Preliminary results of the independent evaluation of the campaign are now available. They suggest that there has been an increase in awareness of the negative consequences of heroin; a delfation in the image of heroin and of misusers; an increase in the proportion saying they would reject heroin if offered and that there are indications of a more accurate, realistic basis for rejection of heroin. Cocaine is also seen as dangerous and this view appears to have been unaffected by the campaign. A copy of the full evaluation results will be placed in the Library when they are available.

Student Grant WA

Mr. Teddy Taylor asked the Sec State for Education and Science if he will make a statement explaining the factors which he takes into account in establishing the level of student grant.

Mr. Walden: The level of student grant represents a balance between covering students' needs and the total expenditure which taxpayers and ratepayers can reasonably be asked to meet, given other claims on scarce resources.

Mrs. Peacock asked the Sec State for Education and Science whether Her Majesty's Government intend the £36 compensation sum, to be paid to students under his White Paper scheme, to be means-tested.

Mr. Walden: Any increase in the student grant arising from the present proposals to student's entitlement to social security benefits would be means-tested in the usual way. The vast majority of students would, however, receive the additional sum in full.

Student Grants WA

Mr. Radice asked the Sec State for Education and Science what changes to the student grant system were investigated during his Department's review.

Sir Keith Joseph: A wide variety of changes were considered including the extension of student support to all full-time advanced courses, the abolition or reduction of the parental contribution and lowering the age of independence. However, without the introduction of loans, or without some severe cutback to the present system, or of increased funding which would have been contrary to the Government's policies to constrain public expenditure, it would not have been possible to finance such changes, however desirable.

Mrs. Renée Short asked the Sec State for Education and Science what factors he took into account when deciding that meanstested grants to undergraduates and full grants for postgraduates should be increased by £36 a year.

Mr. Walden: The recently announced 1986-87 grant increase of about 2 per cent. (around £36 a year) represents a balance between students' needs and the total expenditure which taxpayers and ratepayers can reasonably be asked to meet, given other claims on scarce resources. Any increase to student awards agreed following consultations currently being conducted by the Social Security Advisory Committee on the disentitlement of students to certain benefits will be paid in addition to this. The announcement is recorded in *Hansard*, 16 December 1985, at column *39*.

Community Programme WA

Mr. Wainwright asked the Paymaster General how many vacancies currently available under the CP are part-time and what proportion this number represents of the total number of advertised vacancies under this scheme.

Mr. Alan Clark: There were about 17,000 unfilled part-time CP vacancies on 6 December, which was about 77 per cent. of the total number of unfilled vacancies Part-time jobs on the programme are defined as those involving work for less than 35 hours per week.

V90 N46

Youth Training WA

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett asked the Paymaster General how many 16 to 18-year-olds are (a) on the unemployment register, (b) in employment, excluding special training schemes and (c) in special training schemes, by scheme; and what percentage of the relevant age group these represent.

Mr. Alan Clark: The available information comes from different sources and refers to different dates, as follows:

(a) The number of persons aged 16-19 claiming unemployment benefit in Great Britain on 10 October 1985 was 535,697 (14.8 per cent. of all persons aged 16-19).

(b) The 1984 labour force survey estimates that the number of persons aged 16-19 in employment, excluding those on special employment and training measures, in Great Britain in spring 1984 was 1,651,000 (45.5 per cent. of all persons aged 16-19).

(c) The number of persons aged 16-19 covered by the most relevant special employment and training measures in Great Britain at the end of November 1985 is estimated as follows:

	Numbers (thousands)	As per cent. of all persons aged 116-19
Youth training scheme	301	8.7
Young workers scheme	58	1.7
Community programme	40	1.2
Community industry	7	0.2
Enterprise allowance scheme (aged 18-24)	13	n/a

	November 1985	November 1984
Community Industry	8,000	8,000
Community Programme*	168,000	129,000
Enterprise Allowance Scheme	51,000	39,000
Job Release Schemes	49,000	81,000
Job Splitting Scheme	290	1,008
Youth Training Scheme†	339,000	351,000
Young Workers Scheme	58,000	68,000

* Community programme started in October 1982.
† Youth training scheme started in April 1983.

Information is not available in the form requested for the number of adults on the training opportunities scheme. The table following shows "starts" and "completions" on the adult training programme, which began in April 1985 and the training opportunity scheme which preceeded it.

	Starts	Completions
April—November 1985	*117,611	†28,765
Financial Years		
1984-85	87,600	75,400
1983-84	80,100	62,000
1982-83	72,000	59,300
1981-82	71,200	61,400
1980-81	84,400	66,400

* All schemes.
† Job Training scheme only.

YTS WA

Mr. Thurnham asked the Paymaster General what representations he has received seeking to extend to two years the yts for all 18-year-old school leavers; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Trippier: I have not received any such representations. Our main concern has been with the training and prospects of 16 and 17-year-old school leavers, and that concern will be met by the expansion of YTS from April this year. It will offer two years' high quality training to 16-year-old school leavers and one year for 17-year-old school leavers, and the opportunity to gain a recognised qualification. This represents a major step forward for the age group.

There will be 18-year-olds on YTS, even though 18-year-old school leavers are not catered for; 18-year-olds have access to a range of Government schemes; and all our adult training programmes are open to people aged 18 and over.

Youth Custodies (Suicides) WA

Mr. Kilroy-Silk askedf the Sec State for the Home Department how many actual and attempted suicides there were in detention centres and youth custody centres, respectively, in any recent convenient period.

Mr. Mellor: Between 1 January 1984 and 31 March 1985, the latest period for which full information is available, there were 110 instances of non-fatal self-injury with apparent suicide in youth custody centres and five such instances in detention centres. There were no suicides in either youth custody or detention centres during this period. There has been one suicide in a youth custory centre since.

Community Programmes (Finance) WA

Mr. Gould asked the Paymaster General if he will approve sufficient increases in the operating costs of community programmes in their training budgets and in the wages of their employees to take account of the inflation rate since the inception of the community programmes.

Mr. Alan Clark: We keep under review the maximum levels of approved costs which can be reimbursed under the community programme and make changes whenever this would improve the cost-effective use of taxpayers' money.

V90 N47

YTS WA

Mr. Steel asked the Sec State for Scotland if he will list the Scottish local authorities not participating in yts.

Mr. Rifkind: There are five Scottish local authorities not participating in the present one year YTS. These are Gordon, Moray, Strathkelvin, Badenoch and Strathspey and Annandale and Eskdale District councils. The MSC is currently in negotiation with local authorities over participation in two-year YTS which begins on 1 April. Only Clydebank district council has notified the MSC that it will not be participating.

Mr. Steel asked the Sec State for Scotland what steps he proposes to take to seek to encourage Scottish local authorities to employ people in yts.

Mr. Rifkind: Local authorities in Scotland have been major participants in and have contributed greatly to the success of the existing one-year YTS. The arrangements governing the structure and funding of two-year YTS which begins on 1 April were arrived at after wide consultation with all the relevant national interests including those representing local authorities. Many local authorities have already decided to participate in the new YTS and I am confident that, following detailed discussion with the MSC, many others will do likewise.

Mr. Steel asked the Sc State for Scotland what reasons are given by Scottish and local authorities for not participating in yts.

Mr. Rifkind: Participation in the YTS by employers, local authorities and other sponsors is voluntary and is for these bodies alone to decide. I understand, however, that reasons for not participating can include such divrse considerations as adequacy of alternative provision and failure to secure trade union support. In relation to two-year YTS, Clydebank district council has indicated that the decision it has reached not to participate arises principly from concern about the new funding arrangements. However it will monitor developments and the decision does not preclude possible participation in YTS at a later date.

Mr. Steel asked the Sec State for Scotland if he will make a statement on yts in Scotland.

Mr. Rifkind: Since YTS was launched in 1983 in partnership with employers, trade unions, local authorites and others, it has helped well over 100,000 young people in Scotland to make the transition from school to the world of work. On 1 April, the new two-year YTS will be introduced in which the Government will be investing over £1 billion by 1987/88 — in this country. Reaction in Scotland to

the new YTS has for the most part been very supportive and encouraging and I am confident that the necessary places will be secured.

V91 N55

Job Creation WA

Ms. Clare Short asked the Paymaster General (1) what are the original sources (with approximate dates) from which the estimates of percentage impact on unemployment, shown in table 3.7.13 of "The Government's Expenditure Plans 1986-87 to 1988-89", Cmnd. 9702-II, are derived for each of the following employment measures; the cp, community industry, the job release scheme, the job splitting scheme and the young workers' scheme;

(2) what are the sources (with approximate dates) from which the estimates of the percentage impact on unemployment, contained in the special employment and training press notice, are derived for each of the following measures: the enterprise allowance scheme, the YTS and training in industry.

Mr. Lang: Relevant information is derived from on-going internal monitoring of the measures and from sample surveys conducted by external consultants. Copies of their reports are placed in the Library as soon as is practicable.

Ms. Clare Short asked the Paymaster General what is the percentage impact on unemployment of the enterprise allowance scheme, the YTS and training in industry assumed by his Department for the purposes of the estimated direct effect of the special employment and training measures shown in its monthly unemployment and vacancies and special employment and training measures press notice.

Mr. Lang: 69 per cent. in December. This depends on a number of uncertain assumptions and is a best estimate of the direct effects only.

Ms. Clare Short asked the Paymaster General when the estimate contained in the special employment and training press notice of the percentage impact on unemployment was last revised; and what was the reason for, and the effect of, the revision for each of the following measures: the cp, community industry, the job release scheme, the job splitting scheme, the young workers' scheme, YTS, training in industry and the enterprise allowance scheme.

Community Industry Scheme OA

Mr. Sean Hughes asked the Paymaster General if he has any plans to harmonise the disposable incomes of young persons engaged in the community industry scheme, on the one hand, and on YTS in its proposed second year, on the other.

Mr. Lang: I have no present plans to do so.

Mr. Sean Hughes asked the Paymaster General if he is satisfied with the level of recruitment of young persons into the community industry scheme; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Lang: Yes. In the last twelve months, 9,278 young employees have entered the scheme. During that time community industry maintained an occupancy rate of almost 97 per cent.

V91 N54

Community Programme WA

Mr. Grist asked the Sec State for Wales if he is satisfied with the operation of the cp in Wales; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Wyn Roberts: Yes. At the end of December some 12,090 people were employed on the cp in Wales and the MSC are confident of filling the 20,000 places allocated to Wales by June of this year.

Training WA

Mr. Gwilym Jones asked the Sec State for Wales if he is satisfied with the number of training places in Wales in the current year and the number planned for 1986-87; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Wyn Roberts: Yes. This year the MSC expects that around 10,200 adults will start on training courses. The provisional planned figure for next year is around 14,000, which represents a three-fold increase since 1985-85. The two-year YTS will commence in April and 27,000 young people are expected to participate in 1986-87.

V91 N57

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Rooker asked the Paymaster General to publish the latest figures for the ethnic origins of trainees recruited to the YTS by the construction industry training board, indicating what percentage each is of the total.

Mr. Trippier: The MSC is currently considering the extent to which information provided by managing agents and sponsors on the ethnic group of trainees on YTS can be made available. I shall write to the hon. Member as soon as I am in a position to do so.

V92 N60

Young Worker Scheme OA

Mr. John Fraser asked the Paymaster General what is the best available estimate of the number of new jobs which were created for young people as a result of the wage cuts induced by the young workers' scheme; and how many of these were previously adult jobs.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke: About 90,000 new jobs for young people resulted directly from the scheme, according to our latest estimates. None of this number involved the substitution of young people in place of older workers.

Mr. Fraser: Does not the evidence given to the Select Committee, including that from the Minister's Department, show that about 80 per cent. of the jobs that were found for young people came from older people? Is there not a more constructive way of providing jobs than throwing someone else off the roundabout?

Mr. Clarke: The figure that I gave is the one that we calculated, making allowance for any displacement that is caused by such a scheme. It was highly successful and helped to contribute to the fact that unemployment among young people has been decreasing steadily for the past three years.

Ms. Clare Short: The Paymaster General is misleading the House, I am sure inadvertently. The evidence shows clearly that about 80 per cent. of the jobs that were subsidised would have exisited anyway. Of the 10 per cent. of new jobs for young people, the overwhelming majority were adults' jobs. Does the Minister concede that, given these facts, his claim that exempting youngsters from the protection of wages councils will generate jobs is palpably false?

Mr. Clarke: All that I can say in response to the hon. Lady is that it depends on which facts and evidence one takes into account. The figure that I gave was reached by those who provided most of the material for the study of the young workers' scheme. After making allowances for inevitable displacement, the scheme created 90,000 new jobs. There is clear evidence of a reduction in youth unemployment, largely because we are returning to more realistic pay levels for school leavers and because of the growth of the two-year YTS.

YTS OA

Mr. Leighton asked the Paymaster General what will be the qualifications that trainees receive after the completion of the two-year YTS.

Mr. Trippier: Our aim is that all YTS trainees should have the opportunity to obtain or work towards a recognised vocational qualification. To help in this aim, we are establishing a new YTS certification board whose job will be to ensure that there are relevant qualifications suitable for trainees of all abilities.

Mr. Leighton: Following the advertising campaign referred to earlier, may I ask whether the Minister has any evidence that the Japanese are frightened by the progress of YTS in Britain? Will he admit that, were that to be the case, the scheme would have to reach the level of higher education? Does he agree that the credibility of YTS will depend upon the quality of training? Can he give us an assurance that, after two years' YTS, each trainee will receive a valuable qualification which will be a module towards a recognised vocational qualification?

Mr. Trippier: I do not know whether the Japanese are frightened by YTS, but they will be as impre-

ssed with it, as we Conservative Members. Of course, we are anxious that all people on the YTS scheme should have a certificate. They should receive certificates in the form that I mentioned in reply to an earlier question. As a result of the appointment of the new certification board, we hope to improve the qualification. In addition to the certificate, 39 per cent. of those who complete YTS courses qualify for other qualifications.

Mr. Greenway: Will my hon. Friend accept my thanks for the central role that he played in a highly successful conference on education and training which I promoted in my constituency yesterday?

Mr. Rogers: Get off your knees.

Mr. Greenway: Get of your knees. Does my hon. Friend agree that a central message from the conference was that education and training should be brought together? What will he do towards that end?

Mr. Trippier: That question gives me the opportunity to congratulate my hon. Friend on organising a seminar in this constituency, which was yet another example of what can be done. He brought together industrialists and educationalists, which is a major theme of Industry Year 1986.

Ms. Richardson: Does the Minister recognise that young women on YTS courses do not always get the same, limited, training as do young men, and that they often emerge with fewer qualifications? What can he do to improve this scheme and their chances?

Mr. Trippier: I am anxious to meet the point that the hon. Lady draws to my attention, I hope that the certification board will do that, but I shall consider that problem. If she wishes to raise specific examples with me, I shall be happy to consider them.

YTS OA

Mr. Sean Hughes asked the Paymaster General what progress has been made in promoting the YTS.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke: On 27 January my right hon. and noble Friend, together with the chairman of the MSC, the director general of the CBI and the general secretary of the TUC launched an advertising campaign to promote the new two-year YTS.

Mr. Hughes: Have not the Government yet again had to resort to using actors, this time to promote the YTS? Does that not demonstrate the implausibility of the miserable sums that are on offer?

Mr. Clarke: The advertising is necessary to ensure that we have people, including employers, coming forward to provide the training that we want and also to make young people generally aware of what is on offer now that we are going for a two-year good quality training programme available to all of them. I do not know what the hon. Member means by "miserable sums". By the year 1987-88, we shall have passed the £1 billion each year mark in spending on youth training.

Mr. Bellingham: Does my right hon. and learned Friend agree that it is imperative that the unions support the YTS? Is he aware that there are 50 youngsters engaged in YTS in Norfolk county council whose second year is being threatened by the National and Local Government Officers Association? Will my right hon. and learned Friend have a word with NALGO and give it a prod?

Mr. Clarke: The TUC supports the YTS and the scheme is run by the MSC, on which there are three trade union representatives as commissioners, including such leading figures as the general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union. I agree that some unions still prove to be difficult in practice in some localities, and NALGO is less than helpful. However, I do not have influence on NALGO that the Opposition might have if they took a more constructive view.

Mr. Foot: Has the right hon. and learned Gentleman had a chance to look at the matter that I raised with him two or three weeks ago - the extra burden that is being put on local authorities to bear part of the burden for the YTS? How much of the burden is being put on local authorities? When the transitional payments are exhausted, will the Minister take steps to ensure that the whole burden is borne by the central Exchequer rather than by local authorities with the highest unemployment in the land?

Mr. Clarke: Local authorities are supported in the same way as other employers, and the contribution made to the employers must reflect the fact that, certainly in the second year, the trainees are often adding some value to their service or business. One of the main problems faced by local authorities comes from NALGO, as my hon. Friend the Member for Norfolk, North-West (Mr. Bellingham) said, because payments to young trainees need to be topped up far above the necessary levels. Therefore, the local authorities saddle themselves with unnecessary wage levels. That is a matter between the local authorities and NALGO. There is no reason why central Government funding should contribute to such payments.

Mr. Terlezki: Does my right hon. and learned Friend find it very difficult to promote the YTS when the Opposition invariably try to discourage young people by stating that it is slave labour? They know nothing about slave labour whatsoever. They should encourage young people to join the YTS.

Ms. Clarke: I agree with my hon. Friend. The payment made to trainees on the YTS reflects the fact that they are in training. It is a realistic payment for those going straight from school and receiving their first training at work. Sixty per cent. of them go straight to jobs when they have completed their training. The Opposition's position is quite ridiculous. They say, through clenched teeth, that they support the two-year YTS, but then, as my hon. Friend says, they launch into destructive publicity which puts young people off.

Ms. Prescott: I congratulate the new Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Employment on joining the Front Bench. It coincides with a time when much of the responsibility of the Department is being transferred to another place.

When the Paymaster General had direct responsibility for the MSC, did he endorse the appointment of the Tory public relations agency. Saatchi and Saatchi, whose black propaganda reminded us at the election that Labour policies were not working when unemployment was a third of what it is today? Did the Paymaster General also endorse the propaganda in the national newspapers to the effect that apparently Japan has to look out for Spikey Dodds in a youth training scheme which has fewer resources, qualifications and job opportunities when compared with YTS in other countries?

Mr. Clarke: I have given the reason why we are promoting and advertising the YTS. We want the providers of good quality training and young people to know what is on offer, because they will benefit from it. It would be absurd to spend £1 billion on the programme and to spend nothing to promote the programme that that money makes available.

On the matter of Spikey Dodds and Japan, I think it is important to underline the fact that this country has to be competitive in an international market which is very often dominated by Japan. A better quality training for our young people and a more skilled work force will help us to achieve that.

Mr. Cyril Smith: I want to refer to the question of the right hon. Member for Blaenau Gwent (Mr. Foot) on the cost to local authorities of the YTS. In my constituency it is over £500,000 a year. If one accepts that authorities should contribute, can the Minister at least persuade his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Environment that such expenditure should not be subject to rate capping?

Mr. Clarke: Much local government expenditure does not arise directly from the YTS or the Government's rules for it. Such expenditure arises from the fact that local authorities give way to political pressure and pay wage rates to those being trained which are higher than necessary and higher than those provided by many private employers. I cannot stop local authorities from doing that. It is absurd to suggest that we should divert money from our training budget to subsidise local authorities which do that.

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Patrick Thompson asked the Secretary fo State for Defence if he will make a statement on the operation of YTS within the armed services.

Mr. John Lee: My noble Friend the Minister of State for Defence Support has today announced in another place that the armed services YTS is to be expanded from one to two years in line with changes to the civilian YTS.

Since the armed services YTS started in 1983 over 9,000 applications have been received with nearly 2,700 accepted. Total intake stands at over 2,200 with some 750 currently undergoing training. About 860 participants have so far transferred to regular engagements.

V92 N61

Training Courses WA

Mr. Tom Cox asked the Paymaster General if he has any plans to increase the present payment of

£125 to employers who wish to send work people on training courses; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Trippier: There are no plans to increase the £25 per person per day (up to a maximum of £1,000 per person) payable under the local training grants to employers scheme.

The discretionary grant is not intended to meet the full costs of training but to provide a worthwhile contribution to those employers awarded grants. Early evaluation of the scheme by the MSC shows that it effectively meets this aim. The scheme has proved very popular with employers. In 1985-86, over 2,900 firms have started their approved training programmes, which will help around 30,000 employees considerably more than was anticipated.

Community Programme WA

Mr. Beith asked the Paymaster General whether he has any plans to allow unemployed persons not in receipt of benefit to take up places on CP schemes.

Mr. Lang: We have no present plans to change the criteria for entry to the CP which give priority to those long-term unemployed people who are directly or indirectly in receipt of state benefits. Exceptions are allowed for managers, supervisors and other key workers with skills essential for the successful operation of a project and for whom no suitably qualified replacement is available for the priority group.

Mr. Geraint Howells asked the Paymaster General if he will make a statement on the funding available for the community programme.

Mr. Lang: The Government are providing significant resources for the CP amounting to some £700 million in 1985-86 and £1 billion in 1986-87. This should enable 300,000 people to benefit from the programme in a full year.

Orphans WA

Mr. John Mark Taylor asked the Secretary of State for Social Services what is his policy towards the role of the voluntary sector in providing care for orphans; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Whitney: Local authorities have a duty to receive into care any child who has neither a parent nor legal guardian and it is a matter for them to decide on the most appropriate placement for the child. Placement with a voluntary agency is one of a number of valued options available to local authorities.

Disabled School Leavers WA

Mr. Ashley asked the Paymaster General what action he is taking to reduce the unemployed of disabled school leavers.

Mr. Lang: Disabled school leavers have access to specialist careers officers within the local education authority careers service to help them find suitable training and employment. The careers services liaises closely with the specialist disablement resettlement officers based on local job centres, who can advise on the range of Government schemes run by the MSC to help disabled people overcome particular difficulties they may face in finding and keeping employment.

Two year YTS affords premium places for trainees with special needs and to provide opportunities in areas where insufficient training places are available. YTS will also provide an additional grant to fund places for the severely disabled; money to finance special assistance and adaptations; initial assessment courses and there are special eligibility concessions for the disabled and disadvantaged.

Apprenticeships WA

Mr. Ashley asked the Paymaster General if he will give figures for (a) Stoke on Trent, (b) the west midlands and (c) the United Kingdom showing the percentage change between 1979 and the most recent year for which figures are available for the number of young people starting apprenticeships.

Mr. Trippier: Information is not available in the form requested. The number of 16-year-old school leavers starting apprenticeships in England and Wales, including long term trainees on YTS, fell by 32 per cent. between 1979 and 1983. Comparable figures are not available for Stoke-on-Trent or for the west midlands.

The numbers entering traditional apprenticeships are becoming increasingly irrelevant as a measure of the real levels of skill training being undertaken as industry's skill needs change. For many industries, including the expanding new technology sector, apprenticeship is not the usual means of achieving full skills status. YTS already enables a substantial amount of initial skills training to be carried out, and the expanded two-year scheme will provide increased opportunity for flexible skills training relevant to employers' needs.

Child Care Law WA

Mr. Charles Morrison asked the Sec State Social Services how many responses he has so far received to his Department's consultation on its review of child care law; and, of these, how many referred to the need to establish a family court system.

Mr. Whitney: At 17 February, comments on the "Review of Child Care Law" had been received from 170 individuals and groups. Of these, 59 made reference to the need to establish a family court.

Child Prostitution WA

Mr. Alexander asked the Sec State Social Services if he will make a statement on the provision made for the rehabilitation of children involved in prostitution.

Mr. Whitney: Statutory and voluntary organisations provide a variety of services for children in need including those involved in prostitution. These would include counselling, family support and sometimes specialist accommodation.

Homelessness and Children in Care WA

Mr. Boyes asked the Sec State Social Services what study his Department has made of the relationship between homelessness and the reception of children in care.

Mr. Whitney: The Department has a continuing active programme of research into child care matters. Research into the possible links between homelessness, bad housing and reception of children into care has to be considered in the light of competing demands for limited resources. A study by Dr. Packman of Exeter university just completed included amongst other variables the housing situation of a sample of children entering care and of children considered for care but not received at that time. There are no plans for additional research in this area at present.

V93 N72

Students (Benefits) WA

Mr. Nicholas Baker asked the Sec State Social Services what would be the cost of paying supplementary benefit to students from the first signing day for which they are eligible; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Newton: Payment of supplementary benefit as a rule commences from the second day after the claimants' signing day. If students were to be paid from their signing day there would be some losers and some gainers but it is not possible to estimate the overall effect.

Child Spouses WA

Mr. Dickens asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department what is his policy on admitting child spouses to the United Kingdom.

Mr. Waddington: The present immigration rules provide for the admission of spouses subject to certain requirements. Immediate steps are being taken to change the immigration rules to prevent the entry as spouses of children under the age of 16.

Mr. Dickens asked the Sec State Home Department why Elham Bahrami was permitted to enter the United Kingdom from Iran as a spouse, despite being aged 12 years; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Waddington: Elham Bahrami was issued with a visa to come to this country at the British interests section of the Swedish embassy in Tehran under immigration rules, after it had been established that her marriage was valid according to the law of Iran and would be recognised as valid under English laws because both parties to the marriage were domiciled in Iran. Immediate steps are being taken to change the immigration rules to prevent the entry as spouses of children under the age of 16.

Mr. Dickens asked the Sec State Home Department how many child spouses are known to have been allowed to enter the United Kingdom in each of the last five years.

Mr. Waddington: It has never been thought necessary to keep statistics of the age of spouses entering the country but immediate steps are being taken to change the immigration rules to prevent the entry

as spouses of children under the age of 16.

School Leavers (Benefits) WA

Mr. Wainwright asked the Sec State Social Services what is the latest estimate for the number of 1985 school leavers who had their benefit cut as a result of leaving YTS prematurely or refusing to take up a place on the scheme; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Major: It is not possible to distinguish between school leavers and others. The number of young people who had their supplementary benefit reduced because they had without good cause (a) refused, or (b) left prematurely, a place on the YTS during the period 16 January 1985 to 14 January 1986 was : 338 and 5,427 respectively.

Community Programme WA

Mr. Steel asked the Paymaster General if he will make it his policy to increase the average wage of CP employees to £69 per week; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Lang: I refer the right hon. member to my reply on 19 February, at column 183. The average wage is under review.

Mr. Trevor Skeet asked the Paymaster General how many CP schemes have been submitted to the MSC for approval in the past year; and how many have been actually approved giving the total number of people covered by such schemes.

Mr. Lang: It is not possible, except at disproportionate cost, to identify the project applications submitted to the MSC in the past year and subsequently approved or rejected. However, the stock of projects in England has increased from 6,500 providing 104,500 jobs at the end of January 1985, to 8,100 providing 144,500 jobs on 31 January 1986.

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Deakins asked the Paymaster General to what the difference between the estimated cost of a two year YTS and an amount equal to double the current cost of a one-year cost of a one-year YTS is attributable; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Trippier: There are two main reasons why two-year YTS will not cost twice as much as one-year YTS. First, not all those who enter two-year YTS will stay for a second year, even though entitled to, and therefore the number of trainees on the new scheme will be less than double the number on the existing scheme. Secondly, we expect employers to increase their contribution to training costs in a two-year YTS.

Mr. Deakins asked the Paymaster General what is the average annual cost to Her Majesty's Government of each trainee on a one-year YTS; what will be the average annual cost on a two-year YTS; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Trippier: The average cost per filled place of one-year YTS In 1985-86 is estimated at around £2,800 per year. The corresponding cost for two-year YTS in 1986-87 is expected to be around £2,600 per year.

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Lawler asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science what plans there are to integrate educational qualifications with the two-year YTS.

Mr. Chris Patten: The MSC, having consulted the Education Departments, has established a YTS certification board under the chairmanship of Mr. Peter Reay of Cadbury Schweppes plc. Members of the board are representatives of the City and Guilds of London Institute, the Business and Technician Education Council, the Royal Society of Arts and the Scottish Vocational Education Council.

It will be for that board to secure co-ordination of qualifications available within YTS to ensure that every trainee has the opportunity to progress towards an appropriate qualification. Such qualifications may be those offered by the organisations in membership of the board, or may be those offered by others. The MSC is particularly aware of the need to ensure that qualifications such as O-levels (and, from 1988, GCSE) and A-levels are available to those trainees for whom these represent suitable avenues for progress in working life.

School Leavers WA

Mr. Wainwright asked the Paymaster General how many 16-year-olds 1985 school leavers are not taking advantage of a place on the YTS, and are currently registered as unemployed; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Ian Lang: In January 1986 there were an estimated 100,000 young people in Great Britain included in the count of unemployment claimants who left school in 1985 aged 16. Most remain eligible to take advantage of the YTS: some were waiting to take up a YTS place allocated to them and others can be expected to participate later on. In addition, some members of the group will already have taken part in the YTS since leaving school.

YTS Inspectorate OA

Mr. Michie asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science if he will make a statement about the relationship of Her Majesty's Inspectorate to the YTS Inspectorate being established within the MSC.

The Minister of State, Department of Education and Science (Mr. Chris Patten): The two organisations will be entirely separate. Contracts between them will develop as the pattern of work of the training standards advisory service becomes established. I am confident that the present constructive relationship between Her Majesty's Inspectorate and the MSC will continue.

Mr. Michie: Is the Minister aware that there is growing concern in education and training circles that a separate and distinctive inspectorate is likely to encourage further division between the two rather than what we all wish - much more co-operation. It also compounds suspicion that there is likely to be a difference in standards between education and the YTS.

Mr. Patten: Those suspicions are not well founded. Obviously there is some overlap between the functions of the two bodies and there is a considerable need for liaison. I do not think it should be impossible to achieve that greater liaison.

Mr. Sheerman: The Minister, in one of his illustrious speeches, has called for education and training to be part of the same thing - learning. Why, then, are the Government to set up a new kind of inspectorate that is different does not talk on an intimate basis to the other and is not part of the same body? Why can we not have one inspectorate for all kinds of educational training?

Mr. Patten: I am glad that the hon. Gentleman reads my speeches. I do not think that it should be impossible to secure greater liaison. I think there is a slight difference between on-the-job and off-the-job training. It is appropriate that there should be different bodies.

YTS OA

Mr. Hoyle asked the Sec State for Education and Science what recent representations he has received on the educational content of YTS.

Mr. Chris Patten: My right hon. Friend has received no recent representations on this aspect of YTS.

Mr. Hoyle: Does the Minister not realise that there is only 20 weeks off-the-job training on a two year YTS course as against the 26 weeks recommended by educationists and indeed the MSC model schemes. Does he not agree that the lack of educational content makes a nonsense of the so-called quality training that he is seeking to achieve. It would be impossible to achieve.

Mr. Patten: No. The figure of 20 weeks off-the-job education and training agreed by the MSC for the two-year YTS is a minimum requirement. Longer periods will be encouraged when these are suggested by the trainee's needs when a vocational course is pursued.

Mr. Lawler: Unlike my hon. Friend I do not have a brief to read from. Will my hon. Friend say whether the Certificate of Pre-Vocational Education will be widely available to YTS trainees during the course of their two year scheme?

Mr. Patten: We hope to develop CPVE in that way. I think I am right in saying that so far about 15,000 students in about 1,000 institutions are on the CPVE course. That is a good start and I hope to see better achievements next year.

Mr. Sheerman: The Minister is being rather complacent in his answer. Is it not a fact that the model scheme that the MSC pioneered had a 26-week off-the-job educaitonal content? That was an important part. Is it not worrying that we read in the papers this morning that the only young member of the Youth Training Board is considering resigning because he is worried about the whole provision and the quality of YTS and about whether there will be a guarantee that what a YTS trainee is prom-

ised is delivered by the employer.

Mr. Patten: I do not accept what the hon. Gentleman has said. The intention of the two-year YTS is to enable young people to get the chance to work for a qualification, and I hope that we shall be able to achieve that.

Contraceptive Advice (Young People) WA

Mr. Hayes asked the Sec State Social Services when he will issue revised guidance on contraceptive advice and treatment for young people under 16 years; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Hayhoe: The guidance is being issued today. It takes account of the recent House of Lords decision on the provision of contraceptive advice and treatment to girls under 16. It stresses the importance of involving parents when contraceptive advice is being sought by young people under 16 and states that it should be most unusual for a doctor or other professional to provide advice or treatment in relation to contraception to such a young person without parental knowledge or consent. It acknowledges that there will, exceptionally, be cases where it is not possible to persuade a young person to allow her parents to be involved - for example, when family relationships have broken down. In such cases, a doctor or other professional would be justified in giving advice and treatment without parental consent or knowledge, provided he is satisfied on the following points:

i. that the young person could understand his advice, and had sufficient maturity to understand what was involved in terms of the moral, social and emotional implications;

ii. that he could neither persuade the young persons to inform the parent, nor to allow him to inform them, that contraceptive advice was being sought;

iii. that the young person would be very likely to begin, or to continue having sexual intercourse with or without contraceptive treatment;

iv. that, without contraceptive advice or treatment, the young person's or mental health, or both would be likely to suffer;

v. that the young person's best interests required him to give contraceptive advice, treatment or both, without parental knowledge or consent.

I am placing a copy of the full text of the guidance in the Library.

Young Persons (Financial Support) OA

Mr. Marlow: I am sure that my right hon. Friend, like myself, is seeking common ground as much as possible on this issue. As any young person between the ages of 16 and 18 has the opportunity of education, the youth training scheme or a job, is it not time that the money that is spent in this area, through supplementary benefit or unemployment pay, was spent in other directions? Do not the sensitive souls on the Opposition Benches also agree that that money could be better spent on the elderly and other people?

Mr. MacGregor: Young people who refuse an appropriate training place - I am thinking of the YTS on which a considerable amount of the expenditure on those aged between 16 and 18 goes - already face a substantial financial penalty. If they refuse a place, it will result in the loss of unemployment benefit for a period, for those who are entitled to it, and payment of a substantially reduced rate of supplementary benefit. Therefore, it makes sense to concentrate expenditure on YTS. I hope that, in view of the penalties for those who do not take up places, there will be a substantial take-up.

Motor Vehicles (Children) WA

Mr. Patrick Thompson asked the Secretary of State for Transport how many children aged under 14 years were killed or seriously injured in a motor vehicle in the last three full years for which figures are available.

Mr. Peter Bottomley: Child* motor vehicle occupants, killed or seriously injured, 1982-1984:

Great Britain

	1982	1983	1984
Killed	70	76	74
Seriously injured	1,321	1,142	1,295

* aged between 0 and 13, inclusive

Mr. Patrick Thompson asked the Secretary of State for Transport what representations he has had suggesting the introduction of legislation concerning the restraining of children in the back of motor vehicles.

Mr. Peter Bottomly: The regulations made in January will require the fitting of rear seat belts or child restraints to all new cars manufactured from this October. A small number of individuals and road safety organisations have suggested that we should also introduce legislation requiring the wearing of rear belts or restraints. Compulsory fitting will make it easier for parents to follow the safe course and use restraints in the back of the car. It is sensible and often easy to fit rear seat belts or child restraints to older cars.

V93 N73

Youth Training WA

Mr. Kirkwood asked the Paymaster General if he will make a statement on the future of the youth training board of the MSC.

Mr. Trippier: The MSC agreed at its meeting in October 1985 to extend appointments to the Youth Training Board to June 1986 so that the future role of the board could be considered in the light of proposals for the development of YTS. The commission will again consider the reconstitution of the board in the near future.

Mr. Kirkwood asked the Paymaster General, pursuant to the answer of 24 February, *Official Report*, column *452*, what encouragement the MSC proposes to give to managing agents to give trainee agreements contractual status; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Trippier: None. Managing agents will make their own decisions on this. It is, however, the MSC's view that the purpose of the training agreement is to ensure that all trainees have full and clear information while on it; and that contractual status is not essential for this purpose.

Training and Employment

Mr. Wigley asked the Secretary of State for Wales how many of the long-term unemployment people who have been on MSC schemes in (a) Gwynedd and (b) Wales have subsequently found full-time employment in each year since the schemes inception.

Mr. Wyn Roberts: Available information relates to Wales as a whole and is contained in the MSC's second community programme follow-up survey, of November 1985, which covered entrants to the scheme between April and June 1983. This indicated that 21 per cent. of participants in Wales left to go straight into full-time employment.

Youth Training WA

Mr. Wigley asked the Secretary of State for Wales how many young people in Wales who have followed YTSs, as a percentage of the total number each year since their inception, have found full-time employment.

Mr. Wyn Roberts: Information is not available on this basis. Until October 1985 the only information available came from a 15 per cent. sample survey of leavers between July and September 1984. This showed that three months after leaving, 49 per cent. had entered full-time employment. Since July 1985 a monthly 100 per cent. follow-up is carried out, the first survey results being available in October 1985. The results were as follows:

Month of leaving	Percentage in a full-time job
April and May 1995	43
April to June 1985	43
April to July 1985	45
April to August 1985	47
April to September 1985	46

V93 N75

Wider Opportunities Training Scheme WA

Mr. Thurnham asked the Paymaster General how many unemployed people have taken part in the wider opportunities training scheme since its inception; what percentage of those taking part subsequently found employment and what was the individual cost of providing each job.

Mr. Trippier: The wider opportunities training programme was introduced in April 1985 as one of the MSC's adult training programmes. It built on work preparation, its predecessor under the training opportunities scheme. At January 1986, 41,300 unemployed people were in or had completed training under the WOTP. Follow-up results for the first six months of 1985-86 show that 51 per cent. of trainees had found employment or further training three months after completion of their course, at an estimated cost of £1,337 for each person helped.

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Wainwright asked the Paymaster General what is the latest estimate of the number of YTS places lost as a result of cutback in MSC funding of mode B placement schemes in (a) England, (b) Yorkshire and Humberside and (c) West Yorkshire; and how many redundancies are involved in each case.

Mr. Trippier: There will be some reductions in mode B1 type provision under two-year YTS, but we intend to meet the needs of young people and the number of premium and ITEC places next year will be substantially higher than the number of filled B1 places this year.
The figures are:-

	England	Yorkshire & Humberside	West Yorkshire
Number of approved mode B1 places at 28 February 1986	55,193	7,072	2,893
Highest level of filled B1 places in 1985-86	43,040	5,297	1,933
Latest estimate of planned premium & ITEC First and Second Year provision, 1986-87	57,907	7,217	2,803

No information is available about how many redundancies may be declared by providers of mode B1 schemes.

Mr. Kirkwood asked the Paymaster General if he will make a statement on the details of the trainee agreement for YTS trainees.

Mr. Trippier: The trainees agreement will provide trainees with information about their training programme and about the terms and conditions under which they will participate. The scope of this information is currently the subject of discussion between officials of the MSC and interested parties, included the CBI and TUC.

Youth Training WA

Mr. Hirst asked the Secretary of State for Scotland how many YTS places are currently taken up by Scottish local authorities; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Allan Stewart: Local authorities in Scotland at present have approval for 11,499 places under one year YTS, 9,143 of which are currently filled. Scottish local authorities have been major participants in and have contributed that the great majority will support the new two-year YTS which starts on 1 April 1986.

Dr. Godman asked the Secretary of State for Scotland how many individuals are currently receiving YTS training in Greenock and Port Glasgow; and how many of these trainees are females.

Mr. Allan Stewart: The information is not available in the precise form requested. However, in the local authority district of Inverclyde, which includes Greenock and Ports Glasgow, some 813 individuals, of whom 368 are females, currently receive YTS training.

V94 N80

Youth Employment OA

Mr. Pike asked the Paymaster General if he will make a statement on the levels of youth employment.

Mr. Trippier: Our youth training measures will help young people to take advantage of the extra jobs which our economic policies are producing.

Mr. Pike: Are the Government not concerned about the very serious high level of real unemployment among the young? Are they not concerned about those who will leave the youth training scheme in April? No provision has been made for them. They will face real unemployment. When will the Government take positive steps to get the young people of this country into jobs?

Mr. Trippier: I cannot believe that the hon. Gentleman heard the replies that were given by my right hon. and learned Friend about the reduction in the level of unemployment among the young. Between January 1985 and January 1986 there was a reduction of 10,900 in the number of young people who are out of work. Far fewer young people are out of work this year than were out of work last year. That is a smaller proportion of the total number of people who are unemployed.

Mr. Nicholas Baker: Will my hon. Friend draw to the attention of a wider audience the extraordinary potential for developing self-employment and encouraging enterprise that the Genesis programme offers within the YTS: Is my hon. Friend able to assure me that the Genesis programme has a secure future?

Mr. Trippier: I have been very impressed of what I have seen of the Genesis programme? It is a management agency which is trying to develop the ethos of self-employed among YTS trainees. Many of those who are on the scheme have set up in business on their own account. I understand that some of them are employing others. The MSC is working on a module which will try to develop and strengthen enterprise within the YTS programme.

Mr. Janner: Does the Minister understand that the continuing and cavalier dismissal of the recommendations of the Select Committee on Employment concerning youth unemployment and general unemployment is disgraceful and that his right hon. and learned Friend has again said that many of the proposals are impracticable? However the Government may massage the unemployment figures, the fact is that this Government are presiding over the highest level of youth and other unemployment in the history of this country and that they are doing very little about it.

Mr. Trippier: I have adequately covered the hon. and learned Gentleman's last point. There has been a reduction in the number of unemployed young people under the age of 18. We are not in any way treating in a cavalier fashion the Select Committee's recommendations. They will receive our full consideration. However, what we want to know and what my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary to the Treasury wants to know from the right hon. Member for Birmingham, Sparkbrook (Mr. Hattersley) is who will pay the bill at the end of the day?

Mr. Greenway: Does my hon. Friend agree that most of the young unemployed had few or no qual-

ifications when they left school and that the teachers' strike has not helped them? Will his Department do everything possible to bring the teachers' industrial action to an early end?

Mr. Speaker: Order. That is very wide of the question.

Mr. Trippier: I am grateful to you, Mr. Speaker, for drawing my hon. Friend's attention to the fact that that is not a matter for me. However, the point raised earlier by my hon. Friend is a matter for me. There is clear recognition by the Government that our young work force lacks skills. There is a shortage of young people trained in skills, and we have therefore designed programmmes and schemes to cope with that.

Mr. Sheerman: May I puncture the Minister's complacency by telling him that one third of a million young people are unemployed and have never ever been employed? Is he aware that it would take a tripling of the community programme to cater for those up to the age of 25? What does the Government propose to do about the one third of a million young people who have never worked?

Mr. Trippier: We are by no means complacent about the level of youth unemployment. We have been working hard trying to develop schemes and programmes to help those youngsters get jobs. We are clearly on the right lines, as shown by the figures that have been given by my right hon. and learned Friend and by myself.

Enterprise Allowance Scheme

Mr. Lawler asked the Paymaster General what is the number and percentage of the total of people on the enterprise allowance scheme under 25 years of age.

Mr. Trippier: On 31 January 1986 there were 13,449 people - 25.6 per cent. - under 25 years of age out of a total of 52,516 currently in receipt of the enterprise allowance.

Mr. Lawler: I thank my hon. Friend for that encouraging reply which shows that the spirit of enterprise is flourishing among young people. Is that proportion increasing? Will my hon. Friend assure the House that every opportunity will be made available to trainees to give them guidance and encouragement on how to become self-employed and how to set up their own businesses?

Mr. Trippier: The figure has increased since the scheme went nationwide on 1 August 1983. The number of young people involved in the enterprise allowance scheme has increased for 17.2 per cent. to 25.6 per cent. I shall certainly give my hon. Friend the assurance that he seeks. A number of programmes are already developing, even in YTS, in which we are trying to stimulate the expansion of enterprise. A number of those youngsters are now working for themselves.

Bellingham: Is my hon. Friend aware that a significant number of youngster in King's Lynn have applied to join the scheme but have been turned down? Does he agree that, although this is an excellent scheme, the criteria should be relaxed?

Mr. Trippier: The criteria will be relaxed as from 1 April when we are reducing the qualifying period for 13 weeks to 8 weeks. I make no apology for the fact that we still want anyone who applies for the EAS to have access to £1,000. If people do not have the wit to get access to £1,000, I very much doubt that they will ever have the wit to run successful businesses of their own.

V94 N82

YTS WA

Mr. Lawler asked the Paymaster General if he is satisfied with the progress being made in Bradford to provide sufficient places under the two-year YTS due to commense on 1 April; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Trippier: Yes. Progress in setting up two-year YTS in Bradford has been excellent. Already by 25 February, the latest date for which statistics are available, 92 per cent. of the required places were definitely or likely to be provided. Around 93 per cent. of basic places have been found, together with 86 per cent. of premium places, which are designed to help young people and parts of the country with special needs. The position is being regularly monitored.

V94 N87

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Nellist asked the Paymaster General what would be the value of the present day YTS allowance if it had been increased since its inception in 1978 by *(a)* the rise in earnings and *(b)* the rise in the retail price index.

Mr. Trippier: The YOP allowance was £19.50 in 1978. If it has been increased in line with movements in the retail price index it would now be £38.05; if increased in line with movements in the average earnings index it would be £44.06.

The current YTS allowance is £27.30, and the allowance for second year trainees will be £35 from 1 April this year. Allowance levels must reflect the fact that trainees are only learning, and YTS provides substantially upgraded training compared with the YOP.

Mrs. McCurley asked the Secretary of State for Scotland whether he will announce the fees to be charged to students attending Scottish institutions other than universities in the academic year 1986-87.

Mr. Rifkind: For the academic year 1986-87, I have prescribed the following fee levels for home students and for students from other European Community countries on full-time advanced courses in the central institutions and colleges of education (fees for 1985-86 are shown in brackets):

	Fee levels	
Postgraduate courses	£1,680	(£1,632)
Undergraduate and equivalent courses	£536	(£520)

Fees for home and other European Community students on courses at local authority colleges are the responsibility of the local authorities. I understand that the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities has decided to recommend fees as follows:

	Fee levels	
Postgraduate courses	£1,580	(£1,632)
Advanced full-time courses	£536	(£520)
Non-advanced full-time courses	£325	(£265)

For overseas students the Government's policy is that students should pay fees that cover the cost of their education. Local authorities and institutions are free to determine the fees to be charged in accordance with that policy, and in the light of their own circumstances.

I understand that the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities has decided to recommend to local authorities the following fees for students at local authority colleges paying the overseas rate who began their courses on or after 1 September 1980:

Youth Training WA

Mr. Colvin asked the Secretary of State for Defence if he will estimate how many YTS places will be taken up by his Department during the current year.

Mr. Lee: In 1985-86 the Ministry of Defence offered 1,126 places on the civilian YTS and, by the end of February, 672 places had been allocated. The armed services YTS, which runs parallel to but separate from the civilian scheme, offered some 2,200 places in 1985-86 of which 1,006 had been allocated by the end of February 1986.

Youth Opportunities Programme WA

Mr. Sledgemore: asked the Paymaster General what was the real value of the youth opportunities programme allowance in 1979 compared with the current YTS allowance.

Mr. Trippier: The YOP allowance in 1979 was £20.55 per week, equivalent to about £35 at today's prices. The current YTS allowance is £27.30 and the allowance for second-year trainees will be £35 from 1 April this year. Allowance levels must reflect the fact that trainees are only learning, and YTS

provides substantially upgraded training compared with the YOP.

Youth Unemployment

Mr. Wareing asked the Paymaster General if he will make a statement on the current level of youth unemployment on Merseyside.

Mr. Trippier: On 9 January 1986, the latest date for which figures are available, the number of unemployed persons aged under 25 years in the Merseyside metropolitan county was 54,875.

Schools (Police Liaison) WA

Mr. Forth asked the Sec State for the Home Department what initiatives are being taken to increase and improve police liaison with schools.

Mr. Giles Shaw: A joint working party of the Association of Chief Police Officers and the Society of Education Officers has been examining the nature and extent of police involvement with schools and a guidance document designed to encourage co-operation and understanding at local level is to be published shortly.

Students (Benefits) WA

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett asked the Sec State for Social Service, what he intends should be understood by the expression "privately rented accommodation".

Mr. Newton: In the context of the response to the hon. Member of Leeds, West (Mr. Meadowcroft) on 27 February "privately rented accommodation" refers to accommodation other than university or college accommodation.

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett asked the Sec State for Social Services how the figures of 140,000 and 275,000 students, given in the answer of 27 February, by the Minister of State for Social Security for the numbers who will, respectively, benefit or be adversely affected by the proposed changes to students' entitlement to welfare, were arrived at.

Mr. Newton: Estimates of the numbers of students likely to gain or lose from the Government's proposals to change certain aspect of their entitlement to supplementary benefit, unemployment benefit and housing benefit were based on the numbers signing on as unemployed, and the estimated numbers claiming housing benefit.

Young People (Offences) WA

Mr. Woodall asked the Sec State for the Home Department what was the percentage increase in the number of young people under 21 years cautioned for, or found guilty of, burglary between 1979 and 1984.

Mr. Wareing asked the Sec State for the Home Department how many young people aged under 21 years were cautioned for, and found guilty of, burglary in 1979 and 1984, respectively.

Mr. Terry Lewis asked the Sec State for the Home Department how many young people under 21 years were cautioned for, or found guilty of, indictable offences in 1979 and 1984, respectively.

Mr. Hurd: In 1979 just under 275,000 offenders under 21 were cautioned for or found guilty of indictable offences; the figure for 1984 was nearly 305,000. Of these, 169,000 in 1979 and just under 178,000 in 1984 were offences of theft or handling stolen goods. For burglary, the figures were 49,400 in 1979 and 59,900 in 1984, an increase of 21 per cent.

Mr. Lofthouse asked the Sec State for the Home Department what was the percentage increase in the number of young people under 21 years cautioned for, or found guilty of, indictable offences between 1979 and 1984.

Mr. Mellor: 11 per cent.

Ms. Richardson asked the Sec State for the Home Department what was the percentage increase in the number of young people aged under 21 years cautioned for, or found guilty of, theft between 1979 and 1984.

Mr. Mellor: Five per cent.

Child Benefit WA

Mr. Frank Field asked the Sec State for Social Services if he will estimate the level at which child benefit would be set if, compared with the 1978-79 level, it were to maintain the increase in tax-free income of taxpayers with children at the same level as that of taxpayers without children.

Mr. Newton: For a married couple with children under age 11, the current level of child benefit would need to be £6.91 a child a week to match the November 1978 level of child benefit (revalued at November 1985 prices) plus child tax allowance at the 1978-79 level increased by a percentage equal to the increase in that tax allowance for married couples without children over the same period.

Student Grants WA

Mr. Ron Davies asked the Sec State for Wales if he will state the number of discretionary grants approved for *(a)* those students enrolled in Welsh universities and *(b)* those students enrolled in Welsh polytechnics in each of the last five years.

Mr. Wyn Roberts: Discretionary awards are the responsibility of individual local education authorities. Neither the Welsh Office nor the Department of Education and Science collects this information.

General Certificate of Secondary Education WA

Mr. Baldry asked the Sec State for Education and Science what money has been committed to date by his Department on the general certificate of secondary education; and how much he expects local authorities to contribute thereto.

Mr. Chris Patten: The Department is already making a substantial contribution to the programme of in-service training for the GCSE of £19.5 million. In answer to a question from my hon. Friend the Member of Norwich, North (Mr. Thompson) on 12 March at column 542, my right hon. Friend said that he will be making available a further £200,000 to the GCSE examining groups to enable the provision of further training seminars. For books and equipment for the GCSE, my right hon. Friend also announced on 13 March that he proposed supporting 120 million of expenditure by education support grant over the years 1986-87 and 1978-88 to help secondary schools purchase necessary additional books and equipment. This will allow local education authorities to increase expenditure in these areas but precise demands will vary between school and local education authorities.

Mr. Baldry asked the Sec State for Education and Science when the timetable for the introduction of the general certificate of secondary education was decided; and what representations were received from teachers' unions at that time.

Mr. Chris Patten: My right hon. Friend announced the timetable for the introduction of the GCSE in a statement to the House on 20 June 1984 at columns 303-4. No representations were received from teachers' associations at that time.

Youth Training WA

Mr. Craigen asked the Sec State for Scotland if he is considering the representations made by the chairman of Glasgow area manpower board on the problems facing the voluntary sector in funding the two year YTS; and if he will consider meeting the board on this matter.

Mr. Allan Stewart: My right hon. and learned Friend and I have already written in considerable detail in response to the several particular and general representations which have been made to us on this matter. Also, the chairman of the MSC sent a full reply to the chairman of the Glasgow area manpower board on 10 March in response to his letter of 18 February. There is nothing which I can usefully add to what has already been said. I am assured that, despite the regrettable loss of some YTS places in the voluntary sector, in Scotland the great majority of managing agents will continue to participate, thus ensuring the necessary total number of places and an adequate balance of provision. In the circumstances no useful purpose would be served by a meeting with the board.

Polytechnics (Speeches) WA

Mr. Stern asked the Sec State for Education and Science if he has any intention of removing from the governing bodies of polytechnics the power to exercise control over invitations to speak on polytechnic property.

Mr. Walden: This must be seen as an aspect of the day-to-day management of an institution, and as such the responsibility of the director of a polytechnic for which he is accountable to the governors. They in turn carry responsibility for the general conduct of the institution. My right hon. Friend has no present plan to alter this situation.

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