

YOUTH the journal of
critical analysis
AND POLICY

ISSN 0262 - 9798

NO. 19 WINTER 1986/87

YOUTH the journal of critical analysis AND POLICY

Youth and Policy
ISSN 0262-9798

'Burnbrae'
Black Lane
Blaydon Burn
Blaydon
Tyne and Wear NE21 6DS

Youth and Policy, a non-profit making journal, is devoted to the serious critical study of issues in Youth affairs and the analysis of policy concerning Youth in society. All of the Editorial Group work on a voluntary basis.

Editorial Group:

John Carr	Muriel Sawbridge	Malcolm Jackson
Judith Cocker	Jean Spence	Tony Jeffs
Sarah Marshall	John Teasdale	Ross Cowan
Chris Parkin	Richard Jenks	Barry Troyna

Thanks to Jackie Kelly and Sandra Leventon who assist the group.

Youth and Policy is published quarterly. Details concerning subscriptions and procedures for submission of material, including advertising copy, can be found on the inside back cover, and are available on separate leaflets by request.

Material from the journal may be extracted at any length for study and quotation. Please acknowledge the author and Youth and Policy.

The views expressed in Youth and Policy are those of the respective contributors and do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the editorial group.

Whilst every effort is made to check factual material, the editorial group are not responsible for statistical errors in material accepted in good faith from reputable sources. Where possible information will be updated in future issues and any errors corrected.

Editor's address:
'Burnbrae', Black Lane, Blaydon Burn, Blaydon, Tyne and Wear NE21 6DS.

Typeset and Printed by: Mayfair Printers
Print House, William Street, Sunderland,
Tyne & Wear SR1 1UL. Telephone (0783) 79326

contents

NO.19 WINTER 1986/87

	page
JIM RIORDAN political socialisation & young people's organisations in the ussr	1
R. SMITH the practice of diversion	10
JOHNATHAN BRADSHAW, DOROTHY LAWTON & KENNETH COOKE income and expenditure of teenagers and their families	15
SARAH HARGREAVES & WARREN FEEK feature review – surviving simulation	20
JOHN ASTLEY youth service policy making in the 1950's	23
ALAN JONES farewell to robbins? higher education in a lower resource age	31
RUTH LEVITAS 'free speech' or 'no platform'?	37
BERNARD DOSWELL participation: the reality	42
Working Space	45
reviews	46
monitor	51
contributors	Inside back cover

political socialisation & young people's organisations in the ussr

JIM RIORDAN

The Soviet children's and young people's movements are one of the links in the chain of socialising agencies that shape the values and behaviour of young people:

the entire country teaches children, brings them up, tempers and cares for them, and enriches them culturally. Each link in mature socialist society, however, be it family or school, cultural or health institution, social organisation or mass media, has its own specific part to play, its place and designation in regard to children.⁽¹⁾

Unlike young people's organisations in the West, those of the Soviet Union embrace virtually **all** young people of school age, it is based on the school; it has no rivals and the values it seeks to instil fully coincide with those of other official agencies. What is more, its goals are explicitly political. As Lenin put it in his policy-forming address to the Young Communist League (Komsomol) in 1920, "It is the job of the Young League ... to educate communists. The whole purpose of training, educating and teaching young people today is to imbue them with communist ethics".⁽²⁾

While schooling is basically, though not exclusively, concerned with academic learning (**obuchenie**), the children's organisations are largely concerned with character training (**vospitanie**). As the early Soviet educationalist Nadezhda Krupskaya once put it, "while schools focus attention on study (**uchoba**), the Pioneer movement focuses on character training (**vospitanie**). The two are closely connected, they complement one another, they intertwine, yet nonetheless constitute two separate entities".⁽³⁾ In fact, the relationship between school and the children's movement, between **obuchenie** and **vospitanie** has shifted over the years and even today is not always clearly differentiated.

In the early Soviet years, some eager young communists had put forward the slogan of 'Down with school!', campaigning for the transfer of education to the children's movement. Krupskaya rebuked them, pointing out that there had to be a close alliance (**smychka**) between school and the children's movement which

provides school with new child material. The Pioneer movement immeasurably enhances in children an awareness of their human worth and their desire for and interest in knowledge, developing a serious attitude to study and disciplining them. The teacher finds it much easier to work with such children.⁽⁴⁾

All the same, up to the 1930s, the Pioneers had a residential and occupational base, possessing only 'outposts' (**vorposty**) in school. But from the educational reform of 1931, the Pioneer base moved to schools: the first seven forms were assigned to the Pioneers, forms eight-ten to the Komsomol. Both were expected to encourage study and good conduct.⁽⁵⁾

What is the young people's movement?

It is a vital link in the chain of socialisation, it also forms a three-link chain in its own right, encompassing young people from the age of seven to 28, as follows:

1. The Octobrists (**Oktyabryata**): 6-9 (forms 1-3)
2. The Pioneers (**Pionery**): 10-15 (forms 4-8)
3. The Komsomol: 16-28 (forms 9-11).

Virtually all young people in the relevant age groups are members of the Octobrists and Pioneers. In 1984, the Pioneers had a membership of 19,506,000;⁽⁶⁾ but Komsomol membership in 1983 was 41,802,565 or roughly 60 per cent of the 16-28 year olds.⁽⁷⁾ Membership diminishes with age and Soviet sources are vague over the exact membership figures: one source gives 90 per cent of school-leavers as members,⁽⁸⁾ another cites 80 per cent of 16-17 year olds,⁽⁹⁾ yet another over 75 per cent of Komsomol-age schoolchildren,⁽¹⁰⁾ whilst a fourth gives a figure of "more than 70 per cent".⁽¹¹⁾ Apparently a significant and growing number of young people see their **rites de passage** not extending beyond the Pioneers to the Komsomol.

The Pioneers lead the Octobrists, the Komsomol leads the Pioneers, and the Communist Party leads the Komsomol, with young people moving naturally from one organisation to the next as they grow up. Their programmes, tailored to the needs and desires of specific age groups, are said to be based on the psychological characteristics of each age group, as determined by educational psychologists. This **Orienter** (Orientation) Programme divides young people into five age groups: 6-9, 10-11, 12-13, 14-15 and 15+, with recommendations for youth training via the appropriate youth organisation for each group.

The Octobrists

Soon after commencing school, the child automatically becomes an Octobrist. The name is taken from the first seven-year old members who joined on 4 August 1924, seven years after the October 1917 Revolution, two years

after the formation of the Pioneers and six years after the Komsomol. Today, the initiation ceremony, known as the 'Little Red Star Ceremony', traditionally takes place on 7 November, the anniversary of the Revolution. It is a festive occasion to which adult guests of honour are invited and for which Pioneers put on a concert, perhaps inviting the novitiates "to tea and cakes prepared by the girl Pioneer leaders", as a Pioneer Handbook puts it.⁽¹²⁾

During September and October prior to the ceremony children are prepared for membership, the aim being to make membership a special occasion, and an honour to be earned. In that two-month period they learn about the Revolution, their country's revolutionary history, Lenin, and living in the collective (they may hear the story of little Vovka who was nasty to everyone so that no one wanted to play with him; even the grown ups and animals shunned him and he found himself alone ... the most terrible thing in the world. He became ashamed and learned that he could not live without people, apart from the collective).⁽¹³⁾ The accent in this early period of character training is on group play and games. As Krupskaya wrote, "In group games children learn how to organise, to lead, to be able persistently to strive for a goal and attract others after them".⁽¹⁴⁾ The group games are not dissimilar from those played by the Brownies and the Cubs; indeed, some are based on the games of the old Russian Scout movement.

Krupskaya it was in the early 1920s who took the Komsomol to task for their unqualified condemnation of everything connected with the Boy Scout movement (at the Komsomol 2nd and 3rd congresses in 1919 and 1920). She advised the Komsomol to learn from the Scouts, setting out many of the Scout games worthy of emulation: "Scouting has something that irresistibly attracts young people, gives them satisfaction, binds them to the organisation". She listed its attributes as a careful study of young people's psychology, interests and needs, the attraction of ceremony and ritual, the clever use of children's group feelings, and the employment of lively forms of activity, especially games.

The Komsomol, if it seriously intends to educate the younger generation and is to have even the slightest understanding of the colossal tasks which confront this generation, and if it is not to confine itself to childish aping of grown ups, must as soon as possible incorporate these methods into its own practice.⁽¹⁵⁾

Although the Russian Scout movement was to be banned, the Komsomol did heed Krupskaya's advice and, when forming the first Pioneer and Octobrist detachments, engaged former Scoutmasters "who accepted the principles of work of the Pioneer organisations."⁽¹⁶⁾ The Pioneers, initially called 'Red Scouts', also took over from the Scouts their salute and motto 'Be Prepared' (though Krupskaya later claimed it was invented by Lenin),⁽¹⁷⁾ the fleur de lys emblem which evolved into three flames, and various rituals. As Krupskaya said, "symbolism and ritual are what emotionally attract young people: parades, red neckerchiefs, songs and drum beating".⁽¹⁸⁾ Of the three Scout principles of militarism, patriotism and religion, therefore, only the third was discarded and replaced by 'communism'.

As a symbol of membership, the new Octobrist receives a lit-

tle red enamel five-pointed star badge with a picture of the three-year old Lenin inside the star. A Pioneer pins the badge to his or her left lapel in ceremonial fashion. From now on until they join the Pioneers at ten, the children will be under the supervision of Pioneers whose job it is "to help the Octobrists with their lessons, to perform their first assignments, to teach their young comrades to be friendly and do group social work, to abide by the Octobrist Rules and to prepare them for joining the Pioneers"⁽¹⁹⁾ (see Appendix 1 for the Octobrist Rules).

After reciting the rules, the next task is to divide the form of 30-35 children into small groups of **zvyozdochki** (little stars) made up of five-six children, one of whom will be put in charge as **komandir**. Ideally, all the 'little stars' will take turns as commander during the school year. And a Pioneer will take charge of each 'little star' and present it with its red standard (**flazhok**).

The overall objective of the Octobrists is said to be to get each member

to learn to behave in a lively and independent way within the group, to be responsible for the common cause, fairly to assess their own behaviour and that of classmates, and to learn to be a reliable helper to Komsomol and Party members.⁽²⁰⁾

After the 'Little Red Star' ceremony, the Pioneer leader gives each member of the Octobrist group an assignment, such as 'flower tender', 'cleanliness monitor', 'library monitor' and 'teacher's chief assistant'. As an example, the 'cleanliness monitor' is required "to see that all the Octobrists in the group are neat and tidy, properly washed, do their keep-fit exercises and keep tidy satchels".⁽²¹⁾ The 'teacher's chief assistant' for example helps classmates prepare their lessons and hands out and collects exercise books.

Such role-playing is said to be highly salient in that "it is invariably social, the child taking on the role of the adult and reproducing the adult's life".⁽²²⁾ This is a point made about the young people's movements by Hill, that "the authorities attempt to inculcate the value of collectively rather than personal development. They simultaneously prepare future citizens for involvement in the adult political worlds."⁽²³⁾

Once or twice a month all the Octobrist **zvyozdochki** have an hour-long assembly (**sbor**) or parade led by their Pioneer leaders in full dress uniform (khaki uniform with forage cap and leather shoulder strap and belt: "all are keen to wear the cap and belt as soon as possible").⁽²⁴⁾ Normally, the senior Pioneer leader (**vozhaty**) calls the roll, leads off an Octobrist song, then gives a seven-eight minute talk on a particular theme, say, the work of miners, builders, postal workers, the militia or fire brigade... If convenient a guest is invited along to talk about his or her job. The example given in the Pioneer Leader's Handbook (**Kniga vozhatovo**) is on border guards:

A week before the assembly coloured posters appear in the Octobrist Corner, with such questions as 'Do you know the secret of soundless walking? Can you see in the dark? Would you like to meet a real border guard? Would you like to know how border guards outwitted a saboteur?' Under the questions is the legend: so many

days remain until the parade...⁽²⁵⁾

Children may be reminded that 'dozens of border violators were apprehended on signals from Pioneers', and that they can earn themselves a Border Guard's Young Friend badge for vigilance.⁽²⁶⁾ It is worthy of note here that a recurring theme of socialisation in loyalty and patriotism is the accent on imperialist attempts to subvert Soviet young people and to "drive a wedge between the generations, between them and their Party".⁽²⁷⁾

As with Cub/Brownie meetings, there are plenty of "stories, songs, role playing and play, some common work and group discussion".⁽²⁸⁾ If possible, the meetings should take place out of doors: "Let the Octobrists see for themselves at work-places how knowledge and skill are needed in every job and endeavour".⁽²⁹⁾ The aim here is for children to understand how the work of manual and mental workers fits the needs of the community, to appreciate that physical work is as vital and respected as any other.

The first two years of school teach the young person to live in a collective and to study hard, all the while observing Octobrist rules. The third year of school is intended to prepare them for the Pioneers. By now they know they have to work hard, be honest and help the aged and the very young; but their broader civic and political knowledge would be relatively weak. Now they begin to learn the rudiments of politics, starting with the state emblem (a red star above the hammer and sickle against the background of a globe and over a rising sun, all clasped within two wheat sheaves containing the inscription 'Workers of the World Unite' in the 15 Republican languages). They are told:

The five-pointed red star is the symbol of unity of the working people of the five continents.

The hammer and sickle symbolise the unbreakable alliance of worker and peasant.

The rising sun represents the radiant future of humanity under communism.

The wheat sheaves are the country's wealth and prosperity.

The slogan 'Workers of the World Unite' demonstrates the international solidarity of Soviet peoples with the workers of the world.

Altogether, the state emblem symbolises the voluntary union of equal Union Republics in a single state and the equality of socialist nations.

Further, they learn about the Communist Party, with examples that show the Party as hero, good friend, pioneer, part of Lenin's family. Finally, they learn about communism as "lofty moral relations between people, requiring everyone to be honest, hard working, respectful of their elders and solicitous to the young, with fraternal feelings for the working people of other nations."⁽³⁰⁾

The Pioneers

Towards the end of the third year at school the Octobrist

should be ready to step up to the next rung of the ladder and become a Pioneer. By now they are ten (or exceptionally, nine) and eager to become a Pioneer. Although all Octobrists become Pioneers, emphasis is laid on first having to merit the honour by being a model pupil, disciplined and conscientious in completing all assignments. A pride is taken in being the first 'little stars' in the form to be deemed worthy of becoming a Pioneer. This is decided at a meeting of the school Pioneer council (**druzhina**); those chosen are invited to attend a Pioneer detachment (**otryad**) meeting at which the Pioneer leader of the appropriate 'little star' introduces each of the pupils to the detachment, explaining the record of each. Then the council votes on whether to admit them. No more than ten Octobrists at a time can be admitted into the Pioneers. Those successful are congratulated and invited to attend the ceremonial handing over of the Pioneer neckerchief.

It is this ceremony that is probably the most memorable moment in a child's life. It normally takes place in the school museum or local Pioneer palace in the presence of parents, teachers, Komsomol friends, pensioners and ex-servicemen. The parade opens with a bugle fanfare and drum roll as the children march in, the Pioneer leaders bearing red standards. When all the children have lined up, each Pioneer leader reads out the decisions: "The Chkalov Detachment (each detachment has its own name after a particular hero) of Form Six has unanimously elected Tania Orlova to the Pioneers. She has taken a prominent part in the life of the little star, carried out her assignments well, is a good pupil and well-respected by her classmates". Another Pioneer leader then announces, "The Yuri Gagarin Detachment of Form Five admits Vova Balashov and Rashida Davletshina into the Pioneers". And so on.

After that, the big moment has come for the red neckerchief to be presented and for each new member to recite the text of the Solemn Promise (see Appendix II for the Promise and Pioneer Laws).

Following the Promise, the Pioneer leader orders 'Present neckerchiefs', the various Pioneer leaders of the detachment step forward and, to bugle and drum accompaniment, tie the red neckerchiefs about the neck of the new Pioneer, declaring, "Pioneer, Be Prepared to Fight for the Cause of the Communist Party".⁽³¹⁾ 'Always Prepared,' comes back the answer as the new Pioneer gives the salute: right hand raised slightly above the head, fingers together, symbolising "the unity of interests of the homeland, the Party and working people's children of all five continents".⁽³²⁾

The new recruit also receives on the left lapel the Pioneer badge: a Five-pointed star containing the picture of Lenin above the words 'Be Prepared' and below three flames, symbolising the "unbreakable alliance of the three generations: the Pioneers, the Komsomol and the Communists, true to Lenin's teaching and ready to fight for the Party cause".⁽³³⁾

From now on the Pioneer has the right to wear the Pioneer dress uniform at parades: white shirt for younger Pioneers, light blue for older Pioneers, bearing the red star and three flames badge on the sleeve, blue-grey skirt or trousers, light blue forage cap, white socks (girls), yellow belt with metal

buckle. Pioneer leaders have a little star or stars on their sleeve above the Pioneer badge, denoting their rank. On non-dress occasions, the Pioneers wear their Pioneer badge and red neckerchief.

Since 1972 the Red neckerchief ceremony has taken place at the start of a nationwide Octobrist Week, starting on Lenin's birthday on 22 April and finishing on 28 April. Each day features a new theme: a school exhibition and quiz, sports day (including the *zarnitsa* - 'summer lightning' - paramilitary game), friendship and peace day, manual work day and finally, a day of concerts that brings the week to a festive close.

As youth leaders the world over would appreciate, the rituals and symbols are intended to provide an emotional colouring to serious moral and political messages. The rituals of parades and marches accompanied by bugles and drums, as well as the various symbols of badges, motto, the Promise and Laws, red flags and neckerchiefs, salute and heroes all lend a revolutionary-romantic atmosphere to Pioneer life and work; they help to strengthen the group organisationally and ideologically, to invest an emotional elation into Pioneer work..... They express in a form accessible to children political ideas and the spirit of struggle for socialism and communism.⁽³⁴⁾

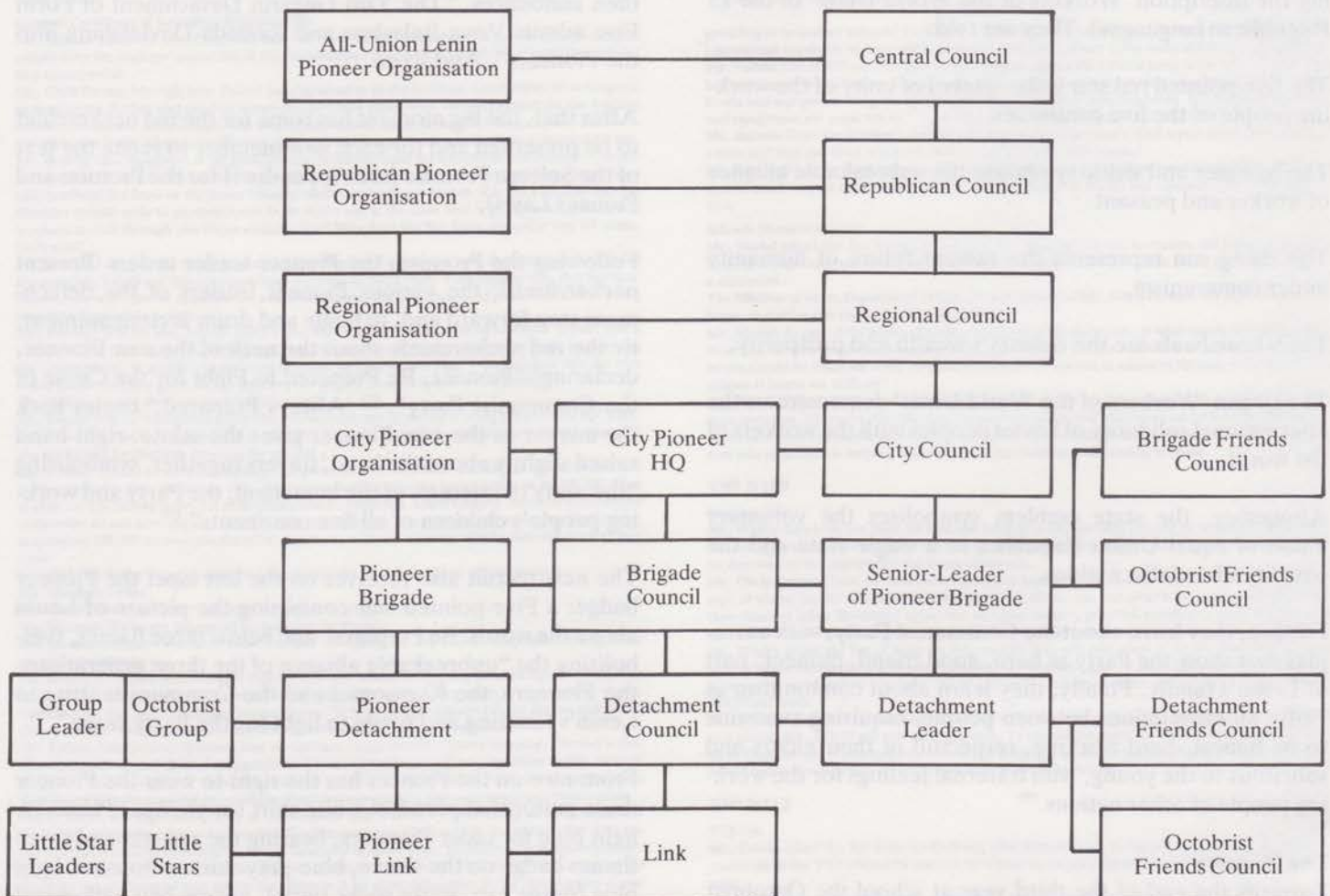
Pioneer aims and structure

According to its rulebook,

'the Pioneer organisation together with school, family and community trains Pioneers and schoolchildren to be dedicated fighters for the cause of the Party, it develops in them a love for work and learning, the initial habits of communal living, it helps shape the younger generation in the spirit of communist awareness and morality, collectivism and comradeship, patriotism, friendship among peoples of the USSR and proletarian internationalism.'⁽³⁵⁾

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to make any comparative analysis of the goals of citizen training but in this context suffice it to make two points. First, reference to 'communism' and the 'cause of the Party' can be variously interpreted as shorthand terms for honest living and other rules for life as inscribed, for example, in the Ten Commandments or the Koran, and also in terms of "the building of communism" - the transformation of the social, economic and political fabric and character of Soviet society. Second, while the scope and goals of citizen training in Soviet and Western schools are similar in many respects - the objective being to instil in young people approved ways of thinking and acting politically, they are broader and more all-encompassing in the USSR. In a comparison of such goals in

Pioneer organisational structure



American and Soviet schools, Charles Cary made the interesting distinction that:

American educators view citizenship primarily in terms of **state** citizenship - the membership of an individual in an organised political community. This concept of citizenship refers only to an individual's relationship to the political system. Soviet educators conceive of citizenship in terms of **societal** citizenship - membership of an individual in a society, which in the Soviet case is **coterminous with the organised political community**. This concept of citizenship encompasses **all** aspects of an individual's relationship to the social system. (my emphasis added).⁽³⁶⁾

The latter is likely to be the case with all modernising societies.

Once a young person joins the Pioneers, they become part of a link (**zveno**) of between five and eight friends and classmates (in the ten-13 age group) or seven to 12 classmates (in the 14-15 group). Each link (see Diagram 1) has a Pioneer meeting each week, with a leader elected by the link members to coordinate meetings (the form teacher supervises the link as part of his other work). Each link combines with two-three other links in the class to form a detachment (**otryad**), making up at least 20, which meets two or three times a month. All the detachments in a school form the brigade (**druzhina**) which has an elected council of at least three older Pioneers; in turn the council elects a chairperson. The council's work is under the direction of the senior Pioneer leader (**starshy vozhaty**), teachers and the school head.

The senior Pioneer leader, sometimes known as the 'Pioneer commissar', is vital here in that she or he is a full-time, usually paid, trained youth worker, at least 18 years old, who has received training at one of the 25 institutes of education (**pedinstituty**) that offer special five-year courses, or one of the 160 colleges of education (**peduchilishcha**) training such senior Pioneer leaders.⁽³⁷⁾ In 1981 they trained over 120,000 Pioneer leaders.⁽³⁸⁾ The Pioneer leader would normally be a Komsomol official, thereby ensuring a firm link between the Komsomol and the school Pioneer organisation:

The **Pioneer vozhaty** is a political leader and experienced older friend, a campaigner (**agitator**) and youth specialist (**methodist**), an organiser and direct participant in Pioneer affairs, a member and leader of the children's group. The leader is a link between the Pioneers and teachers, between the school and district Komsomol.⁽³⁹⁾

It is the senior Pioneer leader who, along with the school head, coordinates all Pioneer activities in school and sees that the programme is carried out. The leader is a member of the school educational council and, for the sake of continuity, is supposed to stay at the school for a minimum of two or three years. As badge of office, male leaders wear a khaki army-type uniform, while women wear a brown check dress and olive blouse.

Pioneer school activities

While the new Pioneer members are being gradually introduced to Pioneer activities, play and responsibilities during

the early weeks of membership, older Pioneers in the school brigade council are planning activities for each school term under the guidance of adults who have already decided on the annual plan at a series of meetings involving teachers, the school head, senior Pioneer leaders and representatives of the local Komsomol committee. After deciding on the general objectives of the year's work, the adults call the council members together and inform them of the themes and broad activities of the coming period. Then, together, the adults and Pioneers draw up detailed plans for projects, dividing responsibility for their fulfilment among the links and detachments. The links, finally, hand out assignments to individual Pioneers and even provide a plan of recommended daily activity (see Appendix III).

Once again, detailed work is tailored to age, ability and inclination. This 'scaling the heights' programme sets targets for each 'height': 10-11, 12-13 and 14-15, with each 'height' leading up to the next. The overall Pioneer programme now introduces practical projects and tests in personal improvement and community work. For example, Pioneers collect scrap metal and waste paper for various nationwide campaigns. Thus, they are told that Pioneers collected scrap metal for building 100,000 'Pioneer' tractors in the 1960s, and for rails, trains, and bridges for the Baikal-Amur Railway project in the 1970s.⁽⁴⁰⁾ In this way, they are making a direct and tangible contribution to the nation's well-being and work effort.

Similarly, individual betterment and civic-mindedness are combined in a nationwide physical fitness programme known significantly as 'Ready for Labour and Defence', introduced in 1931. The Pioneer is expected to take achievement tests in physical skills such as running, jumping, skiing, swimming, gymnastics and camping through the appropriate four age levels: 6-9, 10-11, 12-13 and 14-15. For those over 14 the programme includes defence skills such as shooting, wearing a gas mask for 30 minutes, civil defence training and first aid. Further, group singing, dancing, games, excursions and nature rambles are all intended to foster togetherness, resourcefulness, courage, joie de vivre, and to act as an outlet for youthful energies. Many of the games activities differ little from those engaged in by the Cubs/Scouts or Brownies/Guides - though without the obvious sex division and stereotyping of the latter.

Good school work receives praise on the Pioneer wall newspaper or in front of the detachment; on the other hand, poor work, slackness or disobedience are publicly criticised, with group pressure put on culprits to pull up their socks. An exemplary Pioneer is often assigned to a 'slacker' to help improve performance. This mutual aid is also intended to develop in all pupils a sense of personal responsibility for all others in the Pioneer group. Later the same quality is encouraged at the workplace where leading workers are expected to help those lagging behind.

Out-of-school Pioneer activities

Although based on school, the Pioneers have a wide range of out-of-school activities, especially in the Pioneer houses and palaces which offer a broad spectrum of educational and recreational opportunities to supplement the school programme. It is well to remember that Soviet schools mostly

finish each day by 2 pm., leaving the afternoons and early evenings free for more or less freely-chosen activities and hobbies at the local Pioneer club. In 1984, over 5,000 such Pioneer houses and palaces served some four million Pioneers and Octobrists.⁽⁴¹⁾

In addition, summer Pioneer camps are available under Pioneer and Komsomol supervision for 7-15 year olds. In 1983, there were 68,863 camps for 13,368,000 young people - roughly one in three of the Pioneer age group.⁽⁴²⁾

At the age of 15 or 16, after eight years of taking part in the Octobrist and Pioneer organisation, young people leave the Pioneers and the basic part of their schooling; the great bulk of them join the Komsomol.

The Komsomol

While the Octobrists and Pioneers are not directly under Communist Party tutelage, no bones are made about Party control of the Komsomol and explicit political socialisation of the 15+ age group. The Komsomol is "the active assistant and the reserve of the CPSU, the active conductor of Party directives. Its strength lies in Party leadership, in ideological conviction and dedication to the Party cause".⁽⁴³⁾ The top Komsomol body, its Central Committee, is directly subordinate to the Party Central Committee and the local Komsomol is under local Party supervision. The highest office in the Komsomol, the first secretary of the Central Committee, is traditionally held by a member of the Party Central Committee and is a Party assignment. Furthermore, besides carrying out for the young generation the work of political education that the Party engages in for the adult population, the Komsomol has the specific role of Party recruitment and serves as a valuable training ground for Party members and future Party leaders (including Gorbachov).

In terms of membership, the Komsomol is formally rather more selective than the Pioneers in that it accepts only "advanced young people between the ages of 15 and 28 dedicated to the Soviet homeland".⁽⁴⁴⁾ Somewhat contradictorily, however, it also aims "to encompass and organise the entire young generation".⁽⁴⁵⁾ Even so, it does impose an initiation rigmarole in which applicants have to fill in a questionnaire about themselves and be proposed by at least two Komsomol members with year-long membership or by a Party member. True to the old Bolshevik tradition in the wrangle with Mensheviks over membership, the Komsomol is open to "anyone who accepts Komsomol rules, actively takes part in building communism, works in a Komsomol organisation, carries out Komsomol decisions and pays dues."⁽⁴⁶⁾

At school, if a form has more than ten members in the Komsomol committee for a period of a year this committee, consisting of between three and 11 members, is supposed to meet no less than once a month.

The stated Komsomol aims in regard to schoolchildren are principally as follows:

1. to encourage study and see to it that all young people complete full secondary education;
2. to encourage a diligent attitude to all forms of work, including physical work, to give young people vocational guidance, and to ensure sufficient school-leavers fill state-

needed jobs;

3. to harness the energies and loyalties of young people to communist ideology and to steel them against bourgeois ideas and morality;

4. to socialise young people into vigilance against hostile outside forces, and the need for military training;

5. to improve the moral guidance of the Pioneers, teaching them to be upright citizens, and avoiding and eradicating anti-social behaviour.⁽⁴⁷⁾

To deal with each of these, the school Komsomol would normally elect individuals to take charge of each sector of work and issue assignments to all of its members. Each school-leaver's character reference from the Komsomol usually contains a record of fulfilment of such assignments and responsible posts held.

The most difficult and controversial aspect of Komsomol work is that of political education. This is carried out by means of lectures, study groups, school exhibitions and wall newspapers, political information and literature. In regard to literature, it is apposite to mention here, by way of comparison, that while virtually all children's and teenage periodicals in the West are commercially - rather than educationally - oriented, often purveying values at odds with those of school, the Komsomol controls all Soviet children's and young people's periodicals. It owns three publishing houses, with an annual output of 50 million copies of books and brochures, and over 230 newspapers and magazines for children and young adults, with a total print run of over 75 million copies. They include the prestigious daily newspaper **Komsomolskaya pravda** with a daily circulation of ten million.⁽⁴⁸⁾ (See Appendix IV for a list of the 24 nationwide youth periodicals).

The major form of political education in school today is the All-Union Leninist Test - a combination of knowledge about Lenin, Party and Komsomol history, youth work with the Pioneers, performance of voluntary work and social assignments, and participation in 'agitation brigades' (peripatetic political campaign groups). An abundance of evidence (see below) shows, however, that many young people are turned off politics, partly by Marxist-Leninist 'bible-punching' young communists; partly by Komsomol 'radishes' (red on the outside only); partly by general apathy. So urgent is the problem that the 27th Party Congress called for a 'review of political study' in schools.⁽⁴⁹⁾ All the same, to get on, especially to gain admission to college and university, all school-leavers need a reference from the Komsomol and "it is in the tenth form within the framework of the socio-political certificate (**attestatsiya**) of the All-Union Leninist Test that work on compiling a reference for each school-leaver begins and ends".⁽⁵⁰⁾ So at least lip service has to be paid to political ideology and passive attendance has to be made at a minimum number of political lectures and Komsomol meetings.

How effective are the organisations?

Soviet youth organisations have historically played their part on behalf of the adult leadership in the political control of young people, in developing the values and skills appropriate to a modernising economy, in acting as a new socialising agency in a period when rapid social transformation was

eroding the traditional foundation of socialisation - through the family, kinship groups, local community and religious organisations - and in creating the cultured, honest personality who aspires to live up to the ideals of the new socialist person. Any assessment of the effectiveness of youth organisation, therefore, has to be measured at least in part against these guiding criteria.

The first conclusion to draw is that the youth movement does seem to have helped young people cope with many of the stresses and strains engendered by the transition from rural **Gemeinschaft** to urban **Gesellschaft** relationships; the level of juvenile delinquency, drug-taking (excluding alcohol and tobacco), suicide, violence and alienation appears to be significantly lower in the USSR than in other nations that have undergone or are undergoing modernisation. For example, the bullying and suicide of schoolchildren reported in Japan has no parallel in Soviet schools.⁽⁵¹⁾

Second, by not offering (or permitting) many competing values, organisations and cultural styles, the Soviet leadership's centres and sources of authority have not been seriously challenged by youth; as a result, Soviet society appears to be more stable than any in the West. This may well be because, besides discouraging non-conformist behaviour in or out of school, it actually incorporates young people **through their own organisations** into the large political undertaking of building a new society. And that can be a satisfying experience engendering a strong sense of belonging. Some Western scholars have remarked on this integrational function. Thus, David Lane writes that "the process of inclusion helps to create feelings of social and political solidarity".⁽⁵²⁾ And Allen Kassof has said of the youth programme that "it gives official recognition to young people as a partner in the large societal undertaking and thereby provides a sense of identification and purpose that so often is lacking among young people in modern societies".⁽⁵³⁾ Nevertheless, it is a view that does not go unchallenged in the West. Unger talks of the "ritualistic character of participatory activities"⁽⁵⁴⁾ in the Komsomol, while Cary maintains that "although the youth organisations initially represent institutionalised peer groups that are coopted for political education, they become a setting for a teen culture that is not so purposefully directed".⁽⁵⁵⁾ Without further evidence it is difficult accurately to assess the influence of peer groups on the political socialisation of young people or the nature of their participation in the wider society.

Third, the children's and youth organisations would seem to be powerful back-up forces to teachers in encouraging diligence, hard work, discipline and enthusiasm, which are probably all the more effective coming from the peer group itself rather than being imposed by adults (though it is, of course, adults that ultimately set the standards). In Western society, the overtly adult-imposed values and sanctions, allied to the pluralistic divisions within society, often produce a 'them v. us' relationship between teachers and taught, resulting in the villain as hero and the swot as 'creep' within the peer group. Urie Bronfenbrenner has written that not only are:

Soviet children much less willing to engage in anti-social behaviour than their age-mates in three Western countries (the USA, Britain and West Germany), but that, as

regards Soviet schoolchildren, 'their classmates were about as effective as parents and teachers in decreasing misbehaviour'.⁽⁵⁶⁾

It should be noted however that Bronfenbrenner collected his comparative data from 12 year olds. The Soviet educational psychologist A.I. Lavrinenko has collected data on 16 year olds which show that once Soviet children move from the Pioneers to the Komsomol they develop a set of values partially independent of adult values and more representative of a youth culture autonomous of (and sometimes at odds with) that conveyed by the Komsomol.⁽⁵⁷⁾

Fourth, and following on from the above, available evidence demonstrates a clear distinction between the effectiveness of the Octobrists and Pioneers, on the one hand, and that of the Komsomol, on the other, between the voluntary nature of Pioneer activities and the 'ritual participation' or what Unger has called the 'voluntary compulsion' of Komsomol involvement.⁽⁵⁸⁾ There seems to be a cut-off point about the age of 14 or 15 at which the youth movement's influence diminishes sharply. This is reflected in declining membership, in critical resolutions on the Komsomol at successive Komsomol and Party congresses and in recent sociological studies. The more open criticism of the 1980s has opened up a veritable Pandora's Box of youthful ills and complaints, from apathy and cynicism to infatuation with Western culture and 'consumerism' (commodity fetishism), from ideological deviance right across the political spectrum, even to flirtation with anarchism and fascism,⁽⁵⁹⁾ to an abiding curiosity from a small section of young people with religion. What the evidence reveals is that while the youth movement has integrated many young people into socialist construction, it has estranged a section of youth through excessive bureaucracy, discipline, routine and invasions of personal life styles. Times and needs are changing, while youth organisations are slow to adapt. The revolution was 70 years ago and it is hard to maintain revolutionary enthusiasm among young people born in the 1970s. Nor is it easy to bring them up in an orthodox or 'sacred' faith at a time when modernisation and the growing restlessness of urban youngsters is leading to a secularisation of values. Religion and the youth movement are encountering similar problems in the West. A disaffected youngster, Andrei S., articulates the situation well in a recent letter to **Molodoi kommunist**:

The Komsomol is increasingly losing its influence over young people... The younger generation today has no faith in the ideological-theoretical foundation on which the Komsomol bases its entire work, which is now out of step with reality and the demands of the time... As a result, youth is starting to chase after material goods or engage in interminable wrangles about life and even in God-seeking.⁽⁶⁰⁾

The increasing signs of youthful rebelliousness and discontent with the Komsomol have evinced varying responses from the authorities: from greater efforts to expose and deter bourgeois ideology' and to instil a firmer faith in communist ideology, Lenin, the Party and homeland, on the one hand, to attempts to provide less didactic and supervised facilities through clubs, discos, rock concerts and more entertaining mass media (like the popular weekly youth

magazine *Sobesednik* founded in 1984); - "We must replace insipid, frontal didactics and tutelage by more subtle forms of influencing group behaviour".⁽⁶¹⁾ There are signs, too, of consideration of a shift of the youth organisation base from school into the residential locality.

Even in a society with such a unifying set of values and a political monopolisation of children's organisations as the USSR, it is evidently not easy to raise the younger generation according to a prescribed pattern, to induce and sustain a dedication to officially-set ideals, and to revolutionise the minds of the young. Life is more complex than dogma, to paraphrase Lenin.

Appendix I Octobrist Rules

Octobrists are future Pioneers

Octobrists are hard workers, love school and respect their elders

Only those who love work are Octobrists

Octobrists are honest and bold, clever and skilful

Octobrists are friendly children, read and draw, play and sing, and enjoy life.

Source: *Kniga vozhatovo* (Molodaya gvardia, Moscow, 1985), p.5.

Appendix II Pioneer Promise and Laws

'I (Orlova, Tatiana), enrolling in the ranks of the All-Union Pioneer Organisation named after Vladimir Ilych Lenin, in the presence of my comrades do solemnly promise fervently to love my country, to live, study and strive as the great Lenin willed and the Communist Party teaches us, always to carry out the Laws of the Pioneers of the Soviet Union'.

A Pioneer is devoted to the country, the Party and communism

A Pioneer prepares to become a Komsomol member

A Pioneer emulates heroes of struggle and labour

A Pioneer reveres the memory of fallen fighters and prepares to defend the country

A Pioneer is persistent in study, work and sport

A Pioneer is an honest and loyal comrade, always steadfastly standing up for the truth

A Pioneer is a comrade and leader for the Octobrists

A Pioneer is a friend to Pioneers and working people's children of all lands.

Source: *Kniga vozhatovo*, pp. 64a and 64d.

Appendix III Recommended daily plan for Pioneers

Get up, do exercise, wash and make the bed	7 am
Have breakfast	7.30
Walk to school	7.50
Do lessons, Pioneer and social work	8.20
Walk home	2 pm
Go for a walk and play in fresh air, Pioneer activities in club, domestic chores and free time	3.00
Do homework with 5-10 min. break every 45 mins.	5.00
Supper, domestic chores, free time	7.40
Prepare for bed	9.30
Bed	10.00

NB The time recommended for Pioneer activities occurs both at school. in breaks between 8.20 and 2. and after school between 3 and 5 pm.

Source: *Tovarishch. Sputnik pionera* (Molodaya gvardia, Moscow, 1984), p. 224.

Appendix IV Komsomol-published periodicals and printing (in thousand copies) on 1 January 1978.

Komsomolskaya pravda	10,000
Pionerskaya pravda	8,700
Molodoi kommunist	980
Komsomolskaya zhizn	1,850
Smena	1,200
Selskaya molodyozh	1,100
Molodaya gvardia	600
Avrora	167
Literaturnaya uchoba	30
Studenchesky meridian	300
Druzhba	50
Vokrug sveta	2,500
Rovesnik	470
Tekhnika molodyozhi	1,700
Vozhaty	220
Yuny naturalist	2,600
Yuny tekhnik	870
Yuny khudozhnik	80
Modelist-konstruktor	582
Pioner	1,500
Kostyor	620
Murzilka	5,800
Vesyolye kartinki	5,360

Source: S.V. Darmodekhin (ed.) *Komsomolskaya rabota v shkole* (Prosveshchenie, Moscow, 1980), p.16.

REFERENCES & NOTES

1. *Kniga vozhatovo* (Molodaya gvardia, Moscow, 1985), p.
2. V.I. Lenin, *Zadachi Soyuzov molodyozhi. Rech na III Vserossiyskom s'yezde Rossiyskovo Kommunisticheskovo Soyuz Molodyozhi 2 oktyabrya 1920 g* (Molodaya gvardia, Moscow, 1980), p. 7.
3. N.K. Krupskaya, 'Pionerdvizhenie kak pedagogicheskaya problema' (1927), in N.K. Krupskaya, *O vozhatom i yevo rabote s pionerami* (Molodaya gvardia, Moscow, 1981), pp. 31-32.
4. *Ibid.*, 'Shkola i pionerdvizhenie (1924)', p. 115.
5. See *Desyaty s'yezd Vsesoyuznovo leninskovo kommunisticheskovo soyuz molodyozhi, 11-21 aprelya 1923 goda. Stenografichesky otchet. Vol. 2* (Partizdat TsK RKP (b), Moscow, 1936), p. 195.
6. *Zhenshchiny i deti v SSSR* (Finansy i statistika, Moscow, 1985), p. 116.
7. *Vsesoyuzny Leninsky Kommunistichesky Soyuz Molodyozhi. Naglyadnoye posobie* (Molodaya gvardia, Moscow, 1985), p. 39.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 5
9. B.M. Bagandov, *Obshchestvenno-politicheskoye vospitanie starsheklassnikov* (Pedagogika, Moscow, 1982), p.83.
10. V.A. Sulemov (ed.), *Istoriya VLKSM i Vsesoyuznoi Pionerskoi organizatsii imeni V.I. Lenina* (Prosveshchen Moscow, 1983), p. 5.
11. S.V. Darmodekhin (ed.), *Komsomolskaya rabota v shkole* (Prosveshchenie, Moscow, 1980), p. 25.
12. *Kniga vozhatovo*, p. 246.
13. See *Rodnaya rech* (Pedagogika, Moscow, 1974), p. 33.
14. Krupskaya, 'Yunye pionery i igra' (1923), in Krupskaya, *O vozhatom i yevo rabote s pionerami*, p.11.
15. N.K. Krupskaya, 'RKSM i boiskautizm (1923)' in N.K. Krupskaya, *Pedagogicheskie sochineniya* (Pedagogika, Moscow, 1959), Vol. 5, p. 26.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
17. Krupskaya, 'Bud' gotov!' (1924), in N.K. Krupskaya, *O vozhatom i yevo rabote s pionerami*, pp. 145-146. She writes that Lenin coined the phrase in his *What is to be done?* written in 1902. Could Baden-Powell have borrowed the motto from Lenin?!
18. Quoted in V.V. Lebedinsky, T.N. Malkovskaya (eds.), *Metodika vospitatelnoi raboty s pionerami i oktyabryatami* (Prosveshchenie, Moscow, 1984), p. 10.
19. *Kniga vozhatovo*, p. 12.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, p. 247.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Ronald J. Hill, *The Soviet Union* (Frances Pinter, London, 1985), pp. 127-128.

24. **Kniga vozhatovo**, p. 248.
25. **Ibid.**
26. **Vsesoyuznaya pionerskaya organizatsiya imeni V.I. Lenina. Dokumenty i materialy** (Molodaya gvardia, Moscow, 1974), p. 120.
27. V.M. Chebrikov, 'Bditelnost' - ispytannoye oruzhie', **Molodoi kommunist**, No. 4 (1981), p. 29.
28. **Kniga vozhatovo**, p. 248.
29. **Ibid.**, p. 249.
30. See **Tovarisshch. Sputnik pionera** (Molodaya gvardia, Moscow, 1974), p. 31. See also Kitty Weaver, **Russia's Future. The Communist Education of Soviet Youth** (Praeger, New York, 1981), pp. 9-10.
31. The 1923 motto adopted by the then 'Spartacist Young Pioneers' was 'Be Prepared to Fight for the Workers' Cause'; this lasted until the present motto was adopted in 1967 (see **Vsesoyuznaya pionerskaya organizatsiya imeni V.I. Lenina**, p. 22).
32. **Kniga vozhatovo**, p. 16. The initial salute was identical to that of the Scouts.
33. **Ibid.**
34. Lebedinsky, Malkovskaya, **Metodika vospitatelnoi raboty**..., p. 7.
35. Cited from **Ustav VLKSM**, articles 52 and 53, in **Vsesoyuzny Leninsky Kommunistichesky Soyuz Molodyozhi**, p. 164.
36. Charles D. Cary, 'The Goals of Citizenship Training in American and Soviet Schools', **Studies in Comparative Communism**, Vol. X, No. 3 (Autumn 1977), p. 290.
37. G.M. Ivashchenko, **Ideino-politicheskoye vospitanie yunikh lenintsev** (Prosveshchenie, Moscow, 1985), p. 100.
38. L.P. Ivanova, **Pionersky vozhaty v shkole: B pomoshch uchitel'yu** (Prosveshchenie, Moscow, 1981), p. 3.
39. **Ibid.**, p. 109. The book also provides examples of a model day's work plan for the senior Pioneer leader.
40. **Ibid.**, p. 37.
41. **Zhenshchiny i deti**, pp. 118-119.
42. **Deti v SSSR. Statistichesky sbornik** (Statistika, Moscow, 1984), p. 51.
43. **Vstupayushchemu v Komsomol** (Molodaya gvardia, Moscow, 1976), p. 35.
44. **Organizatsionno-ustavnnye voprosy komsomolskoi raboty** (Molodaya gvardia, Moscow, 1975), p. 58.
45. **Ibid.**, p. 59.
46. **Ibid.**, p. 58.
47. See Bagandov, **Obshchestvenno-politicheskoye vospitanie starsheklassnikov**, pp. 78-79, and Darmodekhin, **Komsomolskaya rabota v shkole**, pp. 24-25.
48. N.A. Petrovichev et al, **Vazhny faktor vozrastaniya rukovodyashchei roli KPSS** (Politizdat, Moscow, 1979), p. 147.
49. See 'Polituchoba: uroki, mysl' i deistviya', **Molodoi kommunist**, No. 6 (1986), p. 43.
50. Bagandov, **Obshchestvenno-politicheskoye vospitanie starsheklassnikov**, p. 85.
51. **The Guardian**, 1 March 1986, reported that in 1984 as many as '572 juveniles under 19 committed suicide in Japan, 220 of them over "school matters". Further, 'in the first half of the 1985 school year, 68 per cent of the country's junior schools reported serious bullying cases, resulting in physical and psychological damage to the weakest children in the class'.
52. David Lane, **The Socialist Industrial State** (Allen & Unwin, London, 1979), p. 80.
53. Allen Kassof, **The Soviet Youth Program, Regimentation and Rebellion** (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1965), p. 174.
54. Aryeh L. Unger, 'Political participation in the USSR? YCL and CPSU', **Soviet Studies**, Vol. 33, No. 1 (January 1981), p. 121.
55. Charles D. Cary, 'Peer groups in the political socialisation of Soviet school children', **Social Science Quarterly**, Vol. 55, No. 2 (1974), p. 461.
56. Urie Bronfenbrenner, **Two Worlds of Childhood: U.S. and U.S.S.R.** (Allen & Unwin, London, 1971), p. 78.
57. A.I. Lavrinenko, 'Izuchenie ustoychivosti moralnykh suzheniy u shkolnikov', **Voprosy psikhologii**, No. 16 (March-April 1970), pp. 143-150, Quoted in Cary, **Social Science Quarterly**, p. 459.
58. Unger, 'Political participation in the USSR', p. 111.
59. For young people with overt sympathy with fascism see 'Shalunishki i predateilstvo', **Sobesednik**, No. 21 (1986), p. 6. For 'anarchists', see Chebrikov, **Molodoi kommunist**, p. 29.
60. Yuri Kovalyov, 'Znayu, pismo moyo vy ne opublikuete', **Molodoi kommunist**, No. 6 (1986), pp. 49-50.
61. A.G. Kharchev, V.G. Alexeyeva, **Obraz zhizni. Moral. Vospitanie** (Politizdat, Moscow, 1977), p. 75.

Problems of Soviet Young People

Our conference is intended to focus attention on the problems of Soviet young people in order to provide us with a clearer insight into the contemporary life and attitudes of Soviet youth, and to highlight the similarities and differences of problems in comparison with Western young people.

All sessions will take place in the **Modern Languages Centre, Richmond Building, University of Bradford**, and are open to everyone.

All enquiries should be addressed to the Conference Organiser, Jim Riordan, Modern Languages Centre, University of Bradford ☎ 0274 733466

UNIVERSITY OF
BRADFORD
OPEN CONFERENCE

27-28 MARCH 1987

Themes to be covered:

Backward youngsters (mentally backward and socially deprived): **Andrew Sutton**

Forward youngsters (problems of 'gifted' young people): **John Dunstan**

Juvenile delinquency: **Ann Feltham**

Youth at study: **George Avis**

Youth at work: **Peter Rooney**

Youth at play: **Jim Riordan**

Rural young people: **Susan Bridger**

Young women: **Linda McLoud**

The Komsomol: **Andrew Windsor**

Political socialisation: **Friedrich Kubart**

Muslim youth: **Helene Carrere d'Encausse**

the practice of diversion

R. SMITH

This article is based on the experience of a practitioner working within a diversion project. It suggests that "diversion" has significant potential, and that this is based on its ability to transcend the thinking of the 'Justice versus Welfare' debate, and to offer a genuinely progressive alternative to existing systems of juvenile justice. To derive this conclusion, it will examine the recent history of juvenile justice (in England and Wales) and demonstrate the limitations of "Welfare" and "Justice" models. The starting point will be the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act, because that piece of legislation is regarded as the zenith of welfarism. I shall counterpose the 1982 Criminal Justice Act, which is thought of as the outcome of a "justice" backlash, but which is more significant in terms of its continuities with 1969. It will also look at the reality set against the ideas espoused by advocates of these pieces of legislation and will see how debates within juvenile justice have become increasingly irrelevant and unproductive. From the resultant impasse, I shall draw on experiences of diversion "in practice", and try to suggest that this offers the basis for another way, an alternative to a system which individualises, stigmatises and incarcerates and does so with equal ease under the heading "Welfare", or "Justice".

The 1960's saw the development of a line of thought which advocated the decriminalisation of young people's deviant behaviour. In particular the Home Office reports "The Child, The Family and The Young Offender" (1965) and "Children in Trouble" (1968) seemed to promote various social and psychological explanations for delinquency, at the expense of classical views of crime which emphasised ideas of rationality and just desserts. This trend culminated in the 1969 CYP Act, which was seen as a significant modification of the machinery of juvenile justice. Notable features of the Act included:

- Children under the age of 14 not to be referred to the court solely on offence grounds, "care and protection" proceedings would be taken in preference based on "the child's needs".
- Criminal proceedings for 14/17 year olds could only follow mandatory consultation.
- Juvenile Courts were to be a "last resort", only used where voluntary agreements between Social Worker, offenders and families could not be reached.

- Intermediate treatment programmes to replace Attendance Centres and Detention Centres.

This would appear to be a major defeat for principles of justice in dealing with juvenile offending. However what must be emphasised is that there were very clear limits to the ambitions of the 1969 Act, even before its implementation. The constraints put on 'welfare' by the Act must be emphasised; which in turn will be taken to demonstrate a deeper consistency between welfare and justice, than is often assumed.

The importance of this is in showing up debates between 'welfare' and 'justice' as largely superficial: and going beyond that, it offers the beginnings of an explanation as to why welfare disposals, in practice, and as received by Social Work clients are often not dissimilar to justice as meted out by the courts. For instance we know from our experience with young people just how often they see Residential Care as a form of punishment.

It is not simply that the 1969 Act was not fully implemented, although the incoming 1970 Conservative Government was clearly not sympathetic to its liberal intentions. For example, it was observed that the Conservative administration decided to draw the teeth of the Act by declining to implement the vital Sections 4 and 5, which allowed for the raising of the age of responsibility and restricted the prosecution of older children.⁽¹⁾

But it must be stated that even within the Act, and more generally within 'welfare', run the threads of a legalistic ideology - ultimately dependent upon notions of just desserts, and individual responsibility. Rather than challenge such ideas outright, the 1969 Act sought at best merely to shift the boundary between the deserving and undeserving of the State's client population. "The pursuit of a totally integrated crime-care system was obstructed by the retention of criminal proceedings".⁽²⁾

Thus it was that the Act failed to challenge, and, by default gave legitimation to a system which still used incarceration and punishment as the corner-stone of its methods for dealing with young offenders. Despite all its aspirations, we are told, for example, that "the formal composition and constitution of the juvenile court were left virtually unchanged by the Act...".⁽³⁾ Decision making in juvenile justice still

rested in the hands of the judiciary. It is perhaps not surprising then that the Act gave rise to a number of 'unintended consequences'. Having given the go ahead to intervention in young people's lives on welfare grounds, it simply overlaid this system onto the pre-existing frameworks – accepting the centrality of traditional legal forms; in effect, complying with them rather than presenting a challenge. The consequent and much-publicised growth in the use of both institutional care and custody is perhaps not so unintelligible against this background. It seems likely that Social Service workers claimed their new caseloads from the 'soft' targets, that is children not facing custody, but the much wider group of these thought to have certain 'needs' for residential care. Underpinning child-care with the principles as well as the machinery of the criminal system has inevitably produced a defensive response in Social Work organisation. Certainly the quest for 'credibility' has always over-ruled any serious attempt to question the practices of the judiciary, or to wrest young people from its grasp.

We have also seen, how 'failure' of any sort by the new client groups, whether in care or under supervision, has given licence to the courts to impose punitive measures in response, with or without the collusion of Social Workers. The results we can see, are quite startling for between 1968 and 1978 the proportion of 14 to 16 year old males "given DC Orders rose from 4 to 9 per cent, and Borstal Training from 2 to 3 per cent (of those sentenced by the Courts)".⁽⁴⁾ At the same time there was an increase in the use of care-based institutions. "Since 1971 there has been a parallel increase in the number of 'secure' places within the 'Community Homes' system.... It seems that compared with earlier times, children are now placed more readily in these secure facilities....".⁽⁵⁾ A growth that the marginal increases in crime rates are incapable of justifying.

Against this background of an increasingly harsh treatment of young offenders, it seems rather unlikely that there should be pressure to tighten up the juvenile justice system, and to revert to a more legalistic framework for dealing with delinquency. Nor can it be easy to see why practitioners from within 'welfare' should be so keen to embrace such proposals. For the irony is that most of the criticisms made in support of revising the law were directed against a piece of legislation which had never been properly implemented. The 1969 Act is now regularly dismissed as a glorious failure; in fact, it was never given the chance to fail.

1982 - Back to Justice

By the late 1970's we had entered a new phase. Despite the fact that they had always effectively controlled disposals in Juvenile Courts, magistrates insisted on having power over welfare provisions (demanding, for example, the authority to nominate placements within the terms of Care Orders). Also despite the fact that the chaotic and chronic use of Care and Supervision Orders was the result of bad practice, and not bad legislation, various influential figures within social work itself began to demand a re-statement of children's rights in law.⁽⁶⁾ This alliance contributed significantly to the eventual shape of the 1982 Criminal Justice Act, at least insofar as it affects young offenders. So it is for example, that courts must explicitly justify the use of custodial sentences, whilst at the same time they are given greater power

to determine the content of Supervision Orders, and the use of residential care. There is the suggestion of compromise about the legislation for:

It contains stricter statutory criteria than ever before to restrict the use of custodial sentences, while simultaneously introducing new short sentences which must tempt courts to use custody on a wider scale than ever before. It contains welcome measures designed to reduce the unnecessary imposition of care orders on young offenders, yet also introduces residential care orders which will increase the use of residential establishments for young people.⁽⁷⁾

But of course the key questions are so often not about what the law says, but about its impact, in practice. Within two and a half years of its implementation, it is perhaps too early to say whether the 1982 Act has had any discernible or consistent impact on juvenile justice. This evacuation of young people from residential care, for example, originated well before 1983, largely for economic reasons,⁽⁸⁾ and appears to continue - despite the new powers of magistrates to insist upon the use of institutional care. The increased use of custody also appears to be continuing on its inexorable path, but dramatic increases as a direct result of the 1982 Act cannot be verified. Indeed a recent analysis suggest that "the most striking feature of recent sentencing practice is that so little has in fact changed. The real problem is that the number of young offenders sent into custody each year had been increasing for years and is continuing to increase".⁽⁹⁾ Here again, the broad historical trends seem to be more powerful than the immediate impact of new legislation.

There have been a number of attempts to analyse the impact of the 1982 Act. For example by Tutt and Giller, who comment that it:

attempts to implement the Conservative Government's law and order policy; to incorporate the demands for more 'justice'.... within the juvenile justice system: and also to reverse a number of apparently 'unintended consequences' that have been identified since the passage of the Children and Young Persons Act 1969.⁽¹⁰⁾

Yet as they point out, the introduction of a principle into legislation does not guarantee that it will be adhered to in practice. For example the new Act has had little effect on the use of Supervision Orders, for even with 'teeth' the specified activity order has been far less popular than the pre-existing (and much maligned) IT provisions. Equally, there is no evidence to suggest Community Service is leading a major reversal of custodial sentencing patterns. Tutt and Giller suggest that "there is some evidence to suggest that courts may be returning to a more traditional pattern of sentencing....", and "in terms of sentencing outcomes the 1982 Act has not produced the desired policy intentions". In summary, they suggest:

It is ironic that intentions to create more 'law and order' have led to greater emphasis on diversion, intentions to strengthen Supervision have led to a decline in its use. Restrictions on the use of custody have led to more young people receiving custodial sentences.⁽¹¹⁾

More 'unintended consequences', it seems. The implications of all this are fairly straightforward. Debates going on

between proponents of 'Welfare' and 'Justice' have been largely irrelevant; and they have failed to address the essential issues about the way young people experience the criminal system. It is worth remembering the difficulties many young people have found in distinguishing between residential care and the custodial institution. Isn't it the case, then, that welfare and justice have more in common than we have supposed? To list a few shared assumptions they make about behaviour; they de-contextualise, they individualise, they stigmatise, they assume moral superiority and they create sharp distinctions between 'us' and 'them'. The important point to make is that these are the factors which crucially determine how young people perceive justice/welfare systems. In practice they experience no real difference. All this suggests a need for new perspectives on juvenile crime, and the problems of young offenders. Mike Nellis, for instance, has recently argued for a re-thinking of the Juvenile Justice system and IT, urging the:

rejection of 'justice' and 'welfare', as presently defined, as the parameters of all debate about young offenders. These are abstractions, and while both contain elements which are useful in practice, neither constitutes a principle around which a fair system could be organised. To concentrate on the **welfare** of the offender neglects victims and, in extremis, legitimates discretionary treatment which is in itself coercive. The provision of due process and a fair chance before the law is highly desirable but the possibility of just sentencing, with like offences treated in like ways, independent of social circumstances, is impossible in an unjust and unequal society. There is nothing intrinsic to the so-called **justice** model, which precludes the use of custody.⁽¹²⁾

Diversion - a possible alternative?

What I would wish to do is offer a tentative suggestion that recent experiences of 'diversion' provide the outline for an alternative view of offending behaviour, and young people in trouble. I will describe in some detail the work of a diversion scheme, at one of Northants' Juvenile Liaison Bureaux. Hopefully, this will demonstrate how our practice rests on assumptions which are quite distinct from those underpinning welfare and justice alike; and how diversion might offer new possibilities for work with young offenders.

The JLB is a multi-agency project, established jointly by Police, Probation, Social Services, Education and Youth Services, whose remit is to seek to divert young offenders from all forms of statutory intervention principally by eliminating the 'need' for prosecution, and thus closing the door to inappropriate disposals. The aims of the Bureau are clearly specified:

(a) To divert young people, whenever possible, away from the penal and welfare systems into informal networks of control, support and care.

(b) To avoid the imposition of those forms of penalties and Welfare intervention which tend to aggravate the very problem they seek to reduce.

(c) To enable the agencies to respond to delinquent behaviour in ways which will reduce re-offending and enable young people to become responsible adults.

(d) To encourage the normal institutions of society to respond constructively to adolescent behaviour.⁽¹³⁾

In practice, through our response to police reports on young offenders the JLB has had a fairly immediate and dramatic impact. The non-prosecution rate has increased from 35% in 1981, to an average of 70-75% (of all those reported for an offence), with a figure of 81% in the last six months of 1984. This in itself is a significant advance, but it would not be so gratifying if it did not also indicate the beginnings of an underlying shift in attitudes towards delinquent behaviour.

The specificity of the Bureau aims have been fundamental in preventing the dangers of grafting on a mere 'cautioning scheme' - an appendage to an unsatisfactory system. The JLB has presented a clear and often successful challenge to conventional views of offending behaviour. To achieve this objective, the Bureau has adopted a number of strategies - some of which fall under the heading of offence resolution, but others of which might be recognisable as drawing from the lexicon of 'conventional' responses to young people in trouble. These might, in many cases, already be considered standard features of 'welfare' provision - they would not, however, be 'delivered' in a coercive or stigmatising manner. In all cases, we are concerned to deal with offending behaviour in ways which are not oppressive and do not set young offenders apart for as Nellis notes:

Both Justice and Welfare as currently understood isolate, distance and segregate offenders from the immediate context of their offence either to 'punish' or to 'treat' them.⁽¹⁴⁾

Our liaison with parent agencies and other institutions, and our own interventions are characterised by a desire to ensure that those identified as delinquents are not treated in such a way as to cut them off from the rest of us, or to exacerbate problems. The central aim is to 'normalise'. We will, thus, challenge the police to justify prosecution - particularly where offending is mundane or part of a wider culture, and the only thing that sets the individual apart is the fact of getting caught. We could not claim to be totally successful in this objective, but nonetheless JLB practice does mark the end of the kind of collusion which has marshalled young people into the criminal justice system in the past. In another context, we might question the response made by schools to pupils with a delinquent reputation, where scapegoating often seems to be a tendency.

Where there is scope for the Bureau itself to work directly with young people we will be concerned to integrate them with 'normal' activities, for instance using the local Youth Service as a resource, rather than reinforce the delinquent label by directing offenders towards specialist provision. Our face-to-face work is specific, short-term and limited, concerned primarily with resolving offences rather than creating caseloads.

Reparation, too, is part of the bureau repertoire. It is not imposed upon young people as the price of staying out of court. It is far more important that such a response is negotiated, and determined in such a way as to appear reasonable to all concerned - the transaction must have meaning for the young offenders themselves.⁽¹⁵⁾

There is nothing really original or dramatic about the JLB's intervention, much of which is quite mundane, and yet it is vitally important as a means of challenging preconceptions and influencing practice with young people in trouble. Our responses are quite deliberately low-key. And this is because we recognise that much of the juvenile behaviour which is currently criminalised or pathologised is commonplace and straightforward. Frequently, it is the formal, 'official' response which generates fears and fantasies about young people's behaviour, whereas in reality we are looking at something quite normal and relatively harmless, and something which can usually be easily resolved.

It might be useful to cite some examples of JLB practice, to emphasise the break with conventional forms of juvenile justice:

Case 1

Two boys, both with previous cautions, one having already served an Attendance Centre Order, committed a number of burglaries, resulting in substantial loss and damage. Both had specific 'welfare' needs, such as school non-attendance, and unstable home circumstances. They were therefore 'fit' for prosecution according to a number of criteria, on the basis of both offending and need, and clearly would have been put before criminal court in the absence of this inter-agency alternative.

The achievement of the Bureau was to work out a programme of intervention in consultation and by negotiation with the Social Service Department, the boys and their families which ensured that prosecution would be irrelevant. On this basis, a strong case was put to the police for cautioning rather than court process, and eventually this was agreed. The essential advantage of this approach is that nothing that is done subsequently with the boys will be compelled - it must therefore be relevant and of use to them, or they will abstain - nor can they be penalised for non-compliance.

Case 2

A number of young people became involved in burglaries of shops, clubs and other premises in a particular area of town. The sums involved, of damage and stolen property, put thoughts of compensation out of the question. As an alternative, they were invited to contribute to a mural being painted at the Under 5's Centre in the neighbourhood. This work was carried out to everyone's satisfaction and under no compulsion. The offenders were not prosecuted.

So, rather than a fruitless and possibly damaging court appearance, these offences have resulted in a positive contribution to the life of the community as well as a constructive experience for the young people concerned.

Case 3

A 14 year old stole a pair of underpants from the local branch of a national chain store. Nothing much in itself - but, he had five previous court appearances, and was subject of a Section 7 (7) Care Order. Shouldn't he have gone back to court, as social work intervention had clearly failed? Detailed discussions with his supervisor followed, which indicated that far from 'failing' the boy had made considerable progress since the making of the Care Order. Far from

being 'symptomatic', the offence was inconsistent with much of his current behaviour. His supervisor agreed that prosecution could offer nothing, and might even have a destructive effect. A caution was recommended, and was accepted as appropriate by the police.

Hopefully, these cases indicate that we are not only concerned with minor or inexperienced offenders. For, if diversion were simply about extending options at the lower end of the sentencing tariff, we could not claim to be offering alternatives to conventional forms of juvenile justice. Essential to the objects of the JLB is the point that all juvenile offending should be open to examination, and should be considered for possible non-judicial resolution. We have been able to 'divert' young offenders with considerable previous records, even among those with prior experience of custody: and we have been able to divert more 'serious' offenders, such as those mentioned above who committed numerous burglaries and were not prosecuted. In some police areas factors like the 'nature of the offence' would guarantee prosecution, thus rendering impossible the constructive response outlined.

In each of the cases cited, arguments could have been advanced from within the ideologies of welfare or justice to justify the use of court. This is where diversion as a principle presents a fundamental challenge to those ideas enshrined within legislation and accepted practice about how to respond to young offenders. It is not necessary to resort to the full machinery of the criminal system in order to resolve offending behaviour in a way that is acceptable to all concerned. It is not necessary to isolate, to stigmatise, to contain or to control young people who break the law in order to arrive at sensible solutions which ensure that:

Where intervention is required with an offender the emphasis should be on normalisation of response. The very nature of legal responses is that they are abnormal, centering on isolated incidents of offending that form a minute part of a child's total life. At the very time therefore that the juvenile justice system introduces these abnormal responses the Bureau would seek to reverse this trend by introducing more low-key, community oriented responses that concentrate on putting offences 'straight' in a way which is direct and understandable.⁽¹⁶⁾

Clearly, there are dangers in the JLB model, and we have found it essential to monitor and modify our own practice. It is necessary to guard against 'net-widening', for example, or the use or 'failure to respond' to legitimise subsequent prosecution. We have as well, to ensure that our work with young offenders does not simply replicate conventional responses for example, by mimicking Community Service Orders: or using an offence as an excuse to interfere in wide areas of young people's lives; or using our privileged position to impose what we think is best in a new form of paternalism.⁽¹⁷⁾ Acknowledging these problematic issues, we nevertheless feel that within diversion as currently practiced, we can claim to offer an alternative view of young offenders which does not simply counterpose the flawed and sterile arguments of justice and welfare, but actually represents a progressive innovation, the beginnings of a democratisation for the juvenile justice system, perhaps.

The 'welfare' aspirations typified by the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act did not challenge the basic assumptions about the primacy of an autocratic legal structure in responding to juvenile offending. Nor did the Act, or the ideas behind it, seriously question the legitimacy of **imposing** solutions on those individuals indentified as society's problems. On the other hand, the reversion to 'justice' was equally misconceived, and ironically for very similar reasons. The 1982 Criminal Justice Act insists on dealing with deviant behaviour by attempting to control and contain young people, denying rather than encouraging the exercise of choice and responsibility. Advocates of a 'justice model' have failed to appreciate the reactionary and repressive implications of their arguments. By contrast, I would suggest that with the advent of diversion, offending need no longer be a licence to coerce or to humiliate young people at will. This is the real message of the JLB's experience.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Priestley, P et al *Justice For Juveniles*, RKP 1977, p. 17.
2. *ibid* p. 19.
3. Rutter, M. & Giller, H. *Juvenile Delinquency*, Penguin, 1983, p. 18.
4. *ibid* p. 82.
5. *ibid*.
6. See for example Morris, A. et al *Justice For Children*, Macmillan 1980.
7. Cavadino, P. 'A Pragmatic Compromise' *Community Care* 21-11-1982.
8. Parker, H. *British Journal of Criminology* No. 2 1982.
9. Bridges, A. 'Youth Custody Crisis' *Probation Journal* Vol. 32 (2) 1985.
10. Tutt, N. & Giller, H. 'Doing Justice To Great Expectations'. *Community Care* 17-1-1986.
11. *ibid*.
12. Nellis, M. 'Intermediate Treatment For An Uncertain Future'. *The Abolitionist* Vol. 19(1) 1986.
13. Northants County Coucil - *Juvenile Justice Bureaux Statement on Philosophy, Objectives and Operation* Oct. 1983, p. 4.
14. Nellis, *op cit*.
15. Blagg, H. 'Reparation & Justice For Juveniles', *British Journal of Criminology* Vol. 25(3) July 1985.
16. Northants County Council *op cit* p. 3.
17. Hinks, N. & Smith, R. Northants Juvenile Liason Bureaux - *Diversion in Practice*, *Probation Journal*, June 1985.

YOUTH & POLICY CONFERENCE '87

3rd - 5th April 1987
College of St. Hild & St. Bede,
Durham City

An opportunity for workers, trainers and researchers to look at a range of issues concerning young people in society based around the following themes:

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1) Juvenile Justice | 4) Employment | 6) Welfare Issues |
| 2) Education | 5) Finance & Management
of Youth Work | 7) Youth Culture |
| 3) Training for Youth Work | | 8) Power Issues |
| 9) Sexuality & Personal Relationships | | |

A Booking Form is included with this issue or can be obtained from:

**Youth & Policy Conference '87, 13 Hunstanton Court, Ravenswood Estate, Low Fell,
Gateshead, Tyne & Wear NE9 6LA**

Bookings will be accepted on a first-come, first-served basis

Anyone interested in offering to run a workshop relevant to one of the above themes, please contact:
Malcolm Jackson, 28 Woodbine Street, Gateshead NE8 1SS.

income and expenditure of teenagers and their families

JONATHAN BRADSHAW, DOROTHY LAWTON & KENNETH COOKE

Since the present government came to power in 1979, continuing attempts to control public expenditure and increase work incentives have led to reductions in the incomes of many young people who are not working. Although there have been calls from the political right to end all state support for young people,⁽¹⁾ they remain entitled at least to supplementary benefit, and the value of the basic scale rates of this benefit has been maintained. However, financial support for the housing costs of young people has been curtailed, and there have been restrictions in the conditions of entitlement to benefit for school leavers (who cannot now claim until the end of the summer holiday), for those wanting to study while unemployed, and for those in board and lodging accommodation. The YTS training allowance has failed to keep pace with rises either of prices or earnings and employer subsidies under the Young Workers Scheme appear to have depressed youth wages.⁽²⁾

Because 90 per cent of teenagers live with their parents,⁽³⁾ this trend in policy has significant implications for families as well as for young people themselves. However, despite these developments there is very little evidence on the financial position of teenagers and their families. Some research has touched on the subject in the context of analysing the living standards of households containing more than one family unit.⁽⁴⁾

Other studies have focussed on particular aspects of financial support including education allowances and housing benefit.⁽⁵⁾ This article presents the results of an analysis of the income and expenditure of teenagers and the families with whom they live.

Data

The sample for this study was drawn from the 1982 Family Expenditure Survey (FES). Each 16-19 year old in the FES was selected as a separate unit of analysis and data for the household to which they belonged were added to their personal data record. Where more than one teenager was present, the same household data were used two, three or four times as appropriate.

There were 1249 16-19 year olds in the 1982 FES. From this number we excluded married men (11) or women (26), unmarried women with dependent children (13), those permanently unable to work (8), unmarried people living independently (84) and cases (2) that were inconsistently coded.

Our final sample therefore consisted of 1105 teenagers who were unmarried and living with their parents.

Table 1 shows the economic status of these young people. The table shows the rapid decline in the proportions remaining in full-time education after 16, the minor role (at least in numerical terms) of the main training programmes before YTS was introduced, and the substantial rate of unemployment in all of the age groups.

TABLE 1: ECONOMIC POSITION, BY AGE

Economic position	Age				Total %
	16 %	17 %	18 %	19 %	
School	52.5	27.4	8.2	1.8	25.2
Further education	6.8	9.4	5.1	2.7	6.3
Higher education	1.2	1.9	7.8	7.7	4.3
YOPS/TOPS	8.9	9.1	3.5	0.4	6.0
Unemployed	15.2	15.0	15.7	20.4	16.3
Employed	15.5	37.1	59.6	67.0	42.0
Base (=100%)	322	307	255	221	1105

It should be remembered that the FES is a representative sample survey of **households** in the UK. The sample of 1105 individuals living as dependants in their parents' household is not necessarily representative of all 16-19 year olds. One way of checking whether any major bias has been introduced by sampling from within households is to compare the distribution of a main variable between this sample and an independent data set in which the individual teenager is the counting unit. Table 2 shows (for 16-18 year olds only) that there are no substantial differences in economic status between this data set and collated statistical returns of various government departments and the MSC.⁽⁶⁾

TABLE 2: COMPARISON OF ECONOMIC POSITION (16-18 YEAR OLDS)

Economic position	This sample	Departmental administrative statistics
	%	%
Education	42	41
YOPS/TOPS	7	6
Unemployed	15	15
Employed	36	38
Base (= 100%)	884	N/A

Source: Social Trends No. 13

Young person's income

Various measures of income are available in the FES. The one shown in Table 3 is the teenager's own current weekly income, net of any tax and national insurance contributions.

TABLE 3: YOUNG PERSON'S NET INCOME (£ per week)

Economic position	Total net income*					% with Base income	
	Age						
	16	17	18	19	All ages		
School	8.04	11.25	13.84	-	9.79	33	278
Further education	14.21	9.56	22.10	22.15	14.94	46	70
Higher education	-	18.84	27.61	31.28	27.62	81	47
YOPS/TOPS	25.59	26.30	25.01	25.00	25.80	100	66
Unemployed	17.18	17.25	21.21	21.68	20.18	82	180
Employed	36.65	43.44	52.37	57.50	50.13	99	464

* Means are calculated for those with an income (zeros excluded).

i. School pupils

Of the school pupils 67 per cent had either no personal income recorded in the FES or only a negligible amount. Where there was a personal income coded, this was in the majority of cases (85 per cent) from earnings. Where young people had an income, this was on average, just under £10 per week.

ii. Students in further education

Of FE students 54 per cent had no personal income (or virtually none) coded in the FES. Where an income was coded, this was principally earnings (56 per cent), although 28 per cent received a grant of some kind. Incomes were higher in this group than for school pupils and this was true in each age group apart from 17 year olds. For example, the incomes of 16 year olds at school were, on average, about £8 per week compared with about £14 for further education students.

iii. Higher education

Of young people in higher education only 9 per cent were coded as having no income. Those who did have an income were mainly students with only a grant (47 per cent), followed by those with only earnings (29 per cent) and those with both (24 per cent). Average incomes were greatest for those in higher education, partly because of the higher level (and the wider coverage) of mandatory awards, but also because earnings were higher.

iv. YOPS/TOPS

The amount shown in the table reflects the value of the £25 training allowance that then existed. The mean is slightly higher because there was some variation about this amount.

v. Unemployment

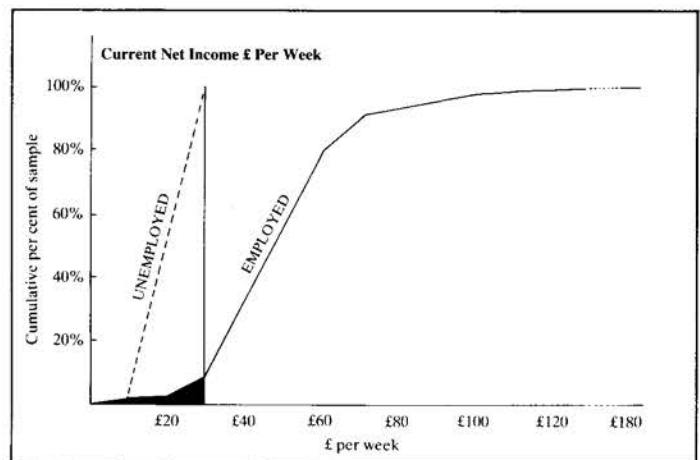
One hundred and eighty young people were in this position. Fifty-six per cent were receiving supplementary benefit, 25 per cent were receiving unemployment benefit (nearly all were 18 or 19 year olds), and the remaining 32 young people had no income coded. When this was investigated further, it appeared that the majority (27) of these had recently left school and were presumably waiting to claim benefit. Ninety-three per cent of the 101 young people receiving supplementary benefit had no other source of income and so

their average incomes were very close to the supplementary benefit scale rate plus notional rent addition: £16.85 for 16-17 year olds; £21.15 for 18-19 year olds.

vi. Employment

Virtually all those who were employed had no other income than earnings. Income varied with age, with an average of about £50 per week across all age groups.

Of particular policy importance is the relationship between incomes derived from work and those derived from unemployment related benefits. The graph shows that there is some overlap in the distribution of net income from work and the benefit incomes of the unemployed. The shaded area represents that section of each distribution of income where young people have incomes that overlap. Benefit incomes are confined to a narrow range and only the lowest 9 per cent of employed young people have incomes in the same range as the incomes of the unemployed.



This is a rather unsatisfactory way of comparing young people's incomes during unemployment with their expectations of earnings. In particular, it assumes that the characteristics of the young people (such as their qualifications or skill levels) which determine their earnings-potential are the same. Invariably, they are not the same: characteristics that affect earning ability also affect employability, and so a better indicator of any disincentive to work is a comparison, not of one group's income with another's but of the same group's income in and out of work. Obviously, this cannot be done prospectively for the unemployed, but we have calculated simple replacement ratios for those in work by expressing their theoretical benefit entitlement as a proportion of their current earnings. Less than six per cent of working young people had a benefit entitlement which was greater than 80 per cent of their current net income in work. Half of the sample would expect to lose up to 60 per cent of their income on becoming unemployed.

Replacement ratios	% of sample (Working young people, N = 459)
Over 100 per cent	2.4
80 - 100 per cent	3.3
60 - 80 per cent	9.4
40 per cent	53.6

This calculation does not take account of the costs involved in working (such as travel costs), but it does illustrate in broad terms the small proportion of young workers likely to have a significant financial disincentive to stay in work. The proportion of the unemployed with a disincentive to take employment may be greater, because as has been suggested, the unemployed group probably contains a larger proportion of less well qualified young people with lower expected earnings.

Young person's expenditure

The FES classifies each person aged 16 or over in the household as a 'spender', and each spender is asked to keep a diary of every expenditure in two weeks. Expenditure on the main commodity groups is shown in Table 4, together with the level of total expenditure and total net income.

TABLE 4: YOUNG PERSON'S EXPENDITURE (£ per week)

Expenditure group	Education		YOPS/TOPS		Unemployed		Employed	
	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%
Food	2.10	17	4.03	24	2.69	17	4.97	16
Clothing	2.62	21	2.54	15	2.61	16	5.97	19
Alcohol	0.73	6	2.27	14	2.29	14	4.10	13
Tobacco	0.31	2	1.09	7	2.22	14	1.44	5
Transport	1.80	15	2.49	15	2.44	15	5.49	18
Services	1.87	15	1.62	10	1.58	10	3.53	12
Other	2.98	24	2.56	15	2.38	15	5.23	17
Total Expenditure	12.41	100	16.60	100	16.21	100	30.73	100
Total net income	15.02		25.80		20.18		50.13	
Expenditure as % of income		83		64		80		61

The difference between total income and total expenditure may result from the fact that the expenditure diary does not coincide with the period over which income data are collected. It may reflect saving or some under-reporting of expenditure. However, it is also possible that it reflects the amount paid to parents by teenagers as a contribution to the costs of keeping them. Among those in education, income exceeded expenditure by only £2.61 on average, which indicates that, overall, little of the income shown in Table 3 was contributed towards maintenance costs. Young people on training programmes could possibly be contributing about £9 and the unemployed about £4 per week – little more than the non householder's rent addition. By contrast, on this assumption, working teenagers may be contributing about £19 to their parents for their keep.

It would be unreasonable to make too much of these assumed contributions, which may not correspond closely with what parents actually receive from teenagers living with them, but these indications may have some value precisely because little is known about within-household transfers of resources. The FES regards the household as a whole as the basic income and expenditure unit and does not take account of consumption by teenagers arising out of expenditure by other household members. If these assumed contributions do bear some relationship to real life, they raise

the question: why do unemployed teenagers contribute so very little to their maintenance costs? The question becomes more significant in the light of the greater likelihood (see below) of unemployed teenagers living in households where the head is also unemployed.

The table contains some surprising, perhaps alarming results. Young people in all of the groups allocated a third or more of their expenditure to clothing, alcohol and tobacco. The proportion devoted to alcohol and tobacco is highest (28 per cent) in the unemployed group, and unemployed teenagers are, on average, spending considerably more of their budget than the other groups on tobacco. However the absolute weekly amounts spent on alcohol and tobacco by this group are small – just over £2 on each. There are also variations in expenditure on these commodities by age, as Table 5 shows. It is in the higher age group that the significant expenditure on alcohol and tobacco occurs.

TABLE 5: EXPENDITURE ON ALCOHOL AND TOBACCO, BY AGE (£ per week)

Age	Education		YOPS/TOPS		Unemployed		Employed	
	Alcohol	Tobacco	Alcohol	Tobacco	Alcohol	Tobacco	Alcohol	Tobacco
16-17	0.49	0.32	2.21	0.96	0.81	1.95	2.19	1.28
18-19	1.68	0.31	2.63	1.82	3.94	2.53	2.54	1.52

Household income and expenditure

A different way of looking at the teenagers' contribution to household income is to do so on an entirely notional basis, making no assumptions about which household members actually dispose of this income. Table 6 assesses the value of the teenager's contribution to total household income by giving the reduction in total resources that would be sustained were the teenager's income to be removed.

The household income data are presented both as actual incomes and in an 'equivalent' form. Equivalent income is a measure of relative living standards, in which the incomes of small households are enhanced and those of large households are deflated by factors which purport to give them a common standard of living. Equivalent incomes are therefore directly comparable between one group and another, regardless of any differences there might be in household composition.

TABLE 6: HOUSEHOLD INCOME (£ per week)

Economic position	Household income*	Equivalent household income*	Household income less young person's income*
School	201.57	117.13	191.78
Further education	181.88	113.30	166.94
Higher education	239.97	142.52	212.35
	206.72	122.36	191.70
YOPS/TOPS	191.10	100.65	165.30
Unemployed	158.61	88.86	138.43
Employed	221.32	125.09	171.19

* Zeros excluded

The households with the highest equivalent incomes were those with a teenager in higher education, followed by those with a teenager in work. These were the households where the teenagers themselves had the highest incomes (Table 3). If the teenager's income is subtracted from the total household income, the households with the highest incomes are still those with a teenager in higher education, followed by those with a teenager at school. These results reflect the fact that young people in higher income households are probably more likely to remain in education beyond school-leaving age.

The households with the lowest incomes were those with a teenager in YOPS/TOPS or unemployed. The main reason is that these teenagers were much more likely than others to be in households where the head was not working. Thirty per cent of unemployed teenagers receiving SB were in households where the head was also receiving SB; 18 per cent of YOPS/TOPS trainees were in similar households. Only 6 per cent of working teenagers were in households where the head was on SB.

An alternative way of looking at relative living standards is through consumption rather than income, and expenditure levels are one measure of household consumption. Table 7 compares total household expenditure according to the position of the young person and also compares this with household income. Both income and expenditure have been made 'equivalent' in the same way. The households with the highest living standards as measured by expenditure were undoubtedly those with teenagers in education or in work and the worse off were those with teenagers who were unemployed or on training schemes. This is also borne out when total equivalent expenditure and income are compared. In all groups apart from families with an unemployed teenager, income was greater than expenditure. Where there was an unemployed teenager, expenditure outstripped income by a significant margin which may be the result of the depletion of savings, borrowing or use of credit.

TABLE 7: EQUIVALENT HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE (£ per week)

	Education	YOPS/TOPS	Unemployed	Employed
(a) Total equivalent expenditure	122.14	100.02	96.22	122.02
Total (actual) expenditure less teenager's expenditure	202.06	173.21	156.14	184.05
(b) Total equivalent income	122.36	100.65	88.86	125.09
Difference (b) - (a)	0.22	0.63	-7.36	3.07

Conclusions

Only six per cent of the sample were in training schemes and the schemes included here have now been replaced by YTS. For this reason, we focus this discussion on young people in education, work and unemployment.

It has been suggested that the inadequacy of discretionary awards leads each year to substantial numbers of school children who might benefit from staying on at school leaving because of financial pressure.⁽⁷⁾ It was beyond the scope of this study systematically to test for this effect. To do that, a far greater range of variables would have been required. Nevertheless, the data do show clearly that children who stay in education beyond school leaving age belong to better-off households. While it may be true that teenagers are tempted to leave school at the earliest opportunity by the prospect of supplementary benefit payable directly to themselves as independent adults, it is wrong to assume that over-sixteens who stay on at school have no independent access to money: up to a third have some earnings.

Young people who are not in education appear to spend, on average, between a fifth and a quarter of their weekly budget on alcohol and tobacco. This finding needs to be kept in perspective, in a number of ways: the absolute amounts of money involved are small; significant spending on these commodities occurs only in the older age group; and it is not necessarily the case that the teenagers who record these amounts as expenditure are the eventual consumers of the commodities. Indeed, that is so for all of the expenditure data in this study. On the other hand, it is also possible that some alcohol and tobacco recorded as parents' expenditure is in fact consumed by teenagers.

It has been argued that benefit levels, particularly for young people who live with their parents, act as a significant disincentive to work.⁽⁸⁾ The relationship of earnings and unemployment-related benefits in this study does not indicate that the problem is very large. Only teenagers with earnings substantially below average had incomes in the same range as the unemployed, and no more than about 6 per cent would have been better off on supplementary benefit.

The government's desire to sharpen work incentives and control social security expenditure has led to reductions in the level of financial support available to unemployed young people. Because the majority of teenagers live with their parents, these developments carry the risk of placing increasing financial burdens on families who are, on average, poorer than families with a teenager in education, training or employment, and whose average expenditure exceeds their income by a significant margin. The likelihood of this increasing burden depends on the economic status of the parents. Where parents are claimants of housing benefit themselves, reductions in the amount paid to teenagers in respect of rent have been compensated by additions to the parents' benefit, and so the family income has been maintained. However, there has in these cases been a transfer of control over resources from teenagers to parents. Although the data analysed here were collected before the introduction of housing benefit, the results suggest that unemployed teenagers are more likely than other teenagers to be in families that are housing benefit recipients, but that it is nevertheless only a minority of unemployed teenagers who are in this position. Where parents are not benefit recipients, the reduction in housing support to teenagers means a reduction in the family's income. The implied rent contribution from working teenagers to parents (deducted from

benefit whether parents receive the contribution or not) has also been increasing in recent years by amounts that have been considered excessive by the Government's Social Security Advisory Committee.⁽⁹⁾

These developments have led to criticism of the steady whittling away of the independent rights of teenagers living with their parents and fears of increased family impoverishment and domestic strife.⁽¹⁰⁾ The results presented in this article indicate that it is essential to consider the impact of policies not only on the opportunities for teenagers themselves, but also on the families with whom they live.

REFERENCES & NOTES

1. Anderson, D. and Dawson, G. (1986) **Family Portraits**, London, Social Affairs Unit.
2. For a review of these developments, see Albeson, J. (1985) **Seen but not heard: young people**. In Ward, S. (ed.) **DHSS in crisis**, London, CPAG.
3. CSO (1982) **Social Trends No. 13**, London, HMSO.
4. Bradshaw, J. (1984) **Families Sharing Poverty**, Policy, Planning and Research Unit, Department of Finance, Stormont, Belfast, Occasional Paper No. 6.
5. Piachaud, D. (1975) The economics of educational opportunity, **Higher Education**, 4, 201-212. Burghes, L. and Stagles, R. (1983) **No Choice at Sixteen: a study of Educational Maintenance Allowances**, London, CPAG. Cusack, S. and Roll, J. (1985) **Families Rent Apart: a study of young people's contribution to their parents' housing costs**, London, CPAG.
6. See note 3.
7. National Conference of PTAs (1984) **Earn or Learn? A Case of unwitting deprivation by the state**, Gravesend, NCPTA. Gordon, A. (1982) Leaving school: a question of money, **Educational Studies**, 6, 43-54.
8. **The Economist**, 27 August 1983.
9. Social Security Advisory Committee (1984) **The Draft Housing Benefit Amendment Regulations 1984**, London, HMSO. (Cmnd. 9150).
10. Cusack, S. and Roll, J. (1985) op. cit.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This research was carried out as part of a programme of work funded by the Department of Health and Social Security.

YOUTH QUESTIONS

Series Editors: Phil Cohen and Angela McRobbie

With the continuing recession of the 1980s, high unemployment and government legislation, the position of young people in our society has changed radically. The **Youth Questions** series is based on current research examining the wide-ranging issues which directly concern today's youth.

Each book examines a particular aspect of the youth question in depth and makes the connections with the major political and intellectual debates that are now taking place about the present crisis and future shape of our society.

SCHOOLING FOR THE DOLE?

The New Vocationalism

Inge Bates, John Clarke, Philip Cohen, Dan Finn, Robert Moore and Paul Willis

The State's response to the increase in youth unemployment is to introduce training schemes and increase the content of work-related matter in the school curriculum. However, students and teachers argue should schools produce 'ideal workers' to help solve the economic crisis or independent people who can develop their own capacities to the full. This book charts an alternative approach which takes into account economic, political and educational factors, without rejecting the concept of a vocational curriculum.

216 x 138 mm
240 pp

£6.95 0 333 367294 paperback
£18.00 0 333 36728 6 hardback

GENDER AND GENERATION

Edited by Angela McRobbie and Mica Nava

Gender and Generation is a series of essays showing the gender and generational relations of young people in the spheres of leisure, sexuality, media and consumption. Its substantive themes - the contradictory discourses of adolescence and femininity, youth provision for girls, intergenerational sexual relations, pre-teen girls' comics, boy's sex talk, dance and fantasy, photographic work with young women, and the development of consumerism since the Second World War - provide a new basis for future work.

216 x 138 mm
240 pp

£5.95 0 333 33252 0 paperback
£15.00 0 333 33251 2 hardback

Forthcoming titles include

Multi-Racist Britain

Edited by Philip Cohen and Harwant Bains

The Making of the Youth Question

Edited by Philip Cohen and Graham Murdock

Youth and Photography

Andrew Dewdney and Martin Lister

Training Without Jobs: New Deals and Broken Promises

Dan Finn

For further information on this new Series, please contact Liz Digby Firth,
Macmillan, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hants, RG21 2XS.

M MACMILLAN

NACRO

CONFERENCE

NACRO's Juvenile Crime Section are planning a conference entitled 'Juvenile Justice Strategies: New Directions in Policy and Management'. The venue is Leicester University, date 31 March - 2 April 1987.

The conference is designed for policy-makers and those who influence policy - members of Chief Executives' departments and other Senior Officers, elected members, magistrates etc. It will demonstrate that a planned, co-ordinated strategy can be effective within the fragmented structure that currently forms the Juvenile Criminal Justice System. Invited speakers include: Paul Boateng, Helen Edwards, Vivien Stern and Norman Tutt.

Fully residential, the cost is £110.00p. For further information contact Jean Lyons or Paulette Haughton Tel: 01-582-6500.

feature review

surviving simulation

SARAH HARGREAVES & WARREN FEEK

In this double feature, Sarah Hargreaves examines a new publication which attempts to guide practitioners of all types through the process of designing their own simulations, while Warren FEEK explores the technical and political dimensions of two such exercises.

Ken Jones

DESIGNING YOUR OWN SIMULATION

Methuen 1985

ISBN 0 416 395503

pp. 128

Pbk

When I finally got down to reading this book I was surprised to find I enjoyed it. Unlike much of the American and British writing, it used little jargon, and that little was explained, and was written in a clear, personal, 'informal' style with very effective use of examples. More significantly, it sparked off a whole range of ideas and questions. It made connections between practice and theory and back to practice. The main aim of the book is "to encourage you to have a go at designing your own simulations". In that it left me feeling creative and confident to try this, it was successful.

The book is based on twenty years' experience in writing simulations. Schools are the main target with many references to teachers, pupils as well as students, children and classes. For me this was a drawback to the book. First, some of this terminology, although in common use, was not congruent with the author's underlying educational philosophy of participant power, autonomy and responsibility. Secondly, I felt it missed its potential relevance to others working with young people such as youth and community workers and to training with adults. Nevertheless, the comments, suggestions, advice and criticisms in the sections on definitions, purposes, getting started, writing, testing, rewriting provide a valuable handbook for beginning and for a later reference regardless of the user's background.

Jones does not advocate a linear approach to designing simulations but rather a "cooking pot" approach, which means you can begin in a number of ways and then "taste" and adjust as you go along. He uses examples from published simulations to illustrate the do's and don'ts in the techniques.

The author asserts "a simulation is not just another educational technique because there is an overriding philosophical concept implicit in treating learners as human beings who are in charge of events. To grant power and responsibility is itself a philosophical event, an act of politics involving government". I would go further than he does in saying "learners should be (for at least some of the time) active participants in the learning process" and argue that this participation should not be occasional, subject to the whim and willingness of the teacher, but should be the foundation of the educational relationship.

The chapter on philosophy is short. I would have preferred a deeper exploration including the author's view of the purpose of the practice in communication skills, social skills, organisational skills and language skills in relation to their use. Are they to enable young people to fit in better with society or is it to empower them to challenge oppression collectively and individually?

There is some debate as to whether simulations do "prepare people for the real thing" which **Steve Waldie** in the Autumn 1986 issue doubts. Do people use the experience of the dry run when it comes to the real event? For example, did a spontaneous simulation of a court hearing by a group of young people with relevant experience help to allay the fears of a young woman facing a court appearance and give her practice and confidence in the skills needed? They thought it would. Anecdotal evidence such as this would suggest this preparation does occur but more systematic evaluation is needed to verify this. I would argue simulations do provide valuable learning experiences provided time is allowed for a thorough sharing of experiences and views of the event afterwards by those involved and for discussion of the 'real' issues arising from it. Simulations also provide opportunities for lateral thinking and for the challenge of the unexpected perspective on habitual behaviour. People see that in practice they do not act in the way they think they do as one group of workers simulating negotiation on what to do after the evening session on a training event discovered. Designing and participating in simulations may lead to interest in finding out more. Knowledge and skills to do this are of immediate application to the 'real' world.

People differ in their understanding of the definition of a simulation. Discussion of the identifying features of simu-

lations, role plays, and games and their different functions runs through the book. Some of these features are given below.

Simulations

- students are active and powerful participants in the learning process
- “often the outcome is far less important than the process of reaching the result”
- reality of function i.e. thoughts, motives and behaviour are around ‘a job to do and a problem to be solved rather than a play to be acted or a game to be played’ and so are real
- “people try to do the best they can in the situation in which they find themselves – discussing, arguing, negotiating, explaining, analysing, questioning, asserting, reporting, interviewing and trying to get on with people”
- involves a simulated and structured environment – participants cannot invent ‘facts’
 - plausible
 - consistent
 - no audience
 - no stereotypes or given personalities – you are yourself with a role or function
- not useful for the acquisition of facts
- may lead to further research and learning

Role Play

- teacher guided
- imparts personalities
- values and characteristics are given
- there may be an audience
- participants can invent key facts
- can feel that participants are acting out an event to reach a pre-determined result
- often feels akin to acting

Game

- often competitive
- thoughts and behaviour directed towards scoring points and winning
- may be little background information or description of situation
- ‘playing’ implies a lack of reality
- may not be ‘de-briefing’ or discussion afterwards

Youth workers and trainers may be more interested in exercises and activities using much less documentation than those mentioned in the book, but which nevertheless are simulations. Jones’ four basic design questions still apply 1. What is the problem? 2. Who are the participants? 3. What do they have to do? 4. What do they have to do with it? It is surprising that Jones does not suggest use of simulations in non-school settings given his view of the limitations of dictatorial teaching and the underestimation of their students by many teachers. He argues it is easier to use simulations with adults or infants than teenagers but I would say once students cease to be judged according to their ability to respond to (more or less relevant) classroom teaching and recognition of their abilities in groups, in teacherless situations, in circumstances relevant to their lives and in situa-

tions where they have responsibility and power is there, then difficulties are minimised.

The design and use of simulations therefore, may provide one tool or technique of relevance and interest to a wide range of people including those interested in working with youth to develop their skills and knowledge in order to discuss and take action on issues of concern to them in the ‘real’ world.

Sarah Hargreaves

Linda James, Lyn Scott, Chris Shellard

THE SURVIVAL GAME

Community Service Volunteers, 1982, updated 1983, revised 1985

ISBN 0 907829 05 8

ISBN 0 907829 51 1 (revised edition)

ISBN 0 907829 56 2 (Scottish edition)

Heather Harrington, Jon Mann

A MATTER OF SPACE

Community Service Volunteers, 1985

ISBN 0 907829 31 7

Training is a political act. The values on which the process of the training is based and the content of the materials used will reflect both the political persuasions and analysis of the people that design and carry out the training. Role plays are no exception. In fact, because the content of the training exercise is outlined – don’t be yourself, be this (fictitious) person – role plays more openly express the trainers political position than many other forms of training.

Two role plays: one revised and re-released – “The Survival Game” – and the other new – “A Matter of Space” – demonstrate the political connection. This perspective needs addressing before the technical qualities of a Role Play can be considered. The Survival Game addresses itself to the issue of unemployment. But its aims could come directly from the Manpower (sic) Services Commission:

1. to enable young people to develop some of the skills necessary to find work
2. to provide young people with information on rights at work
3. to provide young people with information and skills which would help them should they become unemployed in the future
4. to encourage young people who have not had an experience of unemployment to develop an appreciation of the difficulties facing those who are unemployed
5. to make young people more aware of alternative forms of work and of opportunities in the voluntary sector.

Perhaps only number 2 has the aims of encouraging young people to analyse and challenge the situation in which they find themselves. And that is in relation to an in-employment situation. But where, if this is about unemployment, are aims that might result in a training experience that introduces young people to skills and knowledge that might assist

them to lobby, to protest, to challenge and to demonstrate for a better deal? Nowhere.

The prescribed roles and situations reflect this position. The situations revolve around places such as the Careers Officer, the Job Centre, the DHSS, a Garage and an Advice Centre. The young people experience problems such as "wanting some spending money" (Sarah), whether to do "some voluntary work" (Geoffrey), "unreasonable parents" (Stephanie) and needing a job urgently because "you are unable to manage on the dole" (Christopher).

The entire exercise is based on the political perspective that if you are unemployed you either try (hard) to get a job or accustom yourself to being unemployed. I challenge those assumptions to work to. Therefore they cloud my view of the Role play.

If you disagree with my perspective and agree with the writers then, at a technical level, you will find "The Survival Game" to be an excellent training aid. It is attractively presented, well written, clearly laid out and sets up a series of dynamics that should provide a useful learning experience. Any technical fault lies in the area of too much information being provided. This means too little scope for individual exploration of the roles by the people acting out those roles. Because of this the learning could be constrained.

That technical fault is one of the strengths of "A Matter of Space". The quantity of information is pitched at exactly the right level – enough to understand the role presented but sufficiently little to enable the role player to explore and develop the role as the situation evolves. This comes about because of a different structure. People are placed in

groups. It is the groups which have characteristics, not the individuals in those groups.

The groups are a Community Centre Management Committee, Darts Team, Youth Theatre Company, Pensioners Action Group and the Young Conservative Club. The latter four groups all wish to use the Community Centre on the same night. The Management Committee have asked each of them to present their case. They will then meet as a committee to decide who gets the "space".

This time the political disappointment is with the training process. A highly competitive dynamic, encouraging the groups to fight each other is established. This is because there is little scope to deal with issues such as the adequacy of the overall community provision. Now, I know it's a 'hard world' out there, but given some of the aims of the role play.... viz. ...to encourage the development of social awareness and responsibility in participants
...to provide an opportunity for young people to develop and practice organising, communication and decision-making skills

.... surely a different dynamic could have been created.

But, once again, a highly political presentation in a form that makes it easy to use.

So, for both role plays

- Excellent technically
- Poor politically

But well worth having.

Warren Feek

WHOSE WELFARE?

Suzy Croft and Peter Beresford

The first study of patch decentralisation and guide to changing services based on the views of service users, workers and local people

- practical guidelines for workers, user groups, voluntary and community organisations seeking to make services more democratic
- challenging sexism, racism and other discrimination services
- making research more participatory

"The contradictions between statutory duties and popular need, community care and public service, accountability and lack of control are put right at the fore front of the discussion of decentralised welfare...It provides the only sustained critique of the decentralisation movement in social services and is likely to have substantial impact".

New Society

Contact us for information about discount prices for bulk orders for students, community organisations, and other low income groups.

Available from the Lewis Cohen Urban Studies Centre, 68 Grand Parade, Brighton BN2 2JY, price £6.95 including postage. Payment with order to SSCARP.

Published independently by public subscription on a non-profit making basis.

youth service policy making in the 1950's

JOHN ASTLEY

I was recently re-reading Ferdinand Zweig's 'The British Worker' - published in 1952.⁽¹⁾ It was particularly interesting to look at the chapter on the young worker given all the recent enthusiasm to offer real training for the school-leavers and potential workforce. Zweig is mainly concerned to address himself to the differences in values and attitudes towards work in particular, and life in general, that he noted between young and old.

"One general remark can be made about working-class adolescents: that nearly all of them prefer working to being at school...

...The time between 15 and 17 is a most critical age and decides the young man's whole future. The decisive point is whether he is apprenticed to a craft or supervisory grade or not. If he fails to be apprenticed, he is left, in the great majority of cases, in the labourers' or at best in the semi-skilled men's ranks for life".

If Zweig is read in conjunction with say Sillitoe's 'Saturday Night and Sunday Morning' (1958) or the Crowther Report: 15-18 (1959), a fascinating picture of the young worker - potential and actual, begins to appear. Of course, most of this, like other writing of the time, is actually about the young working class male; certainly this is so if we are looking at connections with the Youth Service.

"Arthur walked into a huge corridor, searching an inside pocket for his clocking-in card and noticing, as on every morning since he was fifteen - except for a two-year break in the Army - the factory smell of oil-suds, machinery, and shaved steel that surrounded you with an air in which pimples grew and prospered on your face and shoulders, that would have turned you into one big pimple if you did not spend half an hour over the scullery sink every night getting rid of the biggest bastards. What a life, he thought. Hard work and good wages and a smell all day that turns your guts".⁽²⁾

"...Our terms of reference require us to consider changing social needs. In every aspect of education and at every stage of our thinking we have been keenly aware of the way in which social conditions, attitudes and habits affect what education can achieve. ...Two main directions of change ... seem especially important for their impact on teen-agers and for the way in which they define some of the objectives of

educational policy. The first is the emancipation, or isolation, of the individual (it can be looked at both ways) and the rejection of traditional authority, the second, the conquest of the field of communications by the mass production techniques which were first applied to the manufacture of goods".⁽³⁾

My aim in this article is to discuss the formation of Youth Service policy in the 1950s. I am concerned to look at the processes which lead to the formulation of this or that policy and the forces that came to bear on that formulation. Whether all of these competing and complimentary forces were realized in the eventual policies for the Youth Service is another matter, of course, and I am very anxious to explore the alternative lines of development in those years. Understandably perhaps a good deal of this article will be concerned with the Youth Service policy paradigm of the 1950s, but I want to set that in context.

To spread out my period of interest, it is necessary to have to look at policy discussion and formulation, the actual function of the 'Youth Service', the nature of youth - in all its heterogeneity, from at least 1939. It is commonplace to acknowledge the impact of war on public and social administration, and this is certainly the case with the Youth Service. Consideration of the war and immediate post-war period, adds a considerable amount to my brief analysis of Youth Service policy making in the 1950s. I am also very conscious of the Albermarle Report⁽⁴⁾ hanging over me as I write about the 1950s.

One of the most important issues in the formation of the Youth Service after the war was the nature of relationships between the agencies of the State - the statutory sector, and the agencies of the voluntary sector. Up to 1939 the voluntary sector was the major influence in 'Youth' organisation. One of the factors that affects the eventual outcome is the role of the voluntary agencies. This article addresses the 'partnership', the post-war settlement, the co-existence and consensus that it was argued would form the impetus and basis for the Youth Service. One of the issues of the 1950s is whether or not this partnership was a viable proposition. Did the partnership survive the ups and downs of policy making in the light of changed and changing circumstances, attitudes and so on? The answer in brief is yes and no: it was a viable proposition, but it did not survive.

A good deal of this article is devoted to an analysis of Albermarle, particularly the critical posture that the Report took in its analysis of the post-war Youth Service and the needs for the future. However, it is an all too easy trap to fall into to start with Albermarle as if what preceded that report would, of historical necessity, lead to their account in 1960. These persons, as 'individuals' and/or members of organisations and institutions, who were inextricably tied-up in the formulation of Youth Service policy between 1939 and 1959 did not do what they did in anticipation of the Albermarle Report in 1960.

Some, with the benefit of hindsight, argue that Albermarle was nemesis, but that argument overlooks one or two interesting sub-plots.

What does concern me is the way in which Youth service policy making has been inconsistent. One factor that I have already alluded to, and must develop here, is the manner in which the development of post-war youth, as a reality and as an ideological construct, has some bearing on the formulation of policies for 'youth in general' in areas such as education, delinquency, family and personal sexual relations, and the formulation of policies for the Youth Service in particular. These relations between actuality, ideology and policy making are complex to say the least, even given the usual difficulties that exist in sorting out fact from fiction.

I started out by suggesting that a novel (in this case 'Saturday night and Sunday morning') might prove useful in helping to put together an understanding of post war youth - particularly in relation to work and leisure. I should add before proceeding with any analysis of 'youth' in the 1950's that problems do exist about the telling and retelling of what it was like to be young. Moreover, we know more than enough about the changes in Youth Service policy in relation to other youth orientated policies in recent years to underline the point that what needs to be done about youth is a moveable feast at the best of times. Given radical changes in government, as was the case in 1979, matters can at times take a more decisive lurch in one direction or another.

At certain moments in the history of the Youth Service and this is certainly true of the 1939-45 period, an ideal position is formulated by the policy makers, matters of principle are stated, only to be retreated from fairly quickly. It is interesting to assess all factors that brought the war-time state to create a set of policies and encourage a range of institutional developments and then more or less drop them. It is also important to emphasise that the 'creation' of the Youth Service in the war years set the seal on many years of work by many professionals working in this field of social service. It also, importantly, legitimated a whole new era of professional development, which in turn has been affected by the ups and downs in the Youth Service.

Between 1939, and the issue of the Board of Education circular 1486, 'In the Service of Youth', and 1960, and the publication of the Albermarle Report on the Youth Service in England and Wales, the orientation of the Youth Service appears to change. In 1939 there was an attempt to move away from earlier but relevant concerns with physical fitness to one of integrating the young (officially, 15-20 years) into

society. This project attempted to give the young a more adult role to play in the community, especially in the 'post-war' reconstruction of society and social life.

Essentially related to this was the drive to integrate and coordinate the various strands of provision for the young already in existence.

It appears that the policy makers were appreciative of the effort made by the numerous voluntary bodies, but were anxious to see this consolidated and broadened via funding and centralization by the State.

By the end of the 1950's this project had apparently gone sour. The Youth Service was ideologically, in disarray. Why did this happen? What forces were at work between 1939, and the late fifties that influenced, even dictated the change in State policy? How did Youth and society change in that fifteen year post-war period that led Albermarle to initiate the change of policy and set into motion the so-called 'bricks and mortar' phase of the Youth Service? Did this change represent a contraction in the aims of the State, of the policy makers?

It may well be that the condition of Youth was such that the State did not feel it essential to provide a service of any kind, but especially one that underwrote the integrative role of the agents of socialization and social control in society. Perhaps there was a general belief that youth would represent a threat to order, or become a distinctive social problem and that little or nothing had to be done about the special provisions demanded in a later phase by Albermarle?

Did Albermarle mark a recognition of the separateness of Youth, socially and culturally, and bring to a close the period when a belief existed in society that Youth could be successfully incorporated and integrated into the normative order of proper adult society? It is certainly possible to perceive the development of a discourse that does increasingly marginalize Youth culturally and ideologically, the association of Youth with the creation and reproduction of deviant categories.

It is also necessary to stress the influence of the general post-1944 developments in 'Welfare' provision. It is necessary to do this because if I am to attempt to assess the magnitude of social and cultural change that has affected Youth and Youth Service policy, the affects of the welfare provision on post-war British society is clearly a substantial factor and germane to my discussion. Not the least of my concerns here is the role of the expenditure controls in the Youth Service.

Whatever sums of money were envisaged in 1939 to set up and run the Youth Service, were either not sufficient, or were quite drastically cut back during the following years. No matter how admirable and necessary the Service may have been in the eyes of successive governments, they were not prepared to make a financial commitment even in line with the fairly modest targets of war years. It is certainly true that Albermarle saw this shortfall of funds as a major factor in the failings of the Youth Service. While this appears to be true a reductionist approach must be avoided here at the expense of a more culturally complex argument.

Before looking at the 1950's in much more detail, it is useful to look forward to Albermarle, and back to the war.

Initially, to place Albermarle's project in a context, the report begins with the 'conventional wisdom' criteria for the Committee's work.

"We were appointed at a most crucial time. First, because several aspects of national life, to which the Youth Service is particularly relevant, are today causing widespread and acute concern. These include serious short-term problems, such as that of the 'bulge' in the adolescent population. They include also much more complex and continuous elements of social change, elements to which adolescents are responding sharply and often in ways which adults find puzzling or shocking. Secondly, because it soon became clear to us that the Youth Service itself is in a critical condition".⁽⁵⁾

What emerges from the Albermarle is that many people within the political policy making and professional bureaucratic elites had dedicated themselves to the development of a comprehensively more effective, national Youth Service. They were disappointed at the failure to achieve this ideal. Whether they were naive to believe that the relatively adventurous goals set in the 1939-1945 period could be achieved is another matter. It is not uncommon for groups of well informed and sincerely motivated professionals to pursue goals in their chosen field with a certainty of their appropriateness and successful achievement, that is not matched by the policy makers in general. One of the features of the period between 1945 and 1960 is the way in which the aims of the Youth Service devotees were gradually eroded, so that by 1960 there is almost the sense of having to start the project over again. As Jeffs has pointed out, the set-backs were perhaps too numerous to sustain the 'project' in any unified form at all, this may have been particularly true of cuts in funding after 1945.⁽⁶⁾

Sir John Maud was Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Education in 1951 and he spoke on two related aspects of the Youth Service in that year. Firstly he warned 'the Youth Service' that those concerned with it could only expect a reduction in their already dwindling resources, and a reducing share of education expenditure in the future. He also spoke of the 'raw deal' that the Youth Service had had. In this, as in other contemporary assessments of the Youth Service's relative decline, there is almost a sense of betrayal.

"In 1951 the King George's Jubilee Trust called a two-day conference at Ashbridge to debate the 'Youth Service of Tomorrow'. By then it was apparent that the expansion that had seemed a real possibility in the early and mid-1940's was not going to take place... The report of the conference makes somewhat sombre reading: it talks of declining membership and seemingly intractable problems 'of not enough money, not enough buildings, and too few people as leaders', as policy of fewer organizations and fewer organizers and administrators".⁽⁷⁾

This conference, which brought together representatives from voluntary organizations and local authorities, was an explicit attempt to influence prevailing Government attitudes and policy making. The State had been instrumental in bringing the two wings of the 'Youth Service' together,

and so it seemed, let them down together. This was clearly a post-1945 judgement by Government, as all the indicators in 1939, and even in 1944, were that the 'marriage' of the Voluntary and the statutory sectors would actually improve the conditions and future prospects of the 'Youth Service'.

In many ways those people from the voluntary sector could feel justified in feeling lulled into a false sense of security and being 'mugged' along the way. However, the 'mugger' was clearly 'the State', or more precisely Governments 'of the day', as those within the Local Authorities who had been drawn into partnership with the voluntary agencies were equally as dedicated to the Service, and as equally dismayed, upset and disappointed by the changes in attitude and policy.

This relationship of the two sectors of the Service is certainly important in terms of the period after Albermarle, where gradually the dominance and influence of the voluntary sector is reduced in favour of the role of Local Authorities. But up to 1939 and certainly between 1939 and 1960, the voluntary sector remained the 'senior' partner.

Before 1945 the voluntary service was, to all intents and purposes, the Youth Service. The gradual development of a statutory Service during the war years made little significant change and indeed, in the years that followed the war the relationship between the two remained an ambiguous one. Despite their evident difficulties there was a sense that the Youth Service was here to stay. Authorities and voluntary bodies responded vigorously, in spite of early difficulties of adjustment, a creditable measure of cooperation was achieved. The Service was written about and youth workers of the time spoke of the interest and enthusiasm of the public. Universities and university colleges offered training courses for professional leaders, and as the war ended the Service seemed full of promise.

However, as Eggleston points out, the seeds of the take-over were evidently sown in this war-time phase of establishing the partnership and encouraging cross-fertilization of sectors, through the application of a fairly common ideology.

"Through the fifties the development of the statutory service continued, often in association with a parallel development of further education facilities. Though, as with all other educational development, progress varied with the prevailing economic conditions. Nonetheless, the statutory service was still considered in many areas to serve a gap-filling role: certainly it was not in any sense in competition with the established voluntary organizations, though the very existence of an alternative set of provisions had an unquestionable effect on the voluntary bodies".⁽⁸⁾

The Albermarle report reflects this development of partnership, and also underlines the feeling of optimism that prevailed in the new Youth Service constituency despite the obvious problems that were in existence.

"In 1939 the Board of Education called the Youth Service into being with the issue of a single circular. This could not have happened but for what had gone before ... What the

Board did at the start of the war was to bring ... three parties, State, education authority and voluntary organization, into a working arrangement to which the term 'Youth Service' has ever since been given.

In Circular 1486 the Board undertook "a direct responsibility for youth welfare". The President had set up a National Youth Committee, and local education authorities were called on to set up youth committees of their own. Key phrases in the circular were: "close association of local education authorities and voluntary bodies in full partnership in a common enterprise" ... "ordered scheme of local provision" ... "indicate the lines on which a real advance can be made under more favourable conditions" ... "new constructive outlets". Later circulars made it clear that the Board regarded the Youth Service as a permanent part of education. So did the White Paper on Education Reconstruction (1943) which gave a separate section to the Youth Service. The McNair Report (1944) encouraged the public to think of youth leadership as a profession, which ought to have proper conditions of training and service. The Youth Advisory Council (the successor to the National Youth Committee) produced two reports (1943 and 1945) which were full of hope for the future of the Service. Finally the Education Act, 1944, not only made it a duty on authorities to do what they were already doing out of good-will, but offered in addition the county college, a mighty ally to the Youth Service.

In 1945 the ministry of Education made it plain that they did not intend for the present to put into effect the McNair recommendations about youth leaders. All the same the outlook still seemed bright enough to attract numbers of able men and women leaving the armed forces into the courses for professional leaders offered by universities and voluntary organizations. For two or three years longer the Service made some progress. It continued to be widely discussed and four of the Ministry's pamphlets published between 1945 and 1949 took it into serious account. Then the wind began to blow cold. With one economic crisis after another the Ministry could do no more than indicate that the Youth Service (with other forms of "learning for leisure") must be held back to allow, first, for the drive for new school places and later for the development of technical education. The county college looked as far off as ever. The Jackson Committee (1949) and the Fletcher Committee (1951) produced reports on the training and conditions of service of professional youth leaders. Neither was put into effect. The flow of recruits shrank, the number of full-time leaders fell away and the university and other full-time courses closed down one by one until today only three survive. With the Ministry unable to give the signal for advance certain authorities lost heart. Public interest flagged too, and not surprisingly voluntary bodies felt the effect. It is easy to over-expose the picture and to fail to do justice to the good and valiant work which has been done since the war and is still being done. All the same the Youth Service has not been given the treatment it hoped for and thought it deserved, and has suffered in morale and public esteem in consequence".⁽⁹⁾

It is important to recognize the ideological argument bound up in this statement by Albermarle. It retains the notion of

the 'post-war', especially 1944, concern with the achievement of political consensus.

The 'reality' of embourgeoisment convergence and relative affluence came later and cannot be easily reduced in cause and effect to the achievement of consensus. What is particularly significant about the 1944 Education Act is that it provided the institutionalized framework and context for the continuing discourse about schooling and life after school, to the exclusion of other strategies.⁽¹⁰⁾

The particular relevance of this for the Youth Service was that the opportunity was created for a new liaison between State and voluntary provision and that the **need** for a service to enhance the emerging obsessions with 'character building' and 'citizenship' was legitimated by the State's legislative intervention. The universalizing character and intention of educational legislation gave an impetus for the job of citizenship building to be carried on and developed beyond the limits of the school. Where the project eventually failed was that despite the encouraging words from the Board and Ministry of Education and in the 1944 Act, the Governments of the fifties were not at all sure that the **reinforcement** role of the Youth Service was really necessary.

I would argue that it is important to consider the influence of existing institutional values, structures and practices of the long established youth clubs and organizations in influencing or determining policy making. Equally as important in its own way is to recognize the influence of the range of quasi-scientific notions of adolescence in both the 1944 Act and the emergence of the Youth Service.

Board of Education circular 1516 (ref. 27.6.40)⁽¹¹⁾ set the tone for the new Youth Service in emphasising the character building role of the Service in tandem with the drive for citizenship **within** the free liberal association framework of the new pluralist society. It was implicit that this was training for the necessary adult role acceptance to maintain the normative order. What is more explicit in the official literature of the 1940's is the concern with the 'indirect' nature of this socialization. Yes, of course Youth Service workers were agents of socialization and social control, but their role was not seen to be a coercive one. Indeed, the widely held assumption was that a coercive role would not be needed as young people would naturally gravitate to the Service that provided them with the dual opportunity to sit at the feet of their elders and share with their peers the various recreational activities that would bring pleasure and a greater understanding of their part in society.

Wolfenden was the first chairman of the Youth Advisory Council appointed by the President of the Board of Education in 1942, to advise on matters relating to the Youth Service. Wolfenden is linked with two crucial documents establishing the tone of the service. These two reports, ('The Youth Service after the War' 1943 and 'The Purpose and Content of the Youth Service' 1945-HMSO),⁽¹²⁾ discussed the need for a Service, the role of Youth in the war, the nature of the 'curriculum' to be offered, even the kind of leadership required. These Reports have a tone that reflects the influence of public school and grammar school values. Indeed, Wolfenden was the Headmaster of Uppingham

School in 1943, and of Shrewsbury School, by 1945.

The 1943 Report placed great store on the courage of the young in the war, and looking beyond the end of hostilities anticipated the continued fortitude of the younger generation.

“We are convinced that they will respond to the challenge of the post-war world just as courageously as they have met the challenge of war, if only they can be offered as careful and thorough a training for citizenship as they are now given for battle. Given such training, we believe that the great majority of them will grow up to be individuals physically, mentally and spiritually capable of playing their full part as adult members of the kind of society we wish to see, that is, a society which can only function effectively if all its members take an informed and responsible share in its activities”.⁽¹³⁾

One interesting aspect of this ‘training for citizenship’ business is the development; both welcomed and alarming; of armed forces education which we know enough about to see what a significant influence it had on the 1945 General Election and beyond.⁽¹⁴⁾

The 1943 report anticipated a post-war plurality that must have scared many sections of the British elite. Many of those in custody of the great British heritage of privilege and inequality could not have begun to contemplate this awful prospect.

“We neither expect nor wish all young people to grow up holding the same views, for if they did both they and the body politic would be the poorer. We want each one of them to come to see that the fullest life, both for himself and for his community, demands that he should recognize duties and responsibilities as well as enjoy rights and benefits. We want to see them all grounded in the principal loyalties of a sound civilization; their loyalty to God, the King and Country, to their family, to their neighbour and to their unit of livelihood. We believe that bringing up young people to practise these loyalties will give disciplined freedom to society and yield what is due to both the individual and the community”.⁽¹⁵⁾

This path of development for the formation of young persons’ values, attitudes and behaviour is complimented by the functions of the Youth Service itself. Of some interest here is the clearly expressed view that some young persons would be developed and guided by their schooling and career aims, their inheritance or cultural capital. The perceived model of upper and middle class education as an agency of socialization and social control is that it reproduced the inclusive nature of things. However, the situation is different for the non-academic, and by definition, working class young person, who is still faced with schooling as an agency of social control. This report warns against the problems induced by an ‘over academic’ development of the schooling and youth services.

“The majority of young people do not find satisfaction in an academic atmosphere even during school years ... to confront them again in the Youth Service with the same academic and intellectual standards in which they could find no significance at school will drive them out of any

form of youth organization for ever”.⁽¹⁶⁾

The Youth Service had its foundations built on ‘shifting sand’, and had fallen back on its traditional mixture of ad hocism and philanthropy. The organizers and associates of the Service after 1945 did look to the Ministry of Education for a lead and for an ally in the competition and bidding for resources. This was to be a major error of judgement. Albermarle pointed to good work done, local enthusiasm and high hopes, despite the lack of support from the State.

How then, other than for purely financial reasons, can we explain the change of heart by post-war government. What I would argue is that Albermarle and the reports and discourse after 1960 indicate that a major error of judgement was made by the State.

It might well be that the State policy makers relied on an inadequate, indeed out of date, analysis of the nature of youth and society. I would want to suggest the following as part of what the government’s assessment of youth seemed to omit or overlook or choose to ignore, and put the discussion of policy making made above into a wider context.

A large body of sociological writing since the 1950’s has emphasized one of the most significant changes in the life of the industrial population, that of the movement from work to leisure. This movement has not only been in terms of hours per week devoted to work or non-work activities, but to a re-orientation in the advanced industrial societies towards the prime pursuit of leisure, enjoyment and recreation. The ‘leisure consumers’ have become vitally important to the creation of wealth in industrial society. Again this development is part of wider, even more far reaching changes. Firstly it is evident in the movement away from industrial societies dominated by manufacturing production to ones greatly influenced, if not yet dominated by service industry; and secondly, in the major movement away from concentration on the problems of production to those of consumption. This series of fundamental changes are usually referred to as post-industrialism and post-scarcity. The latter concept celebrates the point of development in industrial society when the advances in technology related to altered production organization has provided the opportunity for vast numbers of people to be released from time in the workplace. Larkin⁽¹⁷⁾ makes great play with the fact of a significant shift from cultural emphasis on ‘work time’ to cultural emphasis on leisure, but, even he fails to underline the fact that the societal development of leisure was also essentially, an economic development. The expansion in the leisure ‘industries’, most, but not all, in the service sector, has been one of the most significant areas of corporately managed economic expansion since the 1950’s. Indeed I would argue that this development is a further episode in social reproduction in the advanced industrial societies. Clearly the very living out of leisure, the consumption that takes place in this time, and largely, the values associated with its prosecution are ways in which the forces and relations of production in society are reproduced and maintained.⁽¹⁸⁾

There is an ‘illusion’ of freedom in the cultural ambience of leisure that is a marked aspect of its ideological character. However, as Larkin also suggests, post-war youth are essen-

tially part of the process whereby desires have replaced needs. This cultural change is part of, not separate from, the development of post-industrial, post-scarcity society where 'youth' as a social formation has been created. Youth, as a socially constructed formation arrived simultaneously, indeed largely as a consequence of, these other social and economic changes.

The official reports dealing with the emergence and development of a Youth Service in the U.K. reflect the contradictions and confusions that arise from these changes. The various reports, up to and including Albermarle, concentrate on the functional necessity of adequate socialization on the one hand, while also recognising the disequilibrium caused by 'adolescence' on the other. However, the concern with personal physiological and psychological development neglects the changed 'world' in which young people are 'growing up'.

It is not my intention to enter into a lengthy account of the emergence of post-war 'Youth', but what is certainly significant is that the policy makers either did not understand the nature of the arrival of 'Youth', or did have an inkling of what was happening, and chose not to communicate their thoughts publically. Certainly by the time of Albermarle the policy makers in the field of the Youth Service did realise that most of the post-war project had gone dreadfully wrong, the Youth Service was, according to Albermarle, moribund, unresponsive and dying on its feet.

Albermarle tried to set the Youth Service on a new course, away from an agency of socialization that focused attention upon the inculcation of traditional bourgeois values (loyalty to God, King and Country, family, neighbour, employer and private property), to a Service that not only recognised the plurality of the post-war social structure, and the uniqueness of 'Youth', but also sought to both retreat behind youth club doors, entertaining the young into conformity while offering what specialist assistance and advice the young were prepared to seek or take.

Fyvel is typical of many critics of post-war youth writing at the time of Albermarle.⁽¹⁹⁾ One of the central features of Fyvel's analysis was the shock he registered on behalf of many adults that an increasing number of young people were deviant despite all that was on offer in the post-1950 welfare state world. Fyvel wrote a re-assessment of his book in 1978, which offers an interesting insight into his more explicit thesis.

"What I saw as finally crumbling by the fifties was the classical bourgeois capitalist society dominated by the urban upper middle class. This society consolidated its status in the 19th century and was based on exclusive upper middle class economic privilege, buttressed by domestic servants. It was filled with institutions and patriarchal figures embodying moral authority.

By the fifties, this society was being rapidly replaced by the British consumer society".

"So, but more slowly, was its system of moral authority; deference to upper class and state authority; to employers,

the law, the police, the churches and teachers, and to parents in the family which had held society together. A new authority was assumed by the advertisers, entertainers and other hedonistic voices of the consumer society".⁽²⁰⁾

I would therefore re-emphasize the disjuncture that exists between the social and cultural forces that comprise the framework of the Youth Service. The role of Government has been interventionist but changeable. The partnership of statutory local authority and voluntary agencies has always been an uncertain, localised and ambiguous affair. Some LEA's have done much to cement the post-war foundations, others, as Albermarle pointed out, took fright or became greedy for influence and set off in their own direction. Collectively, these agencies have tended to dictate the aims and objectives of the Youth Service and assumed or hoped that it would attract the usage of the young. As I have argued above the various agencies overlooked too much to be remotely successful, and when faced with the recalcitrance or pusillanimousness of youth fell back on traditional irrational authoritarianism to resolve their problems. The socialization process of society assume enormous contradictions in those conditions.⁽²¹⁾

It is now appropriate to expand my assessment of the 1950's developments in the Youth Service, set against the paradigm of Youth in that period and what actually seems was happening then.

I have already cited the Crowther Report, and it is worth devoting more time to it. There is an element of the mass culture debate running through this Report. The liberality of the new age is clearly a cause for rejoicing and concern. It is all very well to open up new frontiers for the young, but the consequent changes may not always be those desired by the Establishment. "Emancipation and the moral code" therefore features as a destructive issue and concern in Crowther. There are, for example, changes in the nature of the family. What Fletcher⁽²²⁾ and other sociologists of the 1950's were to call the democratization of the family, is seen by Crowther as a mixed blessing. Older teenagers "are no longer beholden to their parents for their pleasures"⁽²³⁾ Levels of expectations amongst the young have changed, as have staying in and going out patterns. The Report points to a break up of the traditional moral order, which in turn of course affects the family and its significance as an agent of socialization and social control. Needless to say, the thorny issue of sexual ethics is raised and significantly enough is run into a substantial consideration of juvenile delinquency. Mays,⁽²⁴⁾ and even worse, Burt,⁽²⁵⁾ are taken as markers for an analysis of the factors leading to a steady increase in delinquency. Mays is quoted for example as underlining one central problem of the 1950's for the Establishment, that the young are not only deviant, they are also defiant! A good many issues are rolled up together here, for example the pressure on the traditional community, the effects of the war on children, the lack of relevance in schooling for older children. The Crowther Report argues that in the past a man stuck loyally to the tradition, custom and practice of his father and only changed in dire circumstances, but, in the 1950's people are giving up their old loyalties. This is certainly true of the young, and once again the unfortunate influences of the media are cited.

It is interesting here to reflect upon the mass culture debate in conjunction with delinquency and the like. Fryer always argued that the liberal establishment were shocked by the disagreeable and ungrateful nature of the young in the 1950's. Despite all the wonders of the welfare state, the young, or significant sections of it anyway, remained disaffected and recalcitrant. The glitter of the emergent pop culture, in its wider sense, upset the establishment (in schools and elsewhere) and they were right to suspect that they were fighting a losing battle. They were of course not prepared to fight the entrepreneurs of the new world media head on, instead they preferred to attempt to dilute the product, or distract the potential audience/activists. They failed.

The American experience of this problem came earlier, and was different in the sense that the salesmanship, consumption, acquisitiveness and status obsessed culture was instrumental in the formation of the media. Randall Jarrell was able to write in the early 1960's with absolute certainty that "...inside every fat man there is a man who is starving, part of you is being starved to death, and the rest of you is being stuffed to death".⁽²⁶⁾ Crowther put it much more in terms of the passage of a golden era of adult authority, "...all that has happened is the substitution of the public opinion of their peers for the wisdom of the ages. Teenage opinion is often badly informed, fickle and superficial. How should it be otherwise? Of all age-groups, the teenagers are most exposed to the impact of the 'mass media' of communication".⁽²⁷⁾

Crowther asserts that the confluence of new demands, pressures, situations and tastes places an extra burden of responsibility on the local authority to provide support for the young.

"The teenagers with whom we are concerned need, perhaps before all else, to find a faith to live by. They will not all find precisely the same faith and some will not find any. Education can and should play some part in their search. It can assure them that there is something to search for and it can show them where to look and what other men have found".⁽²⁸⁾

Crowther rests its case in this segment of its influence by arguing that society ought not to withdraw from the young worker the help it gave to the school student.

The late 1950's and early 1960's was an interesting period of reforming legislation particularly in relation to what Stuart Hall and others have called, the legislation of consent.⁽²⁹⁾ The Home Secretaryships of Butler and Jenkins were marked by an attempt to direct growing public concerns about personal and inter-personal liberality into parliamentary action. The theme of moral panics is clearly to be identified in this period, with periods of panic reasonably well related to significant issues and events of the hour. Certainly the mobilization of bias is a significant issue in these years and besides anything else that might be considered it is fruitful to look at what was being argued for and against youth and the Youth Service within the politics of reform. The importance of residual and emergent values can not be over-estimated here, in piecing together a picture of the case being put for and against the development of the Youth Service.

It would seem, for example, that the increasingly interventionist 'state' of the 1950's deliberately chose to bifurcate youth issues, by setting the normal sharply apart from the abnormal. There was the tendency then to deal with youth in a way that reinforced the idea that the troublemakers, the disaffected and so on could and should be regarded as a special category of young persons. Delinquency, for example, increasingly becomes a 'way of life' for a minority from the State's perspective of young persons, and not a 'fact of life' for the majority. The interventionist State's 'policy', administrative strategy of isolation, ghettoisation of social problems as a practical means of dealing with youth issues is increasingly marked.

In conclusion let me attempt to draw together some of the threads of my arguments on the emergence of a State sanctioned, if not always State financed and run Youth Service. Throughout this article I have stressed the war-time and immediate post-war context of public and social administration in relation to the development of ideas about what form work on creating a Youth Service could and should take. Hopefully I have emphasised the mixture of hopeful openness and continued desire for social control processes in the collective minds of the administrators etc., of the time. The reconstruction of Britain; in so many senses that do not need elaborating here; certainly includes major discussion throughout society about the nature of economic and social relations and the desired nature of social change to bring about the 'New and good society'. The social democratic/pluralist faith in the evolutionary democratization of society is a central focus of debate here, particularly with regard to the working class. What part were 'they' to play, be allowed to play etc., in the shaping of post-war society? Changes to and within the working class are by definition part of the material for discussion. It may well have been the case that those persons and classes with power to shape the future of society assumed that the working class share of power or life chances or whatever, would remain much the same; they would just have a more comfortable life perhaps? Less of their children would go hungry and die young? More of their young would go a little beyond the four Rs? More young adults would obtain and retain a job, pay their national insurance, have a not too overcrowded and damp-free place to live? As we all know the place where the vision of the 'Brave New World' for all and the Consumer(ized) Society meet, was, have become, an unholy mess.

The post-war generation of young persons and those engaged in the development of the youth services were, whether they were self-conscious of it or not, right in the thick of this. The cultural/political struggles that took place; or even of course, crucially perhaps, did not take place; at the end of the War, left their indelible mark on the Youth Service that emerged.

The debate about the fate of the Working Class and the Working Class Community in the light of all these desired and imposed, struggled for and reluctantly conceded, changes, has been a considerable one.⁽³⁰⁾ The analysis of Youth Service policy making should be seen as contributing to, and learning from this broader debate.

REFERENCES AND NOTE

1. **Zweig F.** The British Worker. Penguin 1952.
2. **Sillitoe A.** Saturday Night and Sunday Morning. Pan 1958.
3. **Crowther report.** (15 to 18) Min. of Ed. HMSO. 1959 p.36.
4. **Albermarle.** Min. of Ed. The Youth Service in England and Wales. HMSO 1960.
5. **Ibid.**
6. **Jeffs A.J.** Young People and The Youth Service. RKP. 1979.
7. **Ibid** p.29.
8. **Eggleston J.** Adolescence and Community. The Youth Service in Britain. Arnold. 1976. p.16.
9. **Albermarle** op cit.
10. **Baron S.** et. al. Unpopular Education. Schooling and Social Democracy in England. 1944-1981. **Hutchinson.** 1981.
11. **Board of Education Circular** 1516. HMSO 1940.
12. **Board of Education.** The Youth Service after the War. (The first) Report of the Youth Advisory Council. HMSO 1943. **Ministry of education.** The Purpose and Content of the Youth Service. (The second) Report of the Y.A.C. HMSO. 1945. **J. Wolfendon** was chairman for both Reports.
13. **Ibid** p.5/6.
14. **Grant N.** Citizen Soldiers: Army Education in World War 2. in Formations of Nation and People. Edited by **Bennett T.** et al RKP. 1984.
15. **Board of Education.** 1943. Op cit p.6.
16. **Ibid** p.10.
17. **Larkin R.W.** Suburban Youth in Cultural Crisis. OUP. 1979.
18. **Clark J.** and **Critcher C.** The Devil Makes Work. Leisure in Capitalist Britain. **MacMillan.** 1985.
19. **Fyvel T.R.** The Insecure Offenders. Rebellious Youth in the Welfare State. Penguin. 1961.
20. **Fyvel T.R.** The 'Insecure Offenders' in retrospect. *New Society*, 20.7.78. p.128.
21. See **Astley J.** Industrial-Urban Cultures, Youth and the Problem of Socialization. in *The Social Science Teacher*. Vol. 8 No. 2 1978.
22. **Fletcher R.** Family and Marriage in Britain. Penguin. 1962.
23. **Crowther Report.** op cit p.36.
24. **Mays J.** The Young Pretenders. Sphere. 1969.
25. **Burt C.** The Young Delinquent. ULP. 1969.
26. **Jarrell R.** A Sad Heart at the Supermarket. **Farrar, Straus & Giroux.** 1962.
27. **Crowther report.** op cit p.43.
28. **Ibid** p.44.
29. **Hall S.** Reformism and the Legislation of Consent in Permissiveness and Control. The fate of the Sixties Legislation. Edited by **J. Clark** et al. **MacMillan.** 1980.
30. See for example: **Clark J.** et al. Working Class Culture. Studies in history and theory. **Hutchinson.** 1979. **George V.** and **Wilding P.** Ideology and social welfare. RKP. 1976. **Hoggart R.** The Uses of Literacy. Penguin. 1958. **Rojek C.** Capitalism and Leisure Theory. **Tavistock.** 1985. **Seabrook J.** What went wrong? **Gollancz.** 1978. **A World Still to Win.** The Reconstruction of the Post-War Working Class (with **Trevor Blackwell**) faber & faber. 1985.

NO HOLIDAY CAMPS

JOHN HOLT

"Combines a lively and controversial analysis of the issues regarding the future of juvenile justice".

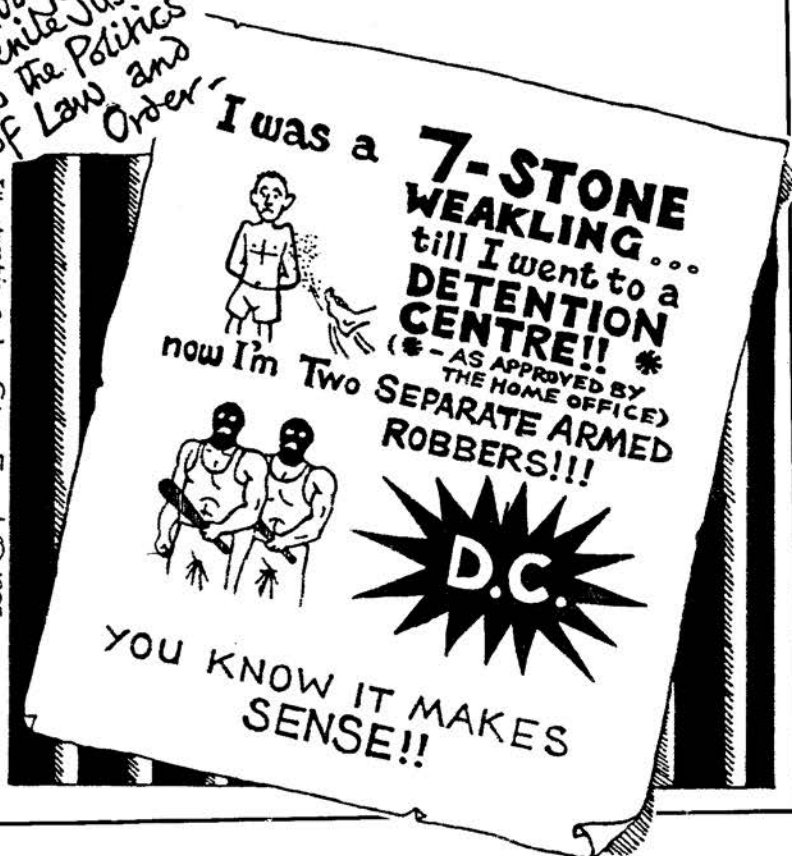
Andrew Rutherford; University of Southampton, Dept., of Law.

Available from Association for Juvenile Justice,
Hilltop, Westwood Drive, Ilkley, Yorks.

Price £3.95

*Custody,
Juvenile Justice
and the Politics
of Law and
Order*

Illustrations by Stan Engel © 1985



farewell to robbins? higher education in a lower resource age

ALAN JONES

It is now almost a generation since the publication of the Robbins Report⁽¹⁾ ushered in or, more accurately, legitimated a period of expansion for the whole higher education sector. Published in late 1963 and accepted immediately and almost in its entirety by Alec Douglas Home's newly formed Conservative government, it established many of the important principles and structures which have guided higher education since. It therefore seems appropriate, at a time of considerable stress and difficulty for the sector, to examine the current state of higher education and the developments which have taken place over the last two decades or so, in the light of the changing evaluation of the Robbins framework.

The Framework of the Robbins Report

It is worth recalling just how much of the structures of higher education were established in the period between 1963 and 1965. The Robbins Report proposed both the establishment of six new universities and the translation of the Colleges of Advanced Technology from the local authority sector to that of the universities, thus increasing the number of universities by about half and confirming the university as the dominant and natural institution for higher education. For the remainder of the public sector colleges, Robbins paved the way for the setting up of the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) as the degree awarding and standard maintaining body. Even though its proposals for a separate Ministry of Higher Education were rejected, it was instrumental in ensuring the transfer of the University Grants Commission (UGC) from the Treasury to the reconstituted Department of Education and Science (DES), thus gathering the responsibility for the whole of higher education into one department.

Robbins, however, had little to say about what was left of the public sector, which was, if anything, envisaged as a residual category, absorbing any surplus from the universities, and providing part-time education. It was left to the ensuing Labour government to develop an institutional framework, first in a speech at Woolwich in 1965 by the Secretary of State, Anthony Crosland, in which he introduced the concept of the 'binary' system and subsequently in a White Paper, 'A Plan for Polytechnics and Other Colleges'.⁽²⁾ This plan, put into effect in the late 1960's and early 1970's by the amalgamation of Colleges of Technology, Commerce and Art, created the thirty-one Polytechnics in England and Wales (Scotland has always been a different

country where they do things differently), to serve as a focal point for the development of the public sector of higher education. By 1966, therefore, the basic structure of the higher education system had been established.

Central to the Robbins Report was what later became known as the 'Robbins Principle', that 'courses in higher education should be available for all those who are qualified by ability and attainment to pursue them and who wish to do so'.⁽³⁾ This apparently liberal, demand oriented approach, with its belief in an untapped pool of ability and expansionist stance, caused much controversy at the time, with Kingsley Amis coining the slogan of the anti-expansionists with his fear that 'more means worse'. In retrospect, this seems a curiously out-dated view and the principle became, for two decades, the corner-stone of the system. Bernard Crick's judgement that 'more means the same' is both more prosaic and depressingly accurate.

This is because, as will be seen, the Robbins Report and its aftermath, despite some alterations to the framework, was firmly rooted in the liberal, university tradition which has dominated English higher education since the middle of the nineteenth century. Its emphasis was very firmly on the full-time education of the eighteen to twenty-one age group, and had little to say about, apart from teacher training, which will be discussed later, manpower planning and the needs of industry. Nor was there any substantial discussion of subject balance, since the twin assumptions of institutional autonomy and consumer sovereignty were preferred to any form of dirigisme.

Developments in the 60's and 70's

By far the most significant feature during this period was the steady growth of provision of higher education courses, in both number of places provided, and in real terms, as measured by the age participation rate (APR). This growth took place both in the universities and in the local authority colleges, including, but not exclusively, the emerging polytechnics. Whereas in 1962-3 the total number of full-time students in higher education was 216,000, by 1970/71 this had more than doubled to 456,000 and by the end of the 70's had increased further to 535,000. The APR, which in the early 1960's was about 8 per cent, had risen by the end of the 1970's to about 13 per cent, the bulk of the rise coming in the first half of the decade. The growth in the local authority sector was much more rapid than in the universities, once

the transfer of the CATs was achieved. The official statistics are a little difficult to interpret because of the way in which teacher training was absorbed into the other two sectors, but while at the time of the Robbins Report the number of full-time students in the universities was almost three times that of the local authority colleges (excluding teacher training and overseas students), by 1980 that had changed to a situation in which the numbers in universities were only about one third more than in the public sector (this time including teacher training but still excluding overseas students). By 1983/4 the number in each sector was in almost exact balance.

Table 1 Age Participation Rates (APR)
% of 19-20 Year Olds in Full time
Higher Education

Year	APR
1955	6.1
1960	8.3
1970	11.7
1975	11.9
1977	12.6
1979	12.1
1981	12.1
1983	11.9

Sources: Robbins Report, HMSO; Statistics of Education, HMSO.

In the universities, the most interesting and innovative development, apart from the establishment of six new universities (Essex, Kent, Sussex, Warwick, Lancaster and York, all with names and most of them with locations which fitted in well with the liberal tradition), was the setting up of the Open University. This, like the establishment of the polytechnics, was not mentioned at all in the Robbins Report, and was a product of the Labour government. Indeed, Robbins' terms of reference referred exclusively to full-time higher education, itself an illuminating comment on the assumptions of the 60's. It was first mooted, as the 'University of the Air', in the election manifesto of 1964, and was strongly supported by Harold Wilson, the Prime Minister. It was put into effect with extraordinary enthusiasm by Jennie Lee, a junior minister at the DES, against much establishment opposition, including that of the Treasury. Designed as a major experiment in distance or open learning, with its emphasis on correspondence texts and radio and television broadcasts, with only occasional face-to-face tutorials, it was established by royal charter and took its first students in 1971. Not even a national postal strike early in that year could prevent its success, designed as it was to cater exclusively for mature, part-time students without regard to initial qualifications.

One measure of its success since 1971 is its confounding of the sceptics and its unquestioned acceptance as an integral part of the education system. Another is the extent to which open learning has developed in other spheres. The Open Tech system, set up under the MSC, is now a national system using distance learning techniques for teaching new skills, particularly to technician and supervisory management. The concept of the Open College, originally pioneered in Lancashire by Nelson and Colne college, Preston (now Lancashire) Polytechnic and several other colleges aims to bring

together open and conventional learning approaches across the range of post-school education and in particular to provide a route into further and higher education for mature students. This development has also spread in varying forms across the country. More recently, the present government has announced 'The University of the Air', borrowing not only the original name of the Open University, but also its use of radio and television, to widen the ambit of its skills and retraining programme.

Yet a third measure is in the statistics. From relatively small beginnings, the Open University in 1984 provided education for 76,000 students, more than twice as many as all the other universities together (36,000) and slightly more than all the polytechnics. About one quarter of all part-time higher education students in that year were in the Open University.⁽⁴⁾ One might even argue that its very success has meant that other institutions, universities in particular, have been able the more easily to maintain their traditional emphasis on full-time school leavers.

One of the most interesting and significant developments over the past twenty years has been the ebb and flow of teacher education or, to be more historical accurate, the flow, ebb and flow. Education for future manpower needs has always been among the objectives of higher education, ever since the mediaeval universities began the training of doctors, lawyers and clerics. The following extract from the Robbins Report is instructive.

We begin with instruction in skills suitable to play a part in the general division of labour. We put this first, not because we regard it as the most important, but because we think that it is sometimes ignored or undervalued. Confucius said in the Analects that it was not easy to find a man who had studied for three years without aiming at pay.⁽⁵⁾

However important it is, there is no doubt that teacher education plays a direct and specific part in the satisfaction of labour market requirements. It is the changing perception of these requirements that has been crucial, both in numerical and institutional terms, and anyone who wishes to understand the present crisis in higher education will find in the study of teacher training an illuminating precedent.

In the late 1960's, those engaged in teacher training, whether in local authority colleges, voluntary colleges or universities were called upon to expand rapidly to meet the twin demands of a high birth rate and the decision to raise the school leaving age to sixteen. Then, in the 1970's, when the demographers realised that the birth rate was in decline and had been for some time, there was a rapid reversal and a series of decisions to cut back drastically on the training of teachers. Finally, at the present, there is a modest growth in the school age population and therefore an expansion in progress. It is because changes in the birth rate affect the demand for schoolteachers within five years (less if nursery education is taken seriously) and it takes four years to train a teacher that the swings have been so violent.

Some measure of this can be seen from the following table which examines the provision of initial teacher training in the public sector. As can be seen, the contraction in the sec-

ond half of the 1970's was very severe, causing many redundancies and course closures. Also, because nearly three-quarters of the education students are women, this was a severe blow to equal opportunities.

Table 2 Public Sector Teacher Education

Year	Student numbers
1966	84,256
1972	109,085
1974	101,478
1976	79,169
1978	39,043
1979	30,116

Source: Statistics of Education, 1979, HMSO Further Education Table 16, p.26

This decline occurred as it did at a time when the James Report⁽⁶⁾ was expressing a widely held view that teacher education should be better integrated with the rest of the higher education system. This had far-reaching institutional consequences with whatever reluctance there might have been being dispelled by the struggle for survival. The Robbins Report had envisaged a closer relationship with the universities and a few colleges, such as Canley College in Coventry and the College of St. Bede and St. Hild in Durham did follow this path. However, most colleges stayed within the public sector, merging with the nearest polytechnic or, by linking with a local technical college and/or diversifying their courses into other areas, forming Colleges of Higher Education.

These latter are an illustration of the tendency to status hierarchy which is such a conspicuous feature of higher education in this country. Just as the polytechnics have come to be regarded as second rank universities, so the higher education colleges have become the third division, even though the hierarchies have little close relation to educational realities. A more recent example of this phenomenon is to be found in the report of the Lindop Committee⁽⁷⁾ in 1985 into validation procedures in the public sector, which recommended that a select number of polytechnics should be given virtual autonomy in awarding their own degrees. This propensity to use the university as the model and to admit only those who have proven their worth to the super-league has had its effect on educational provision, leading to what Burgess and Pratt⁽⁸⁾ referred to some years ago as 'academic drift', the tendency to concentrate on those courses, principally first degree and full-time, which are closest to the university pattern, at the expense of part-time and sub-degree courses.

There were, of course, many other things happening in the fifteen years between 1964 and 1979, to student finance and particularly to the position of overseas students, to the pay and conditions of higher education teachers, and to the structure and design of courses. There were other changes contemplated but never put into effect, or not having the impact expected. The Robbins proposal to establish three Special Institutions of Scientific and Technological Research (Sisters, acronymically speaking) was quietly forgotten and the Diploma of Higher Education (Dip.H.E.), advocated by the James Committee as an important two-year sub- and pre-degree qualification, has never had the

impact expected, though it survives in some institutions.

The overall impression, however, is one of little change in essentials. The universities continued to dominate, increasing both in size and in numbers, the polytechnics, and subsequently the colleges of higher education established themselves, but the era of mass higher education did not dawn. The APR for full-time students rose to about thirteen per cent and then stabilised. This figure is still well below that of the other European countries and way below that of the United States. Britain's higher education system is among the smallest and most elitist of the industrialised world.

The Politics of Lower Resources for Higher Education

It is difficult, after the public expenditure constraints of the past seven or so years, to recall a period when the expansion of higher education was taken for granted. Nonetheless, it is necessary to examine how this transformation came about, in terms both of the means by which it has been achieved, and of the precise dimensions of the change.

First, in looking at the means of change, it is necessary to identify two aspects of the process, the achievement of a climate in which change is possible and acceptable, and the machinery by which the change is effected. In this respect, 1976 may turn out to be a more crucial year than 1979. While it is correct to associate the public expenditure cuts with the Conservative government elected in 1979, the change of climate occurred in the aftermath of the intervention of the International Monetary Fund, following the economic crisis in the middle of the previous Labour government's period of office. Though Anthony Crosland's notion that 'the party's over' referred specifically to local authority expenditure, the concept may be used to typify a more widespread sentiment. If this is so, then the Conservatives' public expenditure policy, legitimated in their election manifesto of 1979, may have marked, as Gamble and Walkland⁽⁹⁾ have argued, an acceleration, if a crucial one, of the previous three years' experience.

In the case of the machinery of public expenditure control of higher education, it would be hardly surprising to find continuities, such as the continued use of the UGC to allocate the misery, but by far the most interesting feature of this process has been the extent to which it has required a Conservative government committed to the virtues of market mechanisms and the principles of privatisation to resist such market pressures as the demand for higher education places, which has continued to be buoyant, and to intervene increasingly and in detail in the planning of higher education. In retrospect, this may turn out to be one of the crowning ironies of Thatcherism.

In terms of the student demand debate, there has been a rather unedifying argument over the statistical projections, with the DES arguing that the downturn in the 18-21 year-old population in the 1990s offers an opportunity for savings, while others have argued that increasing demand from mature students will more than make good the deficiency. The DES has clearly had the worst of the debate, with most of the educational and statistical community, including the Royal Statistical Society, ranged against them. There have been several upward revisions of the DES projections,

though version which appears in the recent Green Paper on Higher Education⁽¹⁰⁾ is still niggardly in its estimation of future demand. This persistent intervention by the DES in the debate indicates the extent to which demand arguments can be massaged or ignored by a determined department.

Perhaps the most striking illustration of the interventionist stance is in the setting up of a public body to plan public sector higher education. The National Advisory Body for Public Sector Higher Education (NAB), as it is now officially called, was established in 1982, after a prolonged debate, and originally carried the word 'interim' in its title, but is now firmly established. This too traces its origins to the Labour government of 1974 to 1979 and marked the end of demand-led expansion of this sector.⁽¹¹⁾ This body, which has already planned one three-year cycle, 1984-87, and is now embarked on a second, 1987-90, has defined its role as an extremely active one. Its planning has been meticulous and extensive, covering over four hundred colleges, dividing their work into nineteen 'programme areas' or subject groupings, and has spent much time, through its Technical and Data Group, in devising complicated formulae for the allocation of the 'National Pool' of expenditure for the sector. In addition, it has produced reports on Continuing Education, a variety of subject areas and has recently entered the field of efficiency, with its Good Management Practice investigation.

NAB has also been interventionist in its attempt to alter the subject balance towards science and engineering and away from social sciences and humanities, and to shift the emphasis towards part-time and sub-degree education, but, more importantly, because the Board of the NAB, which does much of the detailed work, is a body representative of most of the interests involved, it has helped to legitimate the reduction in resources in a rather old-fashioned, corporatist manner. It is fair, though, to point out also that it has attempted on a number of occasions to represent to the government the demands for extra resources.

One of the most bizarre and, were it not so serious, amusing episodes has been the spectacle of a privatising government, though the DES, battling with its own planning agency, the NAB, over the body of teacher education. Both have claims, the DES through its long-standing Teachers Branch, and the NAB through its responsibility for the whole of the public sector. The victory went in 1985, after a prolonged and public debate, ostensibly over the timing of the planning phase, to the DES and we now have a situation in which the NAB simply does what it is told on Initial Teacher Training.

Another example of the intervention of the state is in the attempt to alter the subject balance already referred to above. It is claimed on the one hand that this derives from a vocational, manpower planning imperative, with industry apparently desperate for engineers and computer experts, while arts and social science graduates are unemployed. However, the evidence for this skills shortage is slender, and a House of Lords Select Committee on Science and Technology recently reported that, while there was a shortage of information technology graduates, "evidence on the manpower demands of other new technologies was limited".⁽¹²⁾ On the other hand, the government's hostility to

social sciences, particularly while Sir Keith Joseph was at the DES, is legendary. The change of name from Social Science Research Council to Economic and Social Research Council, removing 'science' and installing 'economics', the respectable social science; the attempts to substantiate allegations of marxist bias in social science courses at the Polytechnic of North London and the Open University; the suspicion that the Lindop Enquiry into the CNA was motivated by the latter's defence of North London; all these are evidence of this approach.

Perhaps the most salutary lesson of this attempted switch of resources is how difficult it is, especially in a situation where there is no growth in the system. Any growth in one area must be at the expense of another and, quite apart from the political difficulty of achieving this, student demand has proved to be remarkably resistant to direction. In fact, it has become clear that, until the schools produce more mathematics and science products, particularly among women, it will be impossible to manipulate the market pressures.

The UGC has, during this period, also become more dirigiste, moving from a position in 1981 of distributing cuts evenly to its most recent (1986) round, in which a complicated formula of institutional and discipline rating was used. In particular, a very extensive assessment has been made of the research activities of each university, on the basis that this activity is the hallmark of a university. As a result, the UGC has produced a rating of each subject department in each university as 'above average', 'average', or 'below average'. This rating is now being used to distribute funds to the universities. The UGC too, like the NAB, has been involved in the efficiency of the institutions under its control. Most recently, the Jarrat Steering Committee on Efficiency Studies in the Universities conducted an investigation of the management in universities.

One other means of investigation, if not control, deserves mention before concluding this catalogue of state involvement. The Audit Commission in 1985 published a detailed study of further education, including public sector higher education, entitled 'Obtaining Better Value from Further Education',⁽¹³⁾ examining costs, class sizes, the teaching hours of staff, staffing ratios and the marketing of courses. In the same year, the Public Accounts Committee of the House of Commons investigated and criticised the use of funds allocated to the universities to enable them to reduce staffing levels, principally by buying out the life-long tenure which many staff possess.

All in all, it is clear that higher education has been investigated, planned and scrutinised in the last few years by the state and its associated instruments to an extent and in detail that is unparalleled in its history.

The Extent of the Expenditure Reductions

It is important to approach this topic with caution, for a variety of reasons. For one, the change in the presentation of the official figures in 1981 from survey year prices (real terms) to cash figures (actual terms) makes comparison more difficult, as do the changes in the fee income for both universities and public sector colleges. For another, the dif-

ferent responses of the two sectors to the reductions suggests that unit costs per student (unit of resource) might be a better measure. A third reason is that it is necessary to examine the figures dispassionately in order that an accurate picture can be presented.

With these caveats, the following analysis emerges. First, although the Labour government before 1979 was attempting to contain public expenditure, it was more a question of reducing the rate of increase than of real cuts. The apparent reduction of 12-13 per cent in 1977-78 represents a transfer to student fees, which increased in that year by 20 per cent. In the last financial year of the Labour government (1978-79), current university expenditure rose by one per cent and that of further and higher education (the figures are not presented separately) by five per cent, with modest increases planned up to 1982-3.⁽¹⁴⁾

The incoming Conservative government's first expenditure White Paper stated clearly in March 1980 "the Government intend to reduce public expenditure progressively in volume terms over the next four years".⁽¹⁵⁾ In higher education, a start was to be made with an increase in overseas students' fees, and in the next two years, plans emerged to effect a real terms reduction of ten per cent by 1984-85. The national pool for local authority expenditure on higher education was first 'capped' (effectively controlled by central government), then reduced and given to the NAB to allocate from 1983, while plans were announced in 1981 for a 17 per cent reduction over three years in university expenditure.

The introduction in 1981 of cash limits in the public expenditure projections was significant, in that the old system had a built-in element to cater for future inflation, while from 1981 onwards the Treasury's allowance for inflation has consistently been an under-estimate, thus increasing the expenditure reduction.

At the time of writing, the universities are facing a further three years of cuts, at a rate of 2 per cent a year, while the public sector is facing a reduction of 9,500 first year students from 1987, in order to maintain its unit of resource. There are, however, some signs that the government may relent a little and find some extra resources as the next election approaches. Indeed, Kenneth Baker, the new Secretary of State, has announced (August 1986) an 'additional' £54m for the public sector for 1987-8 which it is expected may at least prevent any further cuts in access by the NAB, while similar treatment for the Universities might be expected but is not yet (September 1986) confirmed.

It is, of course, important to distinguish between intention and achievement. To do this, a comparison can be made between 1980-81 and 1985-86, the latest year for which figures are available.⁽¹⁶⁾ In the universities, expenditure has risen by £365 million, which represents a real terms reduction of eleven per cent, while in the local authority sector the rise of £225 million represents only a small real terms reduction. This, however, is somewhat misleading, both because the universities have been successful in finding private funds, mainly from industry, while local authorities have progressively reduced the additional funds, or 'topping up', which they provide from their general budgets. The net result is

probably more an equality of misery than at first appears to be the case.

It is also necessary to look at the effects of these changes on both individual institutions and the unit of resource. In the universities, the worst hit institution, as reported to the House of Commons in June 1986, was Salford with a cut of 43 per cent while, apart from the London Business School, with an increase of 26 per cent, the most favourably treated university was York, whose increase was 5 per cent.⁽¹⁷⁾ Variations in the public sector are much less marked.

The changes in the unit of resource have been the result of two very different policies. The UGC set out in 1981 to protect unit costs, reducing student numbers instead. Thus, undergraduate numbers actually fell from 233,000 in 1982-3 to 225,000 in 1984-5.⁽¹⁸⁾ As a result, the unit of resource declined by only 2 per cent. By contrast, the NAB has been anxious to maintain student access to higher education and the colleges have assisted by over-recruiting, much to the public annoyance of the government. As a result, the unit of resource fell by 11 per cent between 1980-81 and 1983-84⁽¹⁹⁾ and has fallen further since, as a consequence of NAB decisions in 1985.

Three conclusions can be drawn from this analysis. First, and most obviously, there has been a real reduction in expenditure, which has had an effect everywhere, and severe consequences for some institutions. Secondly, the differences in the unit of resource between the universities and the public sector colleges, already significant at the beginning of the decade, has become much more marked. The total cost per student in 1982-83 was £5230 in the universities and £3125 in polytechnics. Even allowing for greater research activity in the universities, this difference is startling and will have widened substantially since then. Thirdly, it can be said that the slight increase in the APR, from 13.1 per cent in 1981-2 to 13.7 per cent in 1984-5 has been in spite of, rather than because of, government decisions, and is largely the result of the public sector's efforts in absorbing the student demand unsatisfied by the universities. Paradoxically, this has brought the full-time numbers in the public sector into almost exact balance with the universities. This, of course, brings the argument back to the Robbins conception of the public sector as a surplus provider.

Whatever Happened to the Robbins Principle?

This survey of higher education has now come more or less full circle, back to the most important issue, that of who is to have higher education. The objectives of a higher education system are manifold, but surely the needs of the young people who are still largely its recipients are paramount. The question of 'how many?' or 'what proportion of the age group?' is crucial both to the individual and the society and, given the wide range of international variations, not one which has an obvious or automatic answer.

The Robbins principle, with its emphasis on the twin requirements of qualification and motivation, provided the basis for a consensus which held for almost twenty years and which was the foundation on which the expansion of the system rested. However, the pressures of expenditure cuts on the one hand and the changing conception of higher educa-

tion on the other have rendered the formulation out-dated.

The NAB and the UGC, in their submissions in 1984 to the DES prior to the government's production of its Green Paper, attempted to formulate a new consensus. One of the significant developments of the 1970's was the growth of mature entrants to higher education, not only to part-time but also to full-time courses. Many of these were unqualified in the formal sense of having 'A' levels or their equivalent but demonstrated an ability to hold their own with the eighteen year-olds, to the surprise of some. The new criterion, jointly agreed by the UGC and NAB, took account of this and stated that "courses of higher education should be available to all those who can *benefit* from them and who wish to do so".⁽²⁰⁾

This represented a considerable advance on the Robbins principle and opened up the opportunity for a considerable advance in provision, as the extensive needs of the over-21 age group were met. Indeed, it meant that the Age Participation Ratio, measuring as it does the proportion of eighteen and nineteen year-olds in higher education, should not be the only yardstick, a point recognised by the government in producing the YMEI (Young Mature Entry Index) and the OMPI (Older Mature Participation Index) to add to the renamed API (Age Participation Index).⁽²¹⁾

No doubt because of its expansionist potential, the government found it ultimately difficult to accept this principle without qualification and, in its Green Paper added significantly "...so long as taxpayers substantial finance higher education, however, the benefit has to be *sufficient to justify the cost*".⁽²²⁾ This transparent device to prevent the growth is also ironic in that it represents a rediscovery of the language of cost-benefit analysis by a government which has consistently derided it.

In the other direction, the debate on the left about student potential has led to a much more generous formulation. In its most recent publication on higher education, the Labour Party reaffirms an intent it declared in 1982 that "all full-time and part-time post school education should be available to those who wish to take up appropriate courses *designed to meet their needs*".⁽²³⁾ This student oriented approach, recognising the wide range of needs, many as yet unmet, of post eighteen year-olds, is at a considerable distance from that of the Conservative government, and, while it remains to be seen whether a future Labour government lives up to this commitment, it is fair to say that the consensus on this issue is looking decidedly ragged.

Conclusion

In attempting to draw this brief survey of the current state and the recent past of higher education to a conclusion, several principal features emerge. The first is that the expansion of the 60's and 70's following the Robbins report, though considerable, stopped at a point well below the threshold of a mass higher education system, and at a level less than that of the other major industrial nations, leaving the elitist model of a university still as the dominant criterion for the system, despite the institutional development of the public sector.

Secondly, the experience in the 70's and 80's of teacher education and, latterly, the attempt to switch to science and engineering, indicates the difficulties in attempting to gear the output of higher education closely to the needs of the economy. Unless and until the education system is planned as a whole, rigidities in the schools will frustrate developments in higher education. The reverse is also true, for the failure of the teacher education system to produce sufficient graduates in school shortage subjects produces a vicious and self-reinforcing circle, impelling a reluctant Conservative government to move deeper into the planning of higher education.

Thirdly, the cuts in education expenditure have had an effect, by bringing expansion to a virtual end, universities to a state of incipient bankruptcy and the polytechnics to a position in which their unit of resource is at a dangerously low level, which threatens to jeopardise the high standards which have been established. Also, the staff reductions and the unrelenting increase of pressure on those remaining has had its effect on staff morale, an ingredient often ignored and yet a vital element.

Finally, and perhaps optimistically, the recent debate on the principles of access to higher education opens up the possibility of a further expansion, either with a change of government or a substantial change of heart by the present one. It is now twenty-five years since the Robbins Committee was established. What is now needed is another full-scale inquiry to chart the developments of the next twenty-five years. A mass, comprehensive higher education system by the beginning of the twenty-first century is not an impossibility.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. HMSO, *Report of the Committee on Higher Education*, (Robbins Report), Cmnd 2154, 1963.
2. HMSO, *A Plan for Polytechnics and Other Colleges*, Cmnd 3006, 1966.
3. HMSO, *Report of the Committee on Higher Education*, op. cit., p8.
4. HMSO, *Social Trends 16*, 1986, Table 3. 13, p54.
5. HMSO, *Report of the Committee on Higher Education*, op. cit., p6.
6. HMSO, *Teacher Education and Training*, (James Committee), 1972.
7. HMSO, *Academic Validation in Public Sector Higher Education*, (Lindop Committee), Cmnd 9501, 1985.
8. Burgess T. and Pratt J., *Policy and Practice: The Colleges of Advanced Technology*, London, Allen Lane, 1970, pp.168-179.
9. Gamble A.M. and Walkland S.A., *The British Party System and Economic Policy 1945-1983*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1984.
10. HMSO, *The Development of Higher Education into the 1990s*, Cmnd 9524, 1985.
11. Jones A., *Rationality and Policy-Making in Higher Education: The Case of the National Advisory Body, Policy and Politics*, Vol. 13 No. 4 (1985), pp.345-358.
12. as cited in *The Labour Party, Education through Life*, 1986, p.22.
13. HMSO, *The Audit Commission, Obtaining Better Value from Further Education*, 1985.
14. HMSO, *The Government's Expenditure Plans 1979-80 to 1982-83*, Cmnd 7439, 1979, Table 2. 10, pp.124-125.
15. HMSO, *The Government's Expenditure Plans 1980-81 to 1983-84*, Cmnd 7841, 1980, p.1.
16. HMSO, *The Government's Expenditure Plans 1986-87 to 1988-89*, Cmnd 9701-II, 1986, pp.186-197.
17. As reported in *The Guardian*, 10 June 1986, p.4.
18. HMSO, *The Government's Expenditure Plans 1986-87 to 1988-89*, op. cit., Table 3. 12. 11, p.194.
19. HMSO, *The Government's Expenditure Plans 1985-86 to 1987-88*, Cmnd 9428-II, 1985, Table 3. 10. 6, p.152.
20. NAB *Evidence to the DES.*, UGC *Evidence to the DES.*, 1984.
21. HMSO, *The Government's Expenditure Plans 1985-86 to 1987-88*, op. cit., Table 3. 10. 4, p.150.
22. HMSO, *The Development of Higher Education into the 1990s*, op. cit., p.10.
23. *The Labour Party*, 1986, op. cit., p.8.

'free speech' or 'no platform'?

RUTH LEVITAS

The 1986 Education Bill started out in the House of Lords as a bill chiefly concerned with the powers of parents and school governors. It has become, in the words of a *Times* leader, "a Christmas tree festooned with irrelevant bits and pieces".⁽¹⁾ These extraneous attachments are a series of amendments relating to issues far more controversial than the original topic of the bill, and several were proposed by, among others, Baroness Cox. They include two aimed at the prevention of political indoctrination in schools, and one which requires that any sex education be given "in such a manner as to encourage.....pupils to have due regard to moral considerations and the value of family life".⁽²⁾

There is a certain contradiction between these amendments which becomes more apparent when the surrounding debates are taken into account. The concern about political indoctrination is primarily one about peace studies and anti-racism. That relating to sex education is about the divorce rate and about discussion of homosexuality in schools, leading to a law which seeks to promote within schools the moral superiority of a certain form of family structure, and a heterosexual orientation. The effect of these amendments, if they are eventually enshrined in law, will clearly be to limit the expression of non-establishment views by teachers, both as individuals, and collectively in the design of the curriculum. They will increase (right-wing) political control over what is taught in schools. What is particularly worrying is not that this means education will have a political content; there is no such thing as value-free education, and all that is at issue is what those values should be. The disturbing element is that these changes are presented as a victory for neutrality over politicisation: 'our values are merely the (neutral) transmission of British culture, yours are political; we educate, you indoctrinate'.

Attempts (so far abortive) have also been made to introduce into the bill a clause relating to free speech in the universities. At both Committee and Report stages, an amendment was moved that "it shall be the duty of any university.....to use available resources, including if necessary requesting the help of the police, to prevent serious interference with freedom of speech within the law on their premises".⁽³⁾ This was eventually withdrawn on the assurance that a more detailed amendment would be introduced on the Third Reading. Such an amendment was tabled, but it too had to be withdrawn on complaints from peers that this gave inadequate time for proper discussion. The new amendment

would have placed a duty on University and College administrations of ensuring that an invited visitor be not "prevented from stating any fact or expressing any view.....which he [sic] may lawfully state or express while on the premises", and if necessary calling the police to this end. In addition, it provided that no person should act in any way to prevent any member, student or employee of the institution similarly expressing any view provided it is within the law.⁽⁴⁾

One of the reasons why the House of Lords refused to agree such an amendment was that the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals (CVCP) had expressed extreme disquiet about both the requirement to consult with the police, and the fact that it would give rise to "vexatious and meretricious litigation".⁽⁵⁾ In this latter fear they are no doubt correct. As it stands, the clause could make it illegal, for example, for the chairperson of a meeting to close a discussion before it was exhausted, or even for teaching staff to define certain student interventions in class as unacceptably irrelevant, since both situations could involve preventing individuals from expressing their views. The wording of this particular amendment confuses the issues of free speech and access to a platform - a confusion which has bedevilled the whole discussion about 'free speech in the Universities'. Although the amendment was rejected, the Government immediately announced their intention of reintroducing a further amendment on the same topic at a later stage.

It is worth examining, whether there is a real issue about freedom of speech in universities and colleges, and if so, what that issue is. The *New Statesman* described all the amendments discussed here as examples of instant legislation rushed in in response to moral panics as "symbolic reassurances that a symbolic threat has been quashed".⁽⁶⁾ Yet despite the CVCP's opposition to the specific amendments so far drafted, they clearly do not regard public concern about free speech as a moral panic about a non-issue, having in December 1985, issued their own guidelines on "Freedom of Speech and Lawful Assembly".⁽⁷⁾

Both public concern and that of the CVCP, derive from the same source, namely the media attention given to a number of incidents in 1985 and 1986 involving government ministers and right-wing tory M.P's. Invited to speak on campus, usually by local student conservative associations (i.e., the local associations which make up the Federation of Conser-

vative Students), these M.P's have been met with student demonstrations, have in some cases been prevented from speaking and in some others allegedly been subjected to physical violence. Such violence as has occurred has by no means been solely instigated by students. In March 1985, police broke up a peaceful demonstration at Manchester University on the occasion of a visit by Leon Brittan, then Home Secretary. Injuries to the students included one case of a fractured skull, and a subsequent unofficial inquiry found that the police had behaved unreasonably. Even more alarmingly, about a year later the **Guardian** published an extraordinary article alleging that two students (one of whom was the woman whose skull had been fractured) had been subjected to intimidation, harassment and suspicious burglaries over the year following the demonstration, by men whom they believed to be police officers.⁽⁸⁾

The majority of media coverage, however, has focused on the behaviour of students. In May 1985 there was some disorder when Harvey Proctor, M.P. for Billericay, was invited to speak to Bristol University. In October 1985, Bradford University refused to allow Proctor to address Conservative students about the case of Ray Honeyford, for fear of serious disruption resulting. Three weeks later, the **Guardian** reported the David Waddington, Home Office minister responsible for immigration, was punched in the face, booed and jeered at Manchester University. In January 1986, a meeting addressed by Harvey Proctor was broken up. In February, John Carlisle was reported as having been punched and knocked to the ground at a meeting at Bradford University, having earlier been "jostled and heckled" at Hull and banned from speaking at York and Essex.⁽⁹⁾

John Carlisle had, in fact, planned to speak at three universities in one day on the need for more sporting links with South Africa.⁽¹⁰⁾ His keenness to expose himself to predictable difficulties reflects several elements. He is Vice-President of the Federation of Conservative Students, and thus perhaps particularly likely to receive invitations from them. He has also been a vociferous opponent of the policy of the National Union of Students of "no platform for racists and fascists", seeing the policy itself as an infringement of freedom of speech, and seeking to publicise what he sees as its ill-effects. Keith Joseph describes supporters of the 'no platform' policy as "the new barbarians";⁽¹¹⁾ Carlisle refers more directly to his student opponents as 'the new breed of fascists' and argues that "the single greatest threat to democracy and safety, not only in universities and polytechnics, but also nationally, comes from the fascistic left". The terminology here echoes an increasing general use of terms like "red fascists" and Carlisle's own 'red Nazi thugs'.⁽¹²⁾ Many who would not go so far share Keith Joseph's view that the 'no platform' policy is an infringement of freedom of speech.

Phil Woolas, President of NUS, argues that the incidents involving M.P's are nothing to do with the 'No platform' policy, which he sees as aimed at preventing racist and fascist groups like the National Front and British Movement from organizing on campus.⁽¹³⁾ This may indeed be its original purpose; but there is no doubt that many students interpret it more widely, and see the presence of speakers whom they define as racists as in contravention of the policy. And again, the issues of free speech and access to a platform are com-

pounded. When Bradford refused to allow Proctor a platform, Proctor complained that it meant free speech could no longer be taken for granted.⁽¹⁴⁾ A statement from the city council pointed out that

Mr. Proctor's right to express his views - for example by publishing the text he was to have given at the university - was not the issue. The real question was whether it would have been wise for him to address a meeting in Bradford at the end of a very difficult week for the city in race relations.⁽¹⁵⁾

The fact that there is a general agreement that free speech is a good thing does not in itself have any bearing on what platforms may or may not be offered to particular people to express their views, either verbally or in print, and such platforms are differentially available and subject to different forms of control. About the only place where this is not true is Speaker's Corner, and even there a speaker cannot be guaranteed a hearing. It is not, then, an infringement of freedom of speech for an institution with the right to invite speakers to exercise that right in a way which excludes those deemed by members of the institution to be racist, sexist, or indeed merely boring.

This does not, however, exonerate the 'no platform' policy. In so far as it is applied to visiting speakers, it involves a decision taken by the Students Union as a whole overriding (in most cases) the wish of a constituent student society, the local FCS, to invite a particular speaker. Supposing the collective decision to be taken democratically, this still leaves a problem of the rights of the majority to override those of a minority. If anyone's rights/freedoms are being infringed, it is those of the conservative students, not those of the visiting M.P's.

In this context, it is appropriate to return to the statement by Bradford City Council, which also said "the Council is firmly committed to freedom of information. It is less convinced of freedom of provocation".⁽¹⁶⁾ There are three different senses in which student demonstrations, and perhaps even incidents of disorder at these demonstrations, might be said to be a response to provocation. One is that it is widely believed that invitations are issued to controversial speakers precisely in order to precipitate incidents and bring the 'no platform' policy into disrepute; indeed, one might regard the eagerness with which some individuals accept, if not court, such invitations, as similarly provocative. The second point is that allegations have been made that in some cases conservative students have acted in a deliberately provocative manner at the demonstrations themselves; it has even been suggested that individuals have posed as left-wing students. Such allegations are of course difficult to substantiate. But given the deliberately provocative tactics adopted by sections of the FCS at NUS conferences, they are not without plausibility.⁽¹⁷⁾

The third element of provocation is however the most important and the least discussed, and that concerns the substance of the claim that the speakers objected to are in fact racist. Since the definition of racism is itself contentious, one cannot expect consensus on this point, and I shall not attempt to enter into the arguments here. However, the discussion of the issue in terms of freedom of speech and the

rights of individuals does obscure the substance of the issue. In so far as this is dealt with at all, it is limited to asserting the right to freedom of speech within the law. For, as the CVCP guidelines point out, "there is no absolute right under the laws of the United Kingdom to unfettered freedom of speech..... A speaker who incites an audience to violence or to breach of the peace or to racial hatred.....transgresses the bounds of lawful speech".⁽¹⁸⁾ The assumption throughout has been that provided speakers are not guilty of such illegal incitement, they ought to be allowed a platform within a university. There are however many views whose expression stops short of such incitement, but which may be deeply offensive to other members of society, which may encourage racist attitudes, and thus indirectly contribute not just to racial discrimination but perhaps even to racist violence, even if this is no part of the intention of the speaker. It is impossible to demonstrate such causal connections with any certainty, but it is also implausible that no such connections exist. Arguably, this may be true of proposals to 'repatriate' members of the immigrant and immigrant descended population, a course of action recommended by Harvey Proctor.⁽¹⁹⁾ It may be true of Honeyford's references to "the hysterical political temperament of the Indian subcontinent" and to "a half-educated and volatile Sikh";⁽²⁰⁾ it may be true of Vincent's comparison of "British tolerance" and "Asian intolerance".⁽²¹⁾ None of these could by any remote stretch of the imagination be deemed to be in contravention of a law prohibiting incitement to racial hatred. To suggest that the principle of 'freedom of speech within the law' makes them unproblematic, is however to fail to recognise that the right to free speech must be balanced against other rights and freedoms, and that the effect of the **substance** of expressed views on such rights and freedoms must therefore be taken into account. The mere fact that there is a law prescribing certain limits of free speech concedes this principle. But it is plain that there is no consensus either about the effects of certain statements or about the proper balancing of conflicting rights. And while the right to free speech is important, so too are the rights to live free of the fear of racial violence, racial discrimination and racial insults.

The way in which the casting of the argument in terms of individual rights and individual freedom of speech obscures the substantive issues can be illustrated by reference to three cases which have attracted wearisome levels of publicity. These are the cases of Patrick Harrington, Ray Honeyford, and John Vincent. These cases are all very different, and moreover are quite different from the cases discussed above which relate to outside speakers on campus, mainly Members of Parliament.

Patrick Harrington was accepted as a student at North London Polytechnic. Other students objected to being taught with him because of his association with the National Front. In the end, after lengthy protests and court proceedings, the Polytechnic made provision for Harrington to be taught separately. Most of the media coverage presented this, as Harrington himself did, as a problem of an individual being denied an education because of his political views - a point which at an abstract level seems a perfectly reasonable one. And of course Harrington had, in a legal sense, every right both to hold the views he did, and every right to be a member of the National Front, a legal political party. At this

level, one can make out an argument that there is no difference between his case and that, say, of a member of the Socialist Workers Party (increasingly referred to by the Right as 'red fascists') or the Communist Party of Great Britain, since all would generally be regarded as 'political extremists'. There are however major differences in the substance of the policies and practices of 'extreme' left- and right-wing parties (and indeed very important differences between the SWP and CPGB!). National Front policy is overtly racist. In addition, there have been instances of NF branches compiling 'hit lists' of left-wing individuals who have been subjected to harassment. Neither its policies nor its practices respect the freedoms and civil liberties of others, especially those of black or left-wing citizens. These substantive issues mean that the problem can be recast not as one in which Harrington was denied an education, but one in which his presence infringed the freedom of others to receive an education. For education at degree level is not something which is a passive process, but involves, as supporters of free speech on campus repeatedly (and rightly) stress, open discussion. Students at North London Polytechnic who feared the consequences of their views directly or indirectly becoming known to a member of the National Front could equally argue that their rights were being denied.

The case of Ray Honeyford, again, was presented by himself and his supporters as one of which freedom of speech was denied. Honeyford wrote a series of articles in the **Times Education Supplement** and the **Salisbury Review**. These articles attacked, not always in the most moderate of terms, supporters of multi-cultural and anti-racist education, and used language about ethnic minorities and their cultures which some found to be offensive. Some would argue that these articles are racist, but they are clearly not incitement to violence or to racial hatred. He thus had every right, legally speaking, to express his views. Honeyford, however, was when he wrote these articles headmaster of Drummond Road Middle School in Bradford, a school in which the majority of pupils came from Asian families. As a result of his journalism, and after lengthy court proceedings and informal negotiations, he was removed from his post. Although the courts determined that the local authority did, in fact, have the power to dismiss him (which had been in doubt) he was 'persuaded' to take early retirement, and paid some £160,000 to do so.

Honeyford's case would be that being effectively dismissed for using your freedom of speech within the law is actually a denial of free speech. Two points need to be made here. One is that the right to free speech is not absolute, does not include any guarantee of a platform, and gives no protection against general disapprobation that may result from the exercise of that right. You may, up to a point, say what you like, but others may greatly dislike what you say, and (within the law), may act on that dislike. So that the fact that Honeyford became, as a consequence of these articles, deeply unpopular with the Asian community in Bradford was not only a predictable, but an entirely fair outcome, even at an entirely abstract level. His effective dismissal can be justified not on the basis of what he wrote, but on the grounds that the views he expressed in practice so undermined the confidence of parents that he could no longer carry out the

job he had been appointed to.

Whether Honeyford's position had become untenable is an empirical question. Whether the consequences were reasonable in view of what he had said cannot be determined by reference to abstract principles, but again, must refer to the substance of his article and the nature of the situation in Bradford. I do not propose to rehearse the arguments here, but merely to reiterate that the fact that acts have consequences is not in itself an infringement of freedom of speech, and that Honeyford's rights were, properly, weighed against those of parents and children at the school, and that such balancing cannot take place without regard to the content of his writings.

A case that has been treated as in some ways analogous to Honeyford's is that of John Vincent, Professor of Modern History at Bristol University, and columnist for the *Sun*. Early in 1986, students launched a campaign with two objectives. One of these was the removal of the University's name from his twice-weekly column in the *Sun*; the other was the removal of Vincent from his position at the University. The justification was that his journalism demonstrated him to be racist and sexist and thus unfit to be in a position of influence. The parallels with the Honeyford case are clear.

In support of the campaign, demonstrations were held outside Vincent's lectures on three consecutive Tuesdays. On the first occasion, the door into the lecture room was smashed and the lecture abandoned; on the second and third occasions demonstrators remained outside the buildings chanting and in some cases banging on windows. At the third demonstration, a substantial police presence was used to escort the professor from the building. Many of the facts of the case are in dispute, but these are not. Subsequently, disciplinary proceedings were brought by the University against eighteen students, seven of whom were found guilty and penalised in various ways short of expulsion.⁽¹²⁾

The case attracted considerable attention as yet another example of violence on campus, although there seems to have been much more disorder and uproar than anything properly called violence. Moving her amendment to the Education Bill at Report Stage, Baroness Cox referred both to the case of Harvey Proctor, in May refused a platform at two Oxford Colleges, and to the Vincent affair of which she said "only very mild penalties have been imposed on those who have disrupted officially scheduled lectures at the University because the lecturer happens to write for a Murdoch paper".⁽¹³⁾

Can the arguments in justification of Honeyford's dismissal be used in the case of Vincent? The answer, I think, is no. To begin with, there are contractual differences. Academic staff in universities are protected (to some extent) by 'tenure', and can only be dismissed for 'good cause', meaning, roughly, gross and continued failure to fulfil their duties or behaviour totally incompatible with those duties. Thus someone in Vincent's position could only be dismissed for writing for the *Sun* if the University were able and inclined to argue that it was interfering with his teaching duties, and that they had required him to stop his involvement with the *Sun* and he had refused to do so. They would be unlikely to

win such a case if it were disputed, since many academics undertake outside work and many write for non-academic publications which some of their colleagues disapprove of.

I would argue further that Vincent not only cannot, but should not, be dismissed. The point at issue is not only one of freedom of speech, but of academic freedom. There are important differences here with the cases of outside speakers. The argument that student unions are entitled to take collective decisions not to offer a platform to certain persons does not hold for academic staff, who are not there at the invitation of students. The principle of academic freedom means that academics should be free to publish what they wish without fear of dismissal or other positive reprisals (although there are for non-professors negative reprisals available such as non-promotion), and it exists because it is widely believed to be a necessary provision for the pursuit of sometimes unpopular knowledge or the exploration of unfashionable fields. Tenure exists to protect this freedom. To argue for Vincent's dismissal is to argue for the abandonment of this principle.

But, it may be argued, what Vincent writes in the *Sun* is hardly academic. True. This is, indeed, one reason why it was (successfully) argued that it was inappropriate to append the University's name to it.⁽¹⁴⁾ In this case it can be argued that it has nothing to do with the university, provided it does not impinge on his duties. Now the point about the Honeyford case is that his removal from his post can be justified because (and only because) the substance of what he wrote actually and reasonably produced a degree of distrust among parents and children such that he could not fulfil his pastoral or educational role as headmaster. But professors, unlike headteachers, are dealing with adults and are not in loco parentis; and it would be very difficult to argue that any popular journalism, however deplorable, had any reasonable bearing upon their academic activities; it would be necessary to demonstrate directly that these activities were not properly carried out.

It is possible, then, to argue without reference to the content of Vincent's popular journalism that the students' campaign for his dismissal was misguided. Looked at in this way, the argument might seem to lead in the direction of support for measures which might prevent students from protesting as they did, and certainly puts the blame for the situation clearly at their door. How far they are to blame, however, does depend, again, on judgements about the substance of Vincent's *Sun* articles. It is quite possible to argue that he should not be dismissed, and yet to argue that the content of those articles, while perfectly legal, is sufficiently offensive and provocative as to bear some responsibility for the students' protests. Acts, once again, have consequences, and how far those consequences are reasonable depends in this instance on the substance of what is written.

What is worrying, then, is that in all three cases, arguments have been made about the right to an education, to free speech, to academic freedom, and in all three cases, but perhaps particularly in the last, very little attention has been given to the issues of substance involved, and thus the way in which the right to free speech might come into conflict with other rights of individuals and groups.

Media attention has not surprisingly focussed not upon the substantive and difficult issues of what constitutes or encourages racism, but about who has resorted to violent, or at least noisy or disorderly, conduct. In spite of the rhetoric about free speech, it is much more a question of maintaining public order - or perhaps the private order - within universities. Differential access to platforms means that it is then necessarily students who are guilty of 'ungentlemanly' conduct; they rightly observe that they do not have access either to the public platforms and media coverage in the way that M.P.'s do, nor indeed to the pages of the *Salisbury Review* or the *Sun*. This perhaps does not excuse politically ill-advised or counterproductive actions - although it is always hard to tell from media accounts what actually happened. But it does mean that the issues raised should be given more serious consideration than has hitherto been the case.

To some extent, both the long clause which failed to make it into the Education Bill, and the CVCP's own guidelines, make more attempts to take this into account than did Baroness Cox's original amendment. The CVCP document in particular seeks to make clear a commitment to free speech, public order and lawful protest - but again does this at a level of abstraction which avoids dealing with any substantive problems about conflict of interest. But what has happened is precisely that such conflicts have become sharpened. The principles of freedom of speech within the law and freedom to protest can only coexist without major problems in a context where there is substantial political consensus, and where all groups are confident that their views can be effectively expressed through existing channels. We no longer (if we ever did) live in a society where most people feel this to be the case, and it would be naive to expect that the broad political polarisation and breakdown of consensus would not be reflected on university campuses, although because of the class-biased intake to universities it is likely to be less manifest there. The CVCP guidelines and the government's wish to legislate both derive from a concern to maintain order on campus; and government legislation on this matter, which might more appropriately have formed part of the new Public Order Act, will probably, like that Act, result in the effective limitation of students' right to protest, increased police intervention, and the containment by repression rather than consensus of political dissent. The CVCP guidelines attempt to strengthen internal disciplinary procedures, with provision for police intervention and for univer-

sities if necessary to refuse to permit "violently controversial meetings"⁽²⁵⁾ to take place. The hope was that such guidelines would obviate the need for legislation, and allow universities to maintain their autonomy in these matters. It may well be that the rights of individual speakers and of students will be best protected by such autonomy, but legislation seems certain. And with or without legislation, the only long term solution to these problems will be by dealing with the social conflicts that underly them; and such a solution may be a long time coming.

REFERENCES & NOTES

1. Quoted in *New Statesman*, 20.6.86, p.14.
2. House of Lords Papers and Bills (Session 1985-86): 168 Education Bill [H.L.].
3. House of Lords Papers and Bills (Session 1985-86): (891) Education Bill [H.L.]: amendment to be moved in committee; (147c) Education Bill [H.L.]: amendments to be moved on report.
4. House of Lords Papers and Bills (Session 1985-86): Marshalled list of amendments to be moved on third reading, no.5.
5. Quoted in *The Guardian*, 3.6.86.
6. S. Benton & J. Rentoul, 'Now you see it, now you don't', *New Statesman*, 2.6.86, p.14.
7. The guidelines (available from the CVCP) are reproduced in *A.C.U. Bulletin of Current Documentation*, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 72, Feb. 1986, pp 21-24.
8. *The Guardian*, 1.11.85, p.2: 24.3.86, p.18.
9. *The Guardian*, 10.10.85; 9.11.85; 25.1.86; 14.2.86.
10. *The Guardian*, 14.2.86.
11. *The Guardian*, 16.5.86.
12. J. Carlisle, Letter to *The Guardian*, 26.5.86; *The Gordon Liddy Guide to Disrupting NUS Conferences*; J. Carlisle, 'Ban these thugs', *Capitalist Worker*, (Journal of the Young Monday Club), April 1985, p.1.
13. P. Woolas, Letter to *The Guardian*, 22.5.86.
14. Reported in *The Guardian*, 19.10.86.
15. loc. cit.
16. loc. cit.
17. See R. Levitas 'Tory Students and the New Right', *Youth and Policy*, 16, Spring 1986.
18. *A.C.U. Bulletin of Current Documentation*, 72, Feb. 1986, p.21.
19. H. Proctor, Speech to a conference organized by the Monday Club at Westminster Cathedral Conference Centre, 2.11.85.
20. R. Honeyford, 'Education and race - an alternative view', *The Salisbury Review*, 6 (Winter 1984) pp. 30-32. For discussion of this see G. Seidel, 'Culture, Nation and "Race" in the British and French New Right', in R. Levitas, ed., *The Ideology of the New Right*, Polity Press Cambridge, 1986.
21. Vincent's View, *Sun*.
22. Three were sentenced to sixty hours community service, one fined £90, two excluded from receipt of their degrees for six months, and the seventh required to pay for damage to a door and given a suspended sentence of six months suspension. Both convictions and penalties are subject to appeal. The penalties are probably greater than would have been imposed in a court of law, where first offenders on minor public order charges could expect to be bound over or fined small amounts.
23. *Hansard*, (House of Lords) 5th series, Vol. 475, 96, 20.5.86.
24. John Vincent agreed, provided the *Sun* editor concurred, to remove from his column 'Vincent View' the by-line 'John Vincent is Professor of Modern History at Bristol University'.
25. *A.C.U. Bulletin of Current Documentation*, 72, Feb. 1986, p.24.

TRAINING FOR YOUTH AND COMMUNITY WORK

Are you interested in developing as a youth and community worker? If so why not look at our courses - which lead to full professional qualification.

We have a Two Year Full-time Course based at the College and a Three Year Part-time Course which allows you to train on-the-job.

YMCA NATIONAL COLLEGE

For further information write to:

**The Registrar,
YMCA National College,
642a Forest Road,
Walthamstow, E17 3EF.**

- Working for young people.

participation: the reality!

BERNARD DOSWELL

The other day I attended a colleague's farewell party; in reality he was a victim of Local Government cuts and at the age of 50 had been offered early retirement, however euphemistic that is in reality. Was he sad or angry at being thrown on the scrap heap at that tender age? Surprisingly he was neither of these, but rather glad to be getting out, relieved to be shedding the constant frustration of working within a Local Government framework. He was from a sector of education other than the Youth Service but, on reflection, I notice that a large number of colleagues in other Local Authority Youth Services seem to have retired early recently and so I thought it might be interesting to attempt to analyse what is happening in Local Government to predict the future of the Youth Service, especially in the light of Thompson's recent hopes for it.

As a prelude, I think it incumbent upon me to make clear that what I am offering are my personal thoughts based on my experience in one Local Authority only, and without testing these for validity; at best they are hunches or intelligent guesses, but perhaps will stimulate others to seek evidence which will confirm or deny their accuracy.

However, the first point is incontrovertible; Local Government has received a battering at the hands of Central Government over the last two Parliaments. It has been blamed for wasting resources, overspending and inefficiency which it is suggested have contributed largely to the parlous economic condition of the Country. The message has been that if the Central Government can curb Local Government spending then the Country can recover from the recession, and return to full employment.

The second point, which follows closely, is that Central Government seems determined to take over Local Government by transferring hitherto local decision making to its own control; and if not that, at least to curb its powers merely to that of serving as local agents or paymasters for Central Government policies. There is money around for expansion or development of services but it is closely controlled. Instead of more money being made available through the rate support grant, the priorities for the spending of which are determined in the light of locally perceived needs, mechanisms operate to ensure that it is spent in accordance with Central Government priorities. Most of these priorities in themselves imply some criticism of Local Government, and suggest that it is deficient. This in turn

further justifies Central Government action. It becomes a self fulfilling prophecy and reinforces Government determination to exercise controls and checks which leave Local Government feeling devalued, depowered and untrusted.

For instance, educational services, especially the operation of schools, are blamed for not providing young people with the skills which will equip them for the jobs awaiting them when they leave. To demonstrate their concern Central Government adopts two strategies, youth training schemes via the MSC, and education support grants. The former diverts attention from economic and social policy as being at the root of unemployment blames young people, as the folk devils of modern times, who are then seen as too idle or too illiterate to acquire the skills necessary for a post-industrial society. Moreover the MSC seeks to influence the educational system by involving itself in special programmes. These on the surface many have laudable aims but in reality are about a form of *Animal Farm* equality. It does this by equipping the most able with technicological skills, whilst at the same time offering social skills training for the least able and disruptive to keep them in order. These strategies have a variety of names, TVEI, CPVE, but are a divide and conquer policy which Local Government grabs hold of for its own survival needs. It accepts the bribe almost with its eyes closed, because the alternative is not worth contemplating; under-resourced schools and inefficient management unable to attract the generous offerings of the MSC.

The DES seems to be part of a conspiracy. It offers education support grants for a variety of purposes, which means that Local Government has to apply for additional funds which are curriculum specific in that they can only be used for pre-ordained purposes. The latest outrage is grants for programmes 'towards social responsibility'. These are unashamedly for those most at risk, the delinquent element who are perceived as a potential threat to law and order and a disruption to the curriculum designed for the technological elite. What is more, these programmes have to show that a large measure of co-operation in their operation is an integral part of what is offered to young people, and the Youth Service is one of the services which is identified as having some control on the deviants. So the Youth Service is being sucked into the system, and not in its traditional role, as per Thompson, of offering programmes designed to aid personal development, but as something more insidious. It is seen entirely in terms of social control, of being a response

to those who are failures in the system. Its purpose is not to help them understand why, but keep them from damaging the warp and weft of everyday school life, and consequently the fabric of society.

A more democratic approach may be for Central Government to allocate this money to Local Government to allow it to decide for itself how best it might be spent, as it ought to be more sensitive to local needs. However political reality is that we live in an age of 'mother knows best' and so locally Councillors and officers alike are denied any real say on how these additional funds are dispersed. To make matters worse any attempt that Local Authorities may wish to make to ameliorate the problems in their areas are subject to penalties in the rate support grant, thus deterring them.

In addition, through the mechanisms of Urban Aid, or of funding under Section II of the 1966 Local Government Act, Central Government favours or not particular initiatives designed to develop community action or racial harmony and again indicates their preferences or priorities. Apart from any racist motives of the latter in marginalising black people, both Urban Aid and Section II serve to keep the lid on potentially problematical situations relating to urban deprivation and racial inequality. Local Government is powerless to fund priorities in these areas without the say so of Central Government which is conditioned by regulations or controls, the criteria for which can be changed according to the capriciousness of the Secretary for the Environment or the Home Secretary.

So what is the effect of these measures on Local Government? Firstly, there is a great deal of uncertainty and demoralisation amongst both politicians and officers. It is extremely difficult to plan effectively in the changing terrain on which Local Government exists. It cannot guarantee its budgets, or its priorities or develop work in accordance with perceived needs. At best it labours hard to maintain its position, at worst it compromises between meeting perceived needs of its inhabitants within Central Government restrictions. It cuts costs knowing that some of the most vulnerable will be sacrificed on the altar of monetarist dogma. And it is powerless to intercede on their behalf or take purposive action to safeguard their interest, for this in itself would create a situation of rate increases unacceptable to the majority of the population. Central Government therefore has Local Government over a barrel!

As already intimated many are glad to get out; for the takeover whilst not complete is as inevitable as Monday's bubble and squeak. Already the Secretary of State for Education is talking of state control of the curriculum, so how soon before he employs directly all teachers, all youth workers, and eventually the Government employing all Local Government Officers? So many officers are glad to accept early retirement, as are key politicians who recently have not contested their seats, preferring not to preside over the death knell of Local Government as they have known it. And who can blame them? The result, together with a shift in the voting behaviour of the electorate towards the left, has meant that, in some previously traditional Conservative Councils, for instance, earlier ruling groups find themselves in opposition. With the newcomers on the majority side it

can mean that new Councillors, with no previous experience of being at the helm, are in the majority. This can mean that the officers can have a field day and manipulate situations to their advantage more freely than before. For officers, hard-baked in deflecting awkward questions, can ride rough-shod over naive politicians however well intentioned.

Currently there are other factors which effect the climate in which the work is undertaken. The first is the Access to Information Act which, whilst desirable in its intentions to give open access to the operation of Local Government, in effect takes many decisions off the Agenda. It has become a sledgehammer to crack a nut and allows in an insidious fashion a transfer of power from service committees to the Town Clerks Department. In other words, the Director of Education may no longer be in control of what is considered by his or her Education Committee, but rather the Administration assumes control and their priorities are often more to do with administrative convenience than educational principles.

Alongside this there is a recent decision by the High Court that Chair's action is illegal. The effect is to put decision making in turmoil, as no longer can officers sound out the Chair and gain his or her permission to take a particular course of action. Powers can only be delegated to officers and so again there is a shift of authority and power but this time away from the elected representatives of the people to the appointed officers of the bureaucracy. We know that by its nature bureaucracy so often operates in an inhuman position and with all the uncertainties prevalent today, for the reasons stated above, can we dare to assume that decisions will in future be taken with local residents or ratepayers in mind? Nor should we accept that a normal goal displacement will occur whereby officers operate largely in the interests of themselves and those of their colleagues.

The end result is confusion and uncertainty, and no wonder, therefore, that people want to leave or retire to get themselves out of the cauldron. For the Youth Service, striving to take Thompson seriously, there are obvious problems: For the role of the voluntary sector and its impact on decision making processes, let alone that of young people, is put in jeopardy. Why should politicians, who themselves feel undervalued, wish to value the contribution of voluntary organisations? Why should officers, who constantly feel under attack, value the views of people who are likely equally to attack them for their failure to resource the Youth Service adequately? Is a participative approach as espoused by Thompson, possible, desirable or even practical?

Perhaps the first point to make is that the Youth Service shares the demoralisation of its colleagues, both within the Education Service and in Local Government generally. It is shell-shocked and feels as though it is fighting from an entrenched position. There appears to be little open ground. The National Advisory Council had its own agenda and appears to be fighting on a different front, and is not going to provide reinforcement. The National Youth Bureau, which is regrouping, appears unavailable or unable to enjoin the fight, seeking for itself, a period of consolidation. All we appear to have are a few snipers, like Bernard Davies, who occasional fire a shot to remind us that they are there. So it

is not surprising that there are those who retreat through retirement, or ill-health, or are so disillusioned they time-serve until retirement.

Is there any hope? Yes, of course, for the reality is that the peripheral nature of the Service is its very salvation. Directors of Education have more important things to do; they are preoccupied with more important educational matters such as reorganising schools in the light of dwindling school roles, taking a grip of the curriculum, devising and operating a system of performance appraisal without alienating the whole of the teaching profession. Apart from the possibility of the Youth Service making a contribution to the latter, Directors of Education just have not got the time to concern themselves with something so esoteric as the Youth Service; indeed I doubt if some of them actually realise it is part of their responsibilities. They are happy to let it happen so long as it does not give them an ulcer.

On a more positive note the Youth Service may, in contrast, gain some importance as there are those who perceive it, rightly or wrongly, as making a major contribution to law and order considerations. They recognise that the Youth Service can be a mechanism for social control and are prepared to provide additional funding on the assumption that the local prestigious shopping precinct will not be burned down or vandalised, that crime figures will decrease, that incidents of taking and driving away of vehicles will reduce, that Personal Social Services budgets may actually be underspent as Youth Workers stem the tide of rising crime, engage the young in energy consuming activities and keep the lid on some form of adolescent corporate rebellion.

The one casualty, however, inevitably and regrettably is the Thompson notion of participation. For as Local Government gets more impossible, more uncertain, more under pressure, more at risk, more of a chimera, then dialogue with the voluntary sector is likely to become a hindrance at best, an irrelevance at worst. And if this is the case what of young people themselves? At what part in the process can they make a contribution; or have events coincided or coluded to confirm their worst fears that adults have little or no interest in them or what they think? How does this revelation aid their personal development, and can the Youth Service survive without the energies of young people or their insights, however apparently naive? For does not a Youth Service need the contribution of young people to be relevant or maintain some measure of credibility?

Because of the uncertainty of the future it may not be possible to provide watertight answers to these questions; the concern at the end of the day may not be the questions in themselves but the social conditions which spark them off. For if democracy is in decline, if Central Government is taking more and more control, if the 'mother knows best' philosophy is taking over, what it might be asked is the point of a service which purports to be concerned with the personal development of young people? The Youth Service may have aims which are consistent with the operation of local government. But this must not be construed as a gospel of despair; the Youth Service must not lose hope because it may be the only institution in society which offers hope to young people. It has to be both optimistic about the future

and clearer over what it can do to shed some light amidst the gloom.

It has to shout louder and more stridently about the needs of a future society, and with one voice, and where necessary engage with its greatest resource, the young people themselves, in promoting its concerns. It may have to break out of the mould of attempting to achieve change by traditional methods and instead use ploys outside the experience of decision makers. For instance, some years ago a group of Youth Officers organised a demonstration in London against youth unemployment; it was held on a Sunday afternoon in Hyde Park; the traditional form of protest. Readers of the national newspapers the following day would not have known of it, for over the river some young people had taken matters into their own hands and rioted. Because this was spontaneous and reflected the anger of the participants it may have had little real effect in the long run, despite the consequent report by Scarman which has been largely ignored! The point is, it created much media coverage and for a time had Cabinet attention whereas the organised event went unnoticed.

What does this teach us? Firstly that, like petitions being handed into the Mayor, this traditional mode of protest is ineffective, and that some form of disruption may be necessary. Ghandi's non-violent civil disobedience would seem an apt model to emulate. What might the effect be of a quarter of a million young people sitting down in Downing Street and Whitehall, including the roads, pavements, tube stations, and all access points to Parliament Square on the day of the State Opening of Parliament, leaving the place empty except for the Speaker, who lives on the premises anyway. Equally, what would the effect be of sitting the same number down on the runways at Heathrow, or Wembley on Cup Final Day? For if we are to help young people to gain the resources they need then we have to show that we take the task seriously. This also means having a profession united in a common determination to improve the lot of young people. The present divide of Youth Officers and Youth Workers with their separate pay scales and professional associations only militates against this.

The key to all this is the involvement of young people themselves, not as ammunition to further the needs of workers or Officers for their own political ends or for status, but as joint planners, initiators, organisers, for merely to manipulate them may be to provide the wrong form of political education, whereas to alert them to the needs of future society and to the methods of social action must be an essential ingredient of social education.

It means taking risks; one of them being over the workers or Officers continuing employment! But democracy is too precious to be left entirely in the hands of politicians and we may have real opportunity of involving young people in it. Whilst this may not be quite what Thompson meant by participation, it's worth a thought!



Malcolm Ryan, 23, completed two years as chairperson of the British Youth Council in September, 1986.

Leading up to that he had been a senior member/junior leader and a founding member of the Gateshead Youth Forum.

He successfully completed Gateshead's Basic Youth & Community Work Course and worked on a part-time basis in several youth organisations within the Borough.

Malcolm is currently a student on the full-time Community & Youth Work Course at Sunderland Polytechnic while "keeping his hand in" by doing part-time work with a village hall youth club and a detached group.

What follows are his personal reflections on his two years with BYC.

A Personal View – Two years at the British Youth Council

In September 1982 myself and five other young people attended the Annual General Meeting of the British Youth Council (BYC).

We were attending the AGM as members of the Gateshead Youth Forum, a Local Youth Council run by young people. We had decided to affiliate to the BYC in order to voice our views at a National level as well and, hopefully, gain the support of a National Youth organisation like BYC.

It was the first meeting of its kind we had attended, and almost our last.

Resolutions, motions, amendments to motions, taking the motions in parts, votes for, votes against, abstentions, standing orders, moving of standing orders, referral back of executive report.....

The conduct of the meeting, the words used, the style and the structures made it impossible for us to participate - In our view the BYC was too political, too bureaucratic and had very little in common with our own experiences as young people in Gateshead. What had South Africa got to do with us? Why discuss the role of women within youth organisations – we didn't see it as being that important!!, and as for racism, yes it is important, but as we don't have many black people in Gateshead it's not really a problem!!

Despite our horrific experience of the BYC we decided to continue our involvement. In 1983 I was elected onto the executive of BYC, and in 1984 elected the full-time chairperson, an office I held until September 1986.

My two years at BYC took me through one of the most intense political and social educational process I could imagine. The pace of learning to deal with the work and policies of the council, as well as being the person responsible, in conjunction with an executive of elected young people, and the support of a highly experienced staff team, for the day to day political direction of the organisation was an experience I will never forget.

Over that two years my experiences with the youth service was one of utter amazement. I soon realised that there were few people within the youth service that truly understood, or believed in partici-

pation of young people; tokenism, patronisation and rhetoric, I'm afraid to say, is rife within the service today. Very few workers saw the sharing of power with young people as an option they were willing to take. A defence of many workers would be "it's all right talking about participation of young people, but we work with 'real' young people at a 'grass roots' level; young people who are not articulate as you are, are low achievers at school and don't want to participate – The people you work with aren't 'real' young people"!!

Very few seemed to understand that participation was a process that 'changed' young people. Yes, they did become more articulate and became more willing to take on responsibilities. Once you have achieved a level of independence you do not cease to be young – What is a 'real' young person anyway?

One of the most difficult tasks as chair of BYC was to sit on the MSC's Youth Training Board (YTB) that advises the commission of policies and practices relating to YTS. Our position on the YTB was that of critical involvement in an attempt to influence in some way the direction of YTS, through influencing not directly the MSC but those bodies involved in the decision relating to YTS.

It was often very confusing to understand the rationale behind many of the decisions made on the board by some of the bodies represented on it. For example when the BYC was arguing for a legally binding contract of traineeship, for trainees on the YTS, in order to clearly define the relationship between the employer and trainee, hence narrowing the chances of exploitation, it was the Trade Union representatives that blocked the proposal. It became apparent that the TUC is so involved in YTS and the MSC that its role within YTS has become somewhat confused – The question was asked of the TUC on numerous occasions by BYC "Which side are you on?"

In the overall area of the MSC I must ask a number of questions to the Youth Service regarding its involvement with the MSC –

Who is it that controls the Youth Service?
Is it the MSC?
Which side are you on?

I have highlighted two areas that I have been involved in during my time at BYC. I have not mentioned such campaigns that I, through BYC, was involved in such as Board and Lodgings Ruling, Wages Councils, Social Security Bill and the issues surrounding National Community Service and young people.

To end I would like to say a little about the involvement of young people in political action.

It has become clear to me over the past two years that young people need to voice their views and opinions more strongly in order to be heard. It is the role of the Youth Service to provide the necessary opportunities for this to happen.

Sharing power and allowing young people to "have a say" in the running of the Youth Club or project can be threatening to some workers and at first may not work. Young people may reject the structure or method you decide to adopt in order to promote participation. I believe it is the role of the Youth Service to continue trying new methods and new approaches until a level of involvement has been achieved.

Since my first AGM at the BYC, things have changed. In 1983 a review of BYC's structures and methods of working was conducted. Young people who now attend BYC are taken through the various methods of working and are able to at least understand the process. Participation is not something that happens over night – even within BYC it can be a long process.

reviews in this issue:

Michael Moynagh

MAKING UNEMPLOYMENT WORK

Published by Lion Publishing plc

Tom Davies & Charlie Mason

SHUTTING OUT THE INNER CITY WORKER -

Recruitment and training practices of
large employers in Central London
School for Advanced Urban Studies,
1986

Moral Education Resource Centre

VALUES Vol. 1 Nos. 1 and 2

R.M.E.P. Hannock Road, Exeter

D. Shields and R. Gordon

BACK ON THE TRACKS - MAKING INTERMEDIATE TREATMENT WORK

Community Project Foundation Books

Susan Loveday

REFLECTIONS ON CARE

The Childrens Society: London, 1985

Juri Gabriel

UNQUALIFIED SUCCESS

Penguin 1986

Douglas Smith

THE POLICE AND CRIMINAL EVIDENCE ACT 1984

N.Y.B. 1986

MAKING UNEMPLOYMENT WORK

by Michael Moynagh

Published by Lion Publishing plc.

191pp.

£3.95

Dr. Moynagh's book falls into two satisfyingly symmetrical halves. The first takes us from the personal experience of unemployment, through a description of the current national problem with a selection of explanations, and ends with a brief discussion of the future of work. The second half of the book leads us back into the sunlight with chapters suggesting national, local and personal action to combat unemployment and its worst effects.

The book is well written, helped along by frequent anecdotal references taken from a small sample survey of unemployed people commissioned by the CBI - the author was policy advisor on unemployment to the CBI before training as an Anglican minister.

The first two chapters of the book are devoted to describing the experience, nature and extent of UK unemployment. The account is authoritative, drawing on respectable sources as well as, no doubt, the author's own experience of unemployment. No one will leave these chapters with the impression that unemployment is exclusively a male problem, or that "the unemployed" are an homogeneous groups, all reacting to unemployment in the same way, having identical needs, experiencing identical problems, and possessing identical attributes.

Chapter Three contains a brief account of the main competing explanations for high unemployment, which he characterizes as Monetarist, Keynesian, Structural and Conflict. The first two of these are probably already all too familiar, but the last two are respectively, that unemployment is caused by the running down of old industries and growth of new ones in different locations and needing different skills; and that it is the result of management worker conflict leading to poor productivity, falling profits, lack of competitiveness and low investment.

These divisions are arbitrary and the definition extremely simplified, but this is not a technical manual and readers wanting a rigorous critique of these ideas should look elsewhere. Unfortunately the book isn't very helpful in indicating where this should be.

Chapter 4 on the Future of Work sets up a picture of a plausible but unwelcome future that awaits if we refuse to mend our ways, and sets the scene for Chapters 5 and 6.

In Chapter 5 the author first sets up a straw man in the shape of the Protestant Work Ethic, then proceeds to demolish it using his proposal for an alternative Christian attitude to work. The main thrust of this seems to be that in a changing world we need to re-examine our attitude to work, and anyway it all depends what you mean by work.

Alarm bells ring when this line of argument leads him to what he calls his "New Work Scheme" - a system of community work and self improvement for the unemployed in return for a "wage". This doesn't seem much different from a liberalized CP, indeed, he proposes the "New Work Scheme" as the 'non-work' part of a reformed two-pronged CP, designed to fill the gap between now and the

achievement of a 'social wage' at some unspecified time in the future.

As with other proposals for 'personal development' initiatives, the author fails to say how this scheme, with its inevitable superstructure of administration, accreditation and sanctions, is better than simply giving unemployed people (and others dependent on State benefits) a decent level of income and allowing them the free access to the education, training and leisure facilities at present largely denied.

The other half of the split CP he sees as developing into a government/industry partnership for more or less permanent "real" employment creation.

Having got this off his chest, the author returns to the business of how best to cope with more immediate and pressing problems, drawing up a shopping list that few people would argue with:

1. Increase the rate of economic growth
2. Increase the number of jobs created by that growth
3. Increase the work opportunities created by those jobs
4. Reduce the number of people wanting 'normal' jobs (but without compulsion)
5. Reduce the unequal spread of unemployment
6. Reduce the pain of unemployment

His preferred economic policy will upset both the right and the left, but isn't a million miles away from the one that will eventually be adopted when sanity returns to policy making.

Its main elements are envisaged as being 'supply side' measures to improve competitive performance (including an attack on business monopolies); a tax based incomes policy with price controls to enable a non-inflationary economic expansion (presumably aimed at the professional, managerial and other highly paid groups who've been enjoying inflationary pay rises, and not at low paid workers who conspicuously haven't); selective (and by implication temporary) import controls to protect vulnerable new industries, and greater worker participation both in company decision making and profits.

He recognizes that government special programmes will continue to have an important role in the period while the economy is (hopefully) expanding. He also recognizes the shortcomings of these programmes as presently constituted, and offers some sensible suggestions for extensions and improvements. With regard to the failed job-splitting scheme he notes that:

"The British government already offers a grant to employers who split jobs, but the scheme has had little impact. This is partly because the rules of the scheme have deterred employers and partly because there has been no grant to employees. Paying a grant to employers and employees is vital. Change must be nurtured with financial incentives".

He sees the reduction in the number of people wanting 'normal jobs' as being achieved by a combination of recurrent 'lifetime' training, early retirement and the introduction of the SDP's 'Carer's Charter'.

However, he is careful to warn against shutting young people out of the labour market by compelling them to remain in school, enter further or higher education, or participate in a YTS type scheme:

"Many young people are fed up with school. If they have not been successful, they will be keen to shun a situation that carries the faintest reminder of past failure. They are likely to resent compulsory extra training because, however well presented, it will almost certainly appear like school. If trainee allowances are set well below youth wages (as is present practice) many will see the compulsory training as an excuse to reduce teenager's pay and will resent it for that reason too....."

.....(additional youth training must be voluntary) it must also lead somewhere. Teenagers often see training schemes as a 'con' because they do not end in a job....."

Inner city and regional policy should be beefed up so that companies are encouraged to take on unemployed people by adopting a modified version of the American 'affirmative action' programme:

"Take a firm within commuting distance of one or more unemployment disaster areas. It would be required to show that its workforce reflected the proportion of the city's population in those spots. The company might find that the residents were not qualified. It would then have to show that it had set up a training programme for them and made reasonable efforts to attract them to it".

Regional grants would be made more "people-based" by offering training grants to companies willing to invest in regions of high unemployment. And higher education would also have a part to play:

"Government should weight increases in the funding of academic research towards high unemployment regions. These regions are often well endowed with high quality universities and polytechnics - in Glasgow, Manchester, and so on. Indeed, education is among their chief assets. It makes sense to build on this as far as possible. In particular, government should give generous grants for projects in those regions designed to bridge the academic world of research and the commercial world of product development. ... Besides creating a certain number of jobs (the resulting high tech firms) would create the wealth to help regenerate the local economy and underpin the other strands of regional policy".

On benefits, Moynagh would really prefer a social wage, but accepting that this is a long way off, he proposes some interim improvements to the current system:

Initially, benefit levels to unemployed people could be raised by restoring the earnings related supplement abolished in 1982, and allowing unemployed claimants benefit at the long-term supplementary benefit rate after a year of unemployment. Ironically, these two measures would cost roughly the same as the 1p cut in income tax announced in the 1986 budget.

"There is of course the problem that the higher the benefit the smaller may be the incentive for the jobless to find work. On the other hand, the softer the financial cushion of unemployment the more comfortable it will be for people changing jobs. A greater willingness to switch jobs, instead of clinging to outmoded working practices, will produce a more dynamic and prosperous economy which will create jobs in the long term".

He might have added that if jobs aren't there, arguments about disincentives and incentives are fairly pointless.

These steps, he argues could be taken immediately. Reforms in the longer term would include:

"Paying unemployment benefit to those who have been out of work for over a year.

Raising the level of unemployment benefit by restoring the earnings-related supplement and making it payable for more than a year.

Making unemployment benefit payable to all who have been working or just left school, rather than only to those who have paid enough contributions".

Altering the rules for signing on because:

"After the jobless have registered for the first time, there is no real need to continue signing on. Since benefits are now taxed, the Inland Revenue will 'notice' when a person has returned to work. A person wanting to earn sums hidden from the taxman or benefit office is likely to do this whether he signs on every two weeks or not".

At the end of such a well organized book, the recommendations for further reading come as something of a surprise. Although some excellent references are included, the lists are on the whole poorly selected and repetitive. The economics section, where perhaps most guidance is needed, is particularly thin, with only three entries, two dating from the 1970s. Fortunately the author's own reading appears to have been a great deal wider than these lists suggest.

In conclusion, the author has produced a readable and non-partisan attempt to grapple with the UK unemployment problem. If it helps more people to understand the corrosive effect on individuals and communities that unemployment and the poverty that accompanies it have, and makes them want to do something about it, the book will have been well worthwhile. For any future editions, a drastically edited Chapter 5 and a greatly improved reading list (The Guardian isn't the only newspaper to print articles on unemployment) would improve things dramatically.

David Taylor

Tom Davies & Charlie Mason
SHUTTING OUT THE INNER CITY WORKER -
Recruitment and training practices of large
employers in Central London.
School for Advanced Urban Studies, 1986

Rodney Lodge
Grange Road,
Clifton,
Bristol BS8 4EA
ISBN 0862 92 207-0
£3.90 pbk
pp.50

One of the saddest aspects of working in the Youth Service in Inner London is watching young people cope with the contradiction between living in what appears to be an economically buoyant area yet still finding it very difficult to find jobs when they leave school. The view that living in London virtually guarantees full-time employment is not true for a great many of our clients. While the number of unemployed young people,

and adults, increases in the Inner London boroughs employers in those areas continue to advertise large numbers of vacancies - our local newspapers always have pages of job adverts.

This predicament forms the basis for the central hypothesis of "Shutting Out the Inner City Worker": that a great many of these vacancies are not filled by local people, but go to applicants who live outside Inner London. My first reaction was that this point is a little too obvious to be worth making. After all, the thousands of commuters who travel in and out of London every day are part and parcel of our economic life. But perhaps it is such an accepted pattern that the underlying implications of having a massive part of the workforce coming from outside the area have been ignored.

If we accept the central premise of the book, that there are "... significant complexes of jobs in the central city, which do not appear to be available for the inner city resident", then perhaps the most important implication, in terms of policies aimed at alleviating unemployment, is that current ideas and schemes for regenerating the inner city economies, in failing to recognise this factor, may not be very realistic. It may be that policies aimed at encouraging industry and business interests are not enough and that we need to be looking at ways of ensuring that the jobs which become available are accessible to local people.

To do that it is first necessary to consider what is making it difficult for local people to obtain jobs. The suggestion in this book is that there are two forces at work: one is that inner city employers tend to discriminate against local people; and the other is that local people do not have the skills which these employers require.

The major part of the book is a discussion of their research into the first of these forces. This consisted of structured interviews with a "key hiring figure", in 46 public and private organisations in Inner London boroughs to find out which people they recruit and how they go about it.

Although they come up with some interesting responses I felt that the way they present the evidence is detrimental to their case. They make generalised statements about employers actions, and attitudes, and use selected quotes from the interviews to support these statements. I did not find it a particularly convincing approach. Consider a few examples of the technique: we are told that "most respondents" saw "local people as potential recruits for unskilled and manual jobs"; that they considered "local labour as being of low calibre in some way". But "most" added that they would employ locally if they could get the right applicants.

When it came to recruiting staff they found that "few" organisations made use of either the local Careers Office or Jobcentre. Applicants coming from either of these sources tended to be stereotyped as inferior: "...they were seen as being wrongly qualified, or that, having been employed, they were of poor quality in some way". There was a significant lack of awareness among those interviewed about how the Jobcentres, or Careers Office operated. "Most" used private agencies for recruiting staff - except when they needed to fill unskilled positions. If these views are an accurate representation of a large number of employers then they could have a crucial bearing on policy. The most obvious example is the attitude towards Jobcentres and the Careers

Offices - if this is at all widespread then it means that the main avenues young people, especially school-leavers, are being encouraged to use for finding work are, in fact, unable to provide information about large numbers of jobs that are available.

Davies and Mason do make a few suggestions about steps councils might take to improve the situation e.g. the use of financial incentives through the rates to encourage firms to improve their knowledge of the locality, and to consider local people for jobs. There is certainly a strong case for councils employing officers to look at this whole area, and assess the full extent of the problem.

Equally important is the need to look at whether local people are being trained for the type of jobs that are likely to come up. This surely goes all the way back to the schools and how realistic a view they have of the world pupils will be confronted with when they leave. "Most" of the organisations interviewed stressed the importance of information-technology skills - yet how many schools are preparing young people for work in this field? Of course, this is not only a problem that faces young people. There is a pressing need for training facilities to improve the chances of all local people.

Not surprisingly, the interviews showed that hardly any of the organisations had much idea of what the MSC has to offer. One suggestion made in the book is that councils might link up with large employers to act as the managing agent for MSC training schemes so training could be offered which was more in line with the organisation's needs. The flaw in this suggestion is that the interviews did seem to indicate that those businesses which required workers with skills in the newer fields tended to be those that were most likely to have already made local contacts, and to be employing local people. It was the older organisations, such as hospitals and universities/colleges, that proved to be the most anti-local and set in their ways - and would probably be the most difficult to persuade to change course. Especially in a political climate where constraints on public sector organisations are likely to limit flexibility in responding to initiatives such as these.

While these and many other points made in the book are extremely interesting it is difficult to gauge exactly how significant the overall argument is because the book offers no real evidence in support. It could be that the organisations they selected for interview were a particularly dopey lot. It worries me that, even though I think they are making an important point, I still did not find their case sufficiently convincing. I cannot really see council bureaucrats and policy-makers accepting it very easily.

For me that is the book's major failing because anything which might help alleviate unemployment in the inner cities must be welcome. Even if they have only got it partly right, a partial solution is still worth considering. As long as this situation persists, and young people know there are jobs available which they will not be considered for then surely they are likely to feel frustrated and will at times hit out in anger.

Fred Wilenius

Moral Education Resource Centre
VALUES Vol. 1 Nos. 1 and 2
R.M.E.P. Hannock Road, Exeter EX2 8RP.
Subs. £4.50 (3 issues)
p.p. 32 approx.

Reading *Values* reminded me very much of a delightful story told by the Scouse School teacher cum broadcaster Peter Moloney many years ago. He remembered meeting some of his more delinquent old boys in the street. They thanked him in most appreciative terms for his smashing course on ethics but added that they had failed the practical! A similar tension exists, I believe, in this new magazine between what we term theory and practice and I do not think that the balance is yet quite right.

According to the editors, in the first edition the magazine sets out to examine the underlying concepts behind what we and others mean when we talk about values, how these relate to behaviour and decision making, how choices are made between conflicting sets of values especially as and when they impinge upon the lives of young people. It seeks to increase awareness of the values implicit in much group and societal membership and of the importance of "...being at home with the process of discussing and choosing values..." and to increase sensitivity to the values others hold as well as those we hold ourselves. Parents, educators, youth and church leaders are all seen as potent agents for influencing the formation and questioning of values and, presumably therefore, are also seen as the target group for the magazine though this is not specified. The editorial ends with an invitation to all concerned for the moral and social well being of young people to send contributions for future editions and with brief descriptions of the magazine's two parent bodies: the Centre for Social and Moral Education of the University of Leicester and the Moral Education Centre at St. Martin's College, Lancaster.

The contents of the following 25 pages of No. 1 fall into three types of contributions: those with an academic, theoretical bias, those with a more practical or less serious focus, those constituting a miscellaneous bits and pieces. Articles in the first category covered topics such as fairness in the classroom, power and the teacher, a report on a community school project led by Kohlberg in the Bronx and three that I particularly liked: one on self evaluation (with a plea for greater clarity about what we mean by objective criteria), one containing moving extracts from a women's group workshop in which personal experiences of unfair treatment were shared, and one asking why nobody recognises second generation Asians as a group in themselves. Contributions with a more practical or less serious focus included a tongue in cheek guide for pupils on how to sabotage a moral education class, a section containing practical classroom activities submitted by readers, an outline of activities in personal and social skills for primary and secondary pupils, in particular, low achievers and mixed ability classes, and a story "Scared and Hurt" to be read to children about child violence and violation in the home to increase awareness of the need for mutual help and support. "Bits and pieces" scattered throughout included 2 sections of "Snippets" (i.e. food for thought type campaign slogans a bit like I used to use in sermons!), a list of teachers' definitions of moral education, a similar list of parents' opinions on what they wanted from schools extracted from the Dudley Project Report and the obligatory Book Reviews (!).

I enjoyed this edition though must admit to finding it heavy going in places and of varying degrees of value (pardon the pun). It did disappoint me though on three counts. First I felt the content was far too classroom oriented. This may have been a deliberate strategy for targeting teachers but, if so, then it is a pity. As the editorial recognises they are only one of a number of powerful influences on the value development of the young. Second the contributions were drawn largely from the editorial team or their near colleagues - which may be an inevitability in such a first edition. Third there was a marked absence of reference to the broader, political arena and dimension in the exploration of values despite again some of the promises made in the introductory editorial.

The Second edition went some way to rectifying these shortcomings, though only, I feel, at the expense of others. The serious contributions included an outline of a classroom experiment using drama with junior school children to explore moral education issues, a critique (yes, yet another one) of Neill's *Summerhill*, an account of the increase in recent years of shinto rites in Japanese factories to promote and preserve industrial safety (!), a report of a conference workshop in which drama teachers were enabled to explore key questions relating to their own morality through the use of Kohlberg's model of moral development, an examination of the value of human relations training for pastoral care teachers and an account of a course for Lancashire Police as part of a scheme to help bridge the gap between the police and schools. Two that I particularly liked were "Suspended" which highlighted the conflicting sets of values of (middle class) schools and (working class) homes, and a brief but delightful outline of the experiences of a courier with a group of youngster on a summer adventure holiday and their experimentation with cigarettes. Nice, but I wish it always ended so happily! Ideas for classroom activities were again included as were "Snippets" (did you know that Sweden has ruled that its own Loch Ness Monster living in a lake in the far north is a protected species and must not be hunted!), Teachers Talking - this time about conscience ("... not a word I use very often ...") and Book Reviews, now expanded to cover videos.

I liked this edition better than the first even though some of the contributions were less challenging or academically sophisticated. I preferred the use of examples and experiences drawn from a context wider than just schools but must admit to being fed up by page 30 of reading yet another account of so and so's course or courses. Is that the only place where moral education and learning and training goes on - surely not? The lack of a political dimension was also still disappointingly evident.

Despite my criticisms I enjoyed reading *Values*. The presentation and printing is both pleasing and stimulating and I wish the editorial team success in their new venture. I assume there is a sizeable market for such a journal though I am still not yet clear who potential readers will be nor what sphere of work they will be in. Based upon these two first editions the policy seems to be to "catch all" with the result that the content lacked balance and bite. I look forward to seeing Number Three - but do I value it enough to buy it, that's the question?

Neil Kendra

D. Shields and R. Gordon
BACK ON THE TRACKS - MAKING
INTERMEDIATE TREATMENT WORK
Community Project Foundation Books.
Winslow Press, 23 Horn Street, Winslow,
Buckinghamshire MK18 3AP.
ISBN 0902406 434
£2.25 +75p
52pp.

I.T. or not I.T.? That's one question raised by this account of what is, essentially, a youth-work project labelled as I.T.

The booklet describes an I.T. scheme developed in Swindon between 1979-1984, as part of a wider youth programme run by Community Projects Foundation in conjunction with the local Social Services Department, the Borough Council and 'other interests'.

Whilst the scheme served as an Intermediate Treatment measure, we learn from the preface that "it eventually dropped the I.T. label in order to reach a broader range of youngsters and avoid stigmatising them. The scheme became, in effect, a new form of youth provision, more structured and carefully targeted than the ordinary youth service but not confined to those on statutory intermediate treatment orders".

Herein lies a problem. Should the project be assessed in terms of its I.T. context (in which case it lays itself open to the usual accusations of net-widening and diluting I.T.'s impact as a credible replacement for custody) or should it be viewed from its wider perspective as an innovative form of community-based youth provision? Sub-titling the booklet "Making Intermediate Treatment Work" only serves to confuse potential readers in search of enlightenment about I.T. This is basically because one thing the project did **not** do was to make I.T. work in its prime role i.e. as an alternative to custody for heavy-end delinquents.

Laying aside comment on the project itself, the booklet does suffer from a tendency to make generalised claims not backed up by any real evidence. Quantitative records regarding cost of the programme and reconviction rates of participants were not part of the project's evaluation. Reference to project worker's 'impressions' that youngsters who attended workshop sessions 'were less likely to offend' is somewhat meaningless.

This account of the project's development is disappointing in relying too much on a 'play safe' descriptive approach at the expense of some hard-headed and perhaps controversial analysis. For example, the authors acknowledge that Social Services and Probation were reluctant to use the project for heavy-end offenders, but they do not examine in depth, some of the structural reasons for this.

Was the project sufficiently well-integrated into these agencies' decision-making structures? Did the project try to influence the local juvenile justice system? How did the Management Committee operate and relate to the statutory agencies power network? There is no real insight provided into any of the battles fought or lessons learnt. Lessons that might be of great interest to other similar voluntary projects currently forming uneasy alliances with local authority departments.

At the risk of imbuing such projects with a Dynasty like air, it is these types of nitty gritty experiences that have great value if shared.

Unfortunately not many projects feel safe about tackling such issues in print and this booklet is no exception.

The project was very much rooted in a community-based approach to children in trouble. Viewed from this perspective (rather than from mainstream I.T.) the project appears to have provided much needed and welcome support for over 300 youngsters experiencing difficulties at home, school and in their personal life. It should be encouraged for that.

The emphasis was on a non-stigmatising, child-centred approach which treated young people as individuals rather than as problems to be managed by a computerised system. Participation was, as far as possible, voluntary, and self-referrals were encouraged on the grounds that one does not have to be labelled 'delinquent', 'truant' or 'social services case' before needing help.

The project focussed on a groupwork approach (soon learning that 'closed' groups can tie up resources too quickly) and subsequently moved on to open-ended workshop sessions. Volunteers from the local community were involved and welcomed by kids and project staff but less enthusiastically by other professionals. Particularly interesting (although only briefly mentioned) was the spin-off effect of the project in encouraging the development of other youth provision in the area (a youth counselling scheme, a motor-cycle trail park and a project aimed at West Indian youngsters).

Creating a climate whereby a range of provision for disadvantaged youth can be developed can be an important part of a wider approach to working with children in trouble, a point not always recognised by the exclusive heavy-end I.T. model.

This project focussed primarily on minor offenders, truants and other children with difficulties. It would be easy to slate it for its failure to provide a credible alternative to custody for heavy-end delinquents. However, there is no single solution to delinquency. This booklet describes one approach to working with youngsters in trouble.

It confuses matters by promoting itself under the banner of I.T. Yet it eventually faced this dilemma, disassociated itself from I.T., and, having been told by Social Workers and Probation Officers that they did not see the project as appropriate for heavy-end delinquents, sensibly agreed to let Social Services and a joint NCH/Probation project provide a separate alternative to custody programme.

If, in the process, it developed a variety of provision for many different groups of youngsters **and** also encouraged others to tackle the heavy-end delinquent, then it can be viewed as having served a useful purpose.

A comprehensive account of making I.T. work, however, remains to be written.

John Blackmore

Susan Loveday
REFLECTIONS ON CARE
The Childrens Society: London, 1985
ISBN 0-907324-26-6
£7.50 (pbk only)
pp. 219

Social workers have a reputation for taking little notice of research and for failing to take into account the views of clients. The latter is being addressed by the clients' rights movement - Family Rights Groups, National Association of Young People in Care etc. - the former by such activities as the current DHSS attempts to disseminate the results of research into decision making in child care.

So what are the chances for a book that purports to offer both? Empirical research into what people thought about spending a large portion of their childhood in a children's home.

Susan Loveday's book is an elaboration of work she did for an M.Sc. in Social Research at the University of Surrey. It attempts to examine the relationship between a substantial part of your life having been spent in residential care and the ensuing quality of your adult life. The respondents had all spent periods in homes run by the Church of England Children's Society, who are also the publishers of the book.

Twenty-four adults were interviewed - mostly men - with birthdates in 1938, 1948 and 1958 to give a spread, and an opportunity to monitor possible changes over the years.

Section One concerns the context of care - a review of research and patterns of care over the last 100 years, and a brief history of the Children's Society. We learn of the founding work of Edward Rudolf in the 1880's and an overall picture, according to the author, of "a continuing process of new developments" and "more enlightened practices". Orphan (and other) children were still being emigrated by them to Canada, Southern Rhodesia etc. as recently as the mid-1950's, to give "a fresh start" but this doesn't detract from the general idea of "progress" on offer.

Section Two gives us the clients' view of living in residential care, the relationships made there between the residents and with care staff, social workers etc. Daily lifestyles, discipline and punishment, dress, pocket money, leisure activities are all covered, as well as feelings of not being consulted, being kept in the dark, not feeling able to confide in anyone and having to compete for the material and emotional resources of the home which "constrained the development of deep relationships".

Educational and spiritual experiences also suffered in the children's home. The former by disruption, lack of privacy to do homework or the lack of interest from staff. The latter by being imposed to such an extent that one respondent recalled it being "rammed down your throat". One set of foster parents found by the Society were "restrictive and very religious", making children work in the house and in church cleaning. Mixing with other children was discouraged - gratitude was expected. Two other boys visiting Society "friends of the Home" were threatened with the "wrath of God" for taking an orange from the supper table as they were wont to do in the children's home.

The final section - Section Three - explores the

consequences of care, the experiences of leaving and the after effects on later adult life. Here we learn of the poor education leading to poor jobs, the unstable relationships formed by people unable to express emotions and a determination to ensure their children never have to go into care.

Ms. Loveday's book is well presented if a bit dry. While a reviewer can pick out the pieces he wants to highlight, the author remains meticulous in giving fair and balanced views and in leaving the results to speak for themselves. A process of improvement can be discerned over the years. Commentary is limited, but useful, and it is accepted that these subjective experiences should not be dismissed "as anecdotal and peripheral to the proper study of society".

So why at the end of the book is there a feeling of flatness? Is it because we know social workers and managers will ignore it? Or is it that it's already familiar stuff to us? After all we know - don't we? - that children in care should be more involved in decision-making and that disruptive experiences damage educational and personal development.

The book appears to have been overtaken by events of the last few years. The work of NAYPIC, FRG, the Children's Legal Centre, Voice of the Child in Care, the Black and In Care Group etc. - all accorded no mention at all by Ms. Loveday - has opened up the debate to a new level. The nature of residential child care is also changing to an emphasis on compulsory care and court orders. The results are new DHSS policy guidelines and even changes in the law, e.g. over access and secure accommodation.

"Reflections on Care" seems to belong to a more graceful golden age when researchers produced reports and policy makers said thank you very much, went away to study them and made rational adjustments to policies and practice accordingly. If such an age of innocence existed it has surely gone for ever in the last few years.

Terry Thomas

Juri Gabriel
UNQUALIFIED SUCCESS
Penguin 1986
ISBN 0-14-046752-1
£3.95 (pbk)
pp. 368

Unqualified Success is, as its subtitle suggests, a comprehensive guide to jobs for young people. It is packed with information geared to the needs of the non-academic school leaver and by present standards offers good value for money. It is written in highly readable form making the information easy to follow for job searchers and those who would seek to advise them. The cheerful illustrations do much to lighten the text, making the book more fun and far more approachable for young people.

The first aim of the book is to get young people thinking about the range of possibilities so that they can make best use of a visit to careers advisers. This is systematically and cleverly achieved through sections which invite young people to match their own interests, qualities and expectations with the requirements of a range of occupations. The section on choosing a career is packed with practical checklists which assist in the gradual build-up of a fit between job and potential applic-

ant. The emphasis here is on choice and it fits in with the overall optimistic and positive tone of the book. For many this optimism will be hard to swallow in the face of the high level of youth unemployment. Gabriel rightly argues that choice is important when there is a lot of unemployment because the more willing you are to try second, third and fourth choices of career, the more likely you are to get work and having had experience of work, it is then much easier to get a job you really want.

But his book is better when providing the information on which to base choice than in some of the questions it invites young people to ask. Faced with the following:

"If you have to choose, which is most important to you:

- a) lots of money?
- b) having people look up to you?
- c) doing a job you like?
- d) knowing you're unlikely to be sacked?"

Most young people might be tempted to give a rude answer to these hypothetical questions.

Whilst one might quibble on the nature of some of the questions the general idea is excellent. Advice is offered on where to get information and the job searcher is invited to make their own checklist of jobs to ask about.

Types of work and the qualities they require are cross-referenced with specific jobs by means of an easy-to-read table. This encourages the reader to consider a range of occupations, some of which may not have occurred to them.

Advice on choice is backed by a detailed description of 117 jobs with information on qualifications and training and a checklist of the 'for and against' type. A painter who was employed on the upper reaches of my house vouched for the accuracy of the account of the job of painter and decorator. He was particularly impressed by the down-to-earth listing of points for and against the occupation. The range of jobs covered is impressive; it included some I had never heard, like the rough neck who is not a form of football hooligan but a member of an oil or gas drilling team. Again, a note of caution is warranted. It seemed to be stretching the imagination to present all the jobs described as accessible to the unqualified school leaver and some, like the manager, seemed out of place.

Choices having been made, the next stage is to do something about getting the job. Here the book is very helpful. It offers straightforward advice on getting the most out of a visit to the careers office, on making a personal information sheet, and on application by letter, phone or 'on spec'. Each step on the path of applying for a job is illustrated by examples and guidance on good and bad practice. The interview warrants a section to itself and it is good to see a checklist for judging the job as well as information on how best to present oneself.

All in all, this is a good book which youth leaders and those involved in advising young people would do well to make available to them. Whilst it will not create more jobs it will help many to make the best of what is available.

Ron Kirby

Douglas Smith
THE POLICE AND CRIMINAL EVIDENCE ACT 1984
N.Y.B. 1986
0.50p. (pbk)
pp.8

Various recent studies (e.g. Policy Studies Institute on London, Paul Willis on Wolverhampton, The Bridges Project on Newcastle) have indicated a serious breakdown of the relationship between young people and the police. Much of the evidence of this is drawn from direct experience of young people themselves, who have felt either harassed or badly treated by the police as a result of being stopped and searched or taken into custody and subjected to varying degrees of maltreatment. Faced with this it seems fairly obvious that any youth worker should have a working knowledge of police practices, particularly in those areas in which the police are likely to come into contact with young people. Douglas Smith has set out such a document to provide a brief guide to various aspects of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 for youth workers and young people. In a straightforward question and answer format, he takes us through specific passages of what is a fairly weighty and complex piece of legislation, dealing with police powers to stop and search, police powers of arrest without a warrant, powers of detention, questioning and treatment by the police and entry and search of premises. I believe this brief guide to be invaluable as an introduction to the debate about the nature of policing as it affects young people and as a demonstration of the implications for youth workers, who may find themselves or their clubs etc., covered by powers under the Act. Douglas Smith also includes a brief outline of how to proceed with complaints against the police and supplies a list of the publications and agencies who provide legal advice. It is therefore advisable that any person who is involved in specific cases to take further advice if he/she feels that either the guidelines for the police are not being adhered to or that a complaint is to be registered.

The Act itself lays down the criteria for police practices and procedures for the first time in a single document but obviously leaves much to be desired in terms of safeguards. It does not define what "reasonable suspicion" may be as grounds for stopping particular groups or individuals and this is extremely important in that this is based on subjective interpretations by police officers. Also, people who are stopped or who have their premises searched are entitled to a written record 'as soon as it is practicable' outlining details of the search, but there are no sanctions in terms of time limit or access to detailed record keeping. Also, there are no sanctions if the police break the rules (e.g. if a search warrant reveals other evidence related to other enquiries) and it appears that the code of practice will be used as a means to justify the ends, indeed there is no acknowledgement to accountability. I urge youth workers, or anyone concerned about the rights of individuals or communities, to read this guide and to ensure that the guidelines are adhered to in cases of which they have direct or indirect involvement. Thus many of the safeguards relating to police practice may come from a growing awareness among young people and those working with them, that the reality of interaction with the police is far removed from the theoretical guidelines of the Act.

John Richardson

'Monitor for' this issue:

Sunderland Community Resource Centre

Richard Jenks

Sarah Morgan

Julie Wright

Mark Davis

Angela Pedersen

Jeanette Freeman

Liza Biddlestone

Code

All sources are Official Report (Hansard).

Headings are as published

The following code describes the references used.

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

All items are available through our Copy Service

V91 N56

Under-age Girls (Contraception) D

Mr. Archy Kirkwood (Roxburgh and Berwickshire) (*by private notice*) asked the Sec State for Social Services what guidelines his Dept. proposes to issue following the GMC's advice to doctors regarding the circumstances in which they involve the parents of under 16-year-old patients when prescribing contraceptives.

The Minister for Health (Mr. Barney Hayhoe): As the House is aware, the existing DHSS guidance on this issue is being revised to take account of the Law Lords' judgements and the wide range of views expressed on the matter. The revised guidance will advise those doctors and others concerned about the considerations that they need to have in mind when giving contraceptive advice or treatment to under-16s I will, of course, also take into account the new guidance approved by the GMC yesterday. I hope to issue the revised DHSS guidance shortly.

Mr. Kirkwood: I believe that powers must be available to doctors to involve parents in exceptional circumstances, but there is worry and anxiety in the BMA and a hiatus has been caused by the GMC ruling. Will the right hon. Gentleman end that hiatus, because it is in no one's interest that girls of 16 and under should continue to be exposed to the risk of pregnancy?

Mr. Hayhoe: The GMC is an independent statutory body, for which the Government are not accountable in any way. Therefore, it is not appropriate for me to comment on the advice that it gives to the medical profession. I have said that I hope to issue the DHSS guidance shortly.

Dame Jill Knight (Birmingham, Edgbaston): What does my right hon. Friend make of the statement of the president of the GMC that he still hopes that the vast majority of doctors will not inform parents? When my right hon. Friend is considering guidelines, will he bear in mind the weight of evidence that adverse medical effects can be present among young girls, particularly if they are receiving other medical treatment from their doctors? Will he insist that doctors at least tell GPs?

Mr. Hayhoe: I am not aware of the statement to which my hon. Friend refers. I hope that no one in the House, or outside, would seek to undermine or diminish parental responsibility in these matters in any way.

Mrs. Gwyneth Dunwoody (Crewe and Nantwich): Will the Minister be very clear when he is writing his guidelines that if 16-year-olds are asked by the doctor concerned whether they want their parents told, and they make it clear that they do not, it is essential that their confidentiality should be respected? If that is not so, and if the girls are not told that, we shall get more and more illegitimate children through there being no faith in the confidentiality of the consultation.

Mr. Hayhoe: The position is that confidentiality must be for the individual doctor, guided by the advice of the General Medical Council.

Mr. Harry Greenway (Ealing, North): Does my hon. Friend not accept that it is in the best interests of the underage girl that parental responsibility and family stability should be fostered by the new guidelines which he will introduce? Does he not agree that doctors should be under an obligation to tell the parents of girls who are being placed upon the pill that that is happening, rather than having that right conferred upon them? This will in itself give proper protection to all girls. Is that not what we should be seeking to do?

Mr. Hayhoe: I think it very important that nothing is done to diminish or undermine parental responsibility in this matter.

Mr. Eric Deakins (Walthamstow): Is the Minister confident that the revised guidance will serve to reduce the appalling number of teenage pregnancies?

Mr. Hayhoe: I am concerned at the number of unwanted teenage pregnancies and the number of abortions. I think hon. Members in all parts of the House will be concerned about the numbers, and I would not wish the guidance which is given by my Department to make matters worse. The intention of the guidance is to take account of the Law Lords' judgement on this matter, and to take into account the social and moral concern that has been widely expressed on this issue.

Mrs. Anna McCurley (Renfrew, West and Inverclyde): Does my hon. Friend not think that this institutionalisation of the breach of confidentiality on a subjective judgement is the thin end of the wedge for general practitioners and medical practitioners? Young girls who go to them are socially responsible. Despite what my hon. Friend the Member of Ealing, North (Mr. Greenway) said, it has nothing to do with parents whether there are adverse or non-adverse effects on children or young people who are prescribed contraceptives; it is a matter of clinical judgement. That is not affected by whether parents know or do not know.

Mr. Hayhoe: I received only this morning the revised guidance which the GMC approved yesterday and have not had time to give it the careful consideration which it deserves. I believe in these matters that careful consideration is much preferred to instant comment.

Mr. D.N. Campbell-Savours (Workington): Is the Minister aware that many of us in the Life lobby have the position of Victoria Gillick very hard to stomach, and that that is one of the issues which had divided many of us? Is he aware that the GMC's guidance note may be an excellent compromise?

Mr. Hayhoe: Rather than comment upon the guidance which was approved by the GMC yesterday, I believe that it would be right for me to give it careful consideration, and I shall take it into account along with the other matters that I have described before I issue the revised DHSS guidance, which I hope to do shortly.

Dr. John G. Blackburn (Dudley, West): Does my right hon. Friend agree that there are hundreds of thousands of caring parents who wish to know what will be the position of 13 and 14-year-old children in the revised guidelines? At that stage in their lives they need all the love and care of a secure home and the knowledge that their families care.

Mr. Hayhoe: The stability of family relationship and parental responsibility are matters that we must all take fully into account.

V94 N86

Education and Science WA A-level Grading System

Mr. Greenway asked the Sec State Education and Science if he will announce his decision on the Secondary Examination's Council's recommendations for reform of the A-level grading system.

Sir Keith Joseph: I have written today to Sir Wilfred Cockcroft, the chairman of the SEC, informing him that my right hon. Friend the Sec State for Wales and I have considered the SEC's recommendations, together with the responses to a further round of consultations which we under took in the autumn, and that we have decided that, with effect from the summer 1987 A-level examinations, the following A-level grading system should be adopted.

Nomenclature

- (i) the 5 A-level grades A to E should be retained;
- (ii) the present O-grade should be replaced with grade N, denoting a narrow failure, which should be certificated and defined on those certificates;
- (iii) an unclassified performance should be identified by the letter U but not certificated.

Grading standards

- (i) the A/B grade borderline should be established on the basis of boards' existing practice, including examiners' judgements of quality;
- (ii) the B/C and E/N grade borderlines should be established by reference to examiners' judgements of quality and using methods to ensure fairness and reliability at these crucial points;
- (iii) the mark range within the B/C and E/N grade borderlines should be divided into three equal intervals and these assigned respectively to grades C, D and E, with the same interval also assigned to grade N.

We consider that these revisions will resolve the long standing problem of the narrow mark range of grade C. The new system should be both fair and practicable and should stand the test of some years. We have taken the decision now so that the GCE boards and the HE institutions will have ample time to adjust their procedures for the summer 1987 examinations and autumn 1987 HE admissions respectively. We will be considering with SEC how those who use certificates can best be informed of the nature and significance of these changes.

My right hon. Friend and I are grateful for the SEC's work on this complex problem and for the views of those who were consulted.

V95 N91

Social Work Training WA

Mrs. Renée Short asked the Sec State for Education and Science what consultations took place between his Department and the NAB for Higher Education prior to the guidance issued by the latter to polytechnics and colleges to give courses in social work training low priority status.

Mr. Walden: Pending ministerial decisions on the level of funding for public sector higher education (due later this year) my right hon. Friend, the Sec State invited NAB to plan on the basis of a range of assumptions about the level of resources likely to be available. The NAB declined to do this, proceeding instead on the basis on a single assumptions initially that the total would be 1 per cent. higher than in 1986-87 and then, in response to a suggestion from my right hon. Friend, that the total might rise by some 3.5 per cent., in line with the forecast GDP deflator.

Using this figure of a 3½ per cent. increase in funding, NAB has argued that intakes should be reduced on average by 7 per cent. in 1987-88 and has instructed its secretariat to discuss possible student target numbers with institutions on that basis. Within the overall reduction of 7 per cent., some programmes have been identified for a relatively greater and others for a relatively smaller reduction than the average. The programme area that includes social work training is among those that would reduce by more than the average.

The assumptions adopted by NAB for its planning exercise, including the categorisation of programmes, have been the subject of discussion by the NAB board, on which officials of the Dep and members of HM's Inspectorate are represented, and by the NAB committee, which I chair as the Dep's sole representative. They have not, however, been submitted to my right hon. Friend for his approval. Formal recommendations on the disposition of academic provision in 1987-88 will be formulated by NAB later this year in the light of the resources actually available (to be announced in the autumn) and should be submitted to my right hon. Friend for decision in Dec 1986.

It will be for institutions, within the target numbers eventually allocated to them for individual programmes, to decide what priority to give to particular courses, incl social work training courses.

V95 N92

Schools (Violence and Disorder) WA

Mr. Weetch asked the Sec of State for Edu and Science (1) what steps he is taking, and what advice he has given to local authorities, to counteract and to minimise violence against teaching staff in maintained schools;

(2) whether he will initiate discussions with the National Association of Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers to seek to identify measures to minimise violence and disorder in maintained schools in England and Wales;

(3) if he will collect statistics of violent incidents resulting in injuries to teachers arising from violence and disorder in state schools;

(4) if he will make a statement on his policy towards the maintenance of discipline in schools, in the light of the report of the National Association of Schoolmasters and Union of Women Teachers entitled, "Pupil Violence and Serious Disorder in Schools", a copy of which has been sent to him.

Mr. Chris Patten: It is essential that good order is maintained in schools. The Government's White Paper "Better Schools" drew attention to the poor standards of behaviour found in a small minority of schools and urged local education authorities and schools to tackle this problem urgently. My right hon. Friend has frequent meetings with the teachers' associations but, since effective action can only be taken by those responsible at local level, has no plans to convene a meeting with the National Association of Schoolmasters and Union of Women Teachers on this matter, nor to collect national statistics on injuries to teachers. Swift and firm action at local level is preferable to a statistical exercise by central Government.

General Certificate of Secondary Education

Mr. Peter Bruinvels asked the Sec State for Edu and Science what representations he has received from parents and teachers concerning the implementation of the GCSE.

Mr. Chris Patten: The Department has received many representations about the GCSE from parents and teachers. The main concerns have been about the national programme of training for teachers, the provision of adequate resources for books and equipment and the availability of GCSE syllabuses. The measures which my right hon. Friend announced on 13 March met these concerns by enabling all teachers to take part in the training programme and by proposing to direct £20 million of expenditure to books and equipment for the GCSE. On the availability of syllabuses, the Secondary Examinations Council has approved some 170 draft syllabuses and is on course to approve the remainder by the end of this month. Some syllabuses have already been sent to schools and the GCSE examining groups plan to distribute the others as soon as possible. But the draft syllabuses, in schools for several months, and the GCSE national criteria, in schools for a year, have enabled teachers to plan sensibly for the first GCSE courses.

Schools (Examinations System) WA

Mr. Baldry asked the Sec State for Education and Science what initiatives HM Gov have taken since 1979 to improve the examination system in schools.

Mr. Chris Patten: Since 1979, the Gov have taken the following initiatives designed to improve the examinations system in schools:

- in 1983 they established the Secondary Examinations Council as a source of independent and authoritative advice on school examinations which is charged inter alia with the tasks of approving syllabuses and monitoring examination standards;

- in March 1983 they announced the introduction from September 1985 of the certificate of pre-vocational education as an additional option in the range of courses preparing young people for the world of work. CPVE is available in both schools and colleges.

- in April 1984 they announced their objective to introduce records of achievement for all school leavers by the end of the decade. To that end, they are currently financing nine pilot schemes under the oversight of a national steering committee;

- in June 1984 they announced the introduction of the general certificate of secondary education from September 1986 to replace GCE O-level, CSE and joint 16-plus examinations. The new examination system is designed to support the Government's overall objective of raising all pupils' standards of attainment. All syllabuses and examination procedures will comply with nationally agreed criteria which build upon best practice in present examining;

- in March 1985 they announced the introduction of advanced supplementary levels designed to broaden the education of students taking A-levels. The first courses will be in September 1987;

- in April 1985 they established the working party on criteria for pre-vocational courses pre-16 under the chairmanship of Mr. R.S. Johnson, director of education, Leeds. It is intended that the resulting criteria will enable SEC to approve and monitor all prevocational and vocationally oriented courses offered to pupils in the compulsory years of secondary education;

- in April 1985 they announced that the certificate of extended education and alternative ordinary levels should be replaced by specifically designed GCSE mature syllabuses or, in a few instances, by AS levels where that form of provision is more appropriate.

- in March of this year they announced the reform of A-level grading, based upon recommendations from the SEC, designed to resolve the long-standing problems arising from the narrow range of marks spanning grade C. The new system will be used for the first time in summer 1987 and will be fairer than the existing one.

School Leavers (Benefits) WA

Mr. Frank Field asked the Sec State for Social Services if he has taken any action to inform Easter school leavers of their possible changed entitlement to benefit in the current year; and if he will mount a publicity campaign to this effect.

Mr. Newton: The question of a school leaver's entitlement to supp ben remains to be decided by the independent adjudicating authorities on the facts of the individual case. A social security commissioner's decision in March 1985 indicated that in some circumstances a school leaver with exams to take might be entitled to benefit. Leaflet FB20 gives advice to school leavers on how to claim benefit, and young people under 18 are required to register with the careers service, whose officers are aware of the benefit position and will refer them to DHSS local offices for advice. We believe that adequate information is available by these means.

Supplementary Benefit WA

Mr. Thurnham asked the Sec State for Social Services if he has any plans to seek to amend section 6 of the Supp Ben Act 1976 to allow a school leaver to claim supp ben for the initial period of first employment, for which remuneration is paid, retrospectively.

Mr. Newton: A young person cannot receive supp ben in his own right until fixed dates at the end of the holiday following the term in which his non-advanced education was completed. We have at present no plans to amend the legislation governing the supp ben entitlement of school leavers.

Schools (Management) WA

Mr. Baldry asked the Sec State for Education and Science what initiatives HM's Gov have taken since 1979 to improve the government and management of schools in England and Wales.

Mr. Dunn: The Education Act 1980 introduced elected parent and teacher governors and provided for school governing bodies generally to be more effective by bringing an end to the previously widespread practice of grouping many schools together under a single governing body. Building on this base, the Education Bill currently before Parliament aims fully to re-establish governing bodies as the force for good in the life of individual schools always intended under the 1944 Act. It proposes to remove the present scope for local education authorities to dominate governing bodies by appointing a majority of the members. Instead there will be a more balanced membership, with a stronger voice for parents. At the same time, the bill provides a clear framework of functions to enable the governing body to play its full part in the running of its school.

Spastic Children (Education) WA

Mrs. Renée Short asked the Sec State for Social Services what active measures he is taking to introduce the Peto's conductive education system for spastic children and to increase collaboration in this field between the British and Hungarian NHS administration.

Mr. Whitney: The Dep has received an application from the Spastics society for funds to support and study of current provision of conductive education and an evaluation of the implications of wider development of the system in this country. Our officials and officials from the Dep of Education and Science will be discussing this application with the Spastics Society in the near future. If this project comes to fruition, we would then consider in the light of the outcome what, if any steps were desirable to develop conductive education further in this country.

Youth Training Scheme OA

Dr. Glyn asked the Sec State Defence what further proposals he has to encourage recruitment to the Army YTS by visits to school; and what were the most recent figures of recruitment in the previous year.

Mr. Patrick Thompson asked the Sec State for Defence if he will make a statement about the progress of the YTS in the armed services.

Mr. Stanley: Between the start of the scheme in Aug 1983 and Feb 1986, some 2,700 young people have been accepted for the armed services YTS, and almost 950 trainees have subsequently transferred to regular engagements in the services. Some 900 young people were accepted for the scheme in the last year, of whom 129 were for the Army. We are continuing to promote the scheme actively, including through-school visits by all three services.

Dr. Glyn: Can my right hon. Friend say whether visits to schools are being increased? Does he agree that such visits are of great value?

Mr. Stanley: I am grateful for the question about the importance of visits to schools to promote the armed services YTS. That is an important matter and one of the high priority tasks for the services careers information officers. I understand that this year they are planning to visit several thousand schools, colleges and universities.

Sir Adam Butler: My right hon. Friend said that only 129 young people accepted for YTS had been recruited to the Army - an extraordinarily low figure. Does he agree that that low number stems from a reluctance by the professionals to take on what they might describe as conscripts? Will he do much more to encourage the scheme in the way described by my hon. Friend the Member for Norwich, North (Mr. Thompson)? Enormous benefits could flow from that.

Mr. Stanley: I stress that during the operation of the scheme, the Army has made available many more places than there have been applicants who have met the requisite standards. So far - this may well change - people have been attracted particularly to the RAF and, to some extent, the Royal Navy. In the past year or so, the Army has had more difficulty in attracting applicants. We have been looking closely at the position and want to remedy it.

V95 N93

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Sean Hughes asked the Paymaster General how many injuries or fatalities involving young people employed on the YTS have been reported in the last year for which figures are available.

Mr. Trippier: Information is not available in the precise form requested as separate details of employed and non-employed trainees are not held. Following are the details of accidents to YTS trainees for the period 1 January 1985 to 31 December 1985, the latest available date.

Accidents and injuries for the period 1 January 1985 to 31 December 1985*

	Number
Fatalities	†14
Major injuries	‡201
Minor injuries	1,885
Total	2,090

*MSC accident figures for the YTS have been compiled on a similar basis to those prepared by the Health and Safety Executive on employed persons. However, the Commission's figures will include a number of accidents during scheme time and accidents to trainees in educational establishments which may not have been reportable to the Health and Safety Executive had the individuals been employed.

†This figure includes one road traffic accident.

‡Major injuries are classified according to the severity criteria laid down in the Notifications of Accidents and Dangerous Occurrences Regulations 1980 (NADOR).

V95 N94

Computers (Schools) OA

Mr. Galley asked the Sec State for Trade and Industry what steps he has taken to advance knowledge and experience of computers in schools.

Mr. Patten: My Dep, through a number of support schemes, has provided over £17 million of financial support to schools to promote the use of computers and related activity. Most recently we have made available £1.5 million, enough to supply each secondary and middle school in the country with a modem. Further support for computer software is being provided in the next two financial years and we continue to keep the situation under review.

V95 N95

YTS WA

Ms. Clare Short asked the Paymaster General if he will publish (a) the number of training places covered by the YTS and the annual cost of the scheme in each year since it started, (b) the current number of places covered by the scheme and its cost, (c) the average weekly income and number of hours of trainees; and if he will provide a breakdown between mode A, mode B1 and mode B2 places.

Mr. Trippier: The information on training places and cost of YTS in the financial year since the scheme started is shown in the following tables:

Numbers of places approved during the financial years since YTS began

	1983-84	1984-85	1985-86*
Mode A	320,923	308,093	304,338
Mode B1	89,799	72,175	67,196
Mode B2	31,773	16,090	13,744
Total	442,495	396,358	385,278

*At 28 February 1986 latest available.

(a) Expenditure

1 million	1983-84 Outturn	1984-85 Outturn	1985-86†
Mode A	236.5	467.5	526.0
Mode B1	111.6	240.0	236.0
Mode B2	20.5	39.1	26.0

†Provisional end year outturn.

	1983-84	1984-85	1985-86
1. Capital Grants	1.2	4.6	3.0
2. Other Expenditure	10.7	12.2	15.1
3. Total YTS Expenditure	380.5	376.4	806.1

Notes:

1. Capital Grants expenditure cannot be separately identified by Mode.
2. Other expenditure includes research and development centres and miscellaneous minor items.
3. Excludes MSC administration costs.
4. Outturn for 1985-86 is provisional.
 - (b) For the current financial year 1986-87 expenditure is estimated at £906 million to cover around 468,000 places.
 - (c) all trainees whether employed or non-employed receive at least the standard training allowance plus any payments in respect of travel costs or lodgings to which they may be entitled. Payments made to trainees in excess of the standard allowances are a matter for the training providers concerned. Neither my Department nor the MSC maintain a record of such payments.

The detailed information requested on trainee hours is not readily available. However it has always been the rule that trainees must generally spend no more than 40 hours per week on YTS excluding meal breaks.

Mr. Kirkwood asked the Paymaster General, further to his answer of 18 December 1985, *Official Report*, column 187, whether he intends to encourage or counsel employers to contribute towards the funding of the two-year YTS.

Mr. Trippier: The funding for two-year YTS has been set at a level which will lead managing agents generally to seek contributions from employers. The Government recognise the importance and legitimacy of such contributions; it does not, however, intend to issue specific guidance on the level of contributions that managing agents should seek.

Mr. Wigley asked the Paymaster General what are the latest figures for the proportion of those who have taken part in YTS schemes in England who have subsequently found full-time employment; and what proportion subsequently were unemployed in each of the years since the scheme's inception.

Mr. Trippier: Information is not available in the form requested. The MSC has conducted regular follow-up surveys of those leaving YTS schemes since 1984. Postal questionnaires are sent to young people some three months after they leave their scheme. Information covering leavers in England between June 1984 and March 1985 is set out below, alongside the latest available information (covering leavers in England between April and October 1985).

Young people leaving YTS schemes in England between

	<i>June 1984- March 1985* per cent.</i>	<i>April-October 1985‡ per cent.</i>
In full-time work with same employer	25	31
In full-time work with different employer	32	24
In part-time work	†	4
On full-time course at college/training centre	3	4
On another YTS scheme	6	6
Doing something else	3	7
Unemployed	30	25
Number of respondents	31,432	138,926

*based on 15 per cent. sample survey.

†part-time figures not available.

‡based on 100 per cent. survey.

Community Programme WA

Ms. Clare Short asked the Paymaster General if he will publish figures for the numbers of (i) jobs covered by the CP and the annual cost of the programme in each year since it started and (ii) current jobs covered by the programme and its cost; and what are the average weekly earnings and number of hours worked under the programme.

Mr. Lang: The CP was introduced on 1 October 1982 and replaced the CEP.

The number of filled places at the end of each financial year since 1982 were as follows:

	<i>Filled places</i>
March 1983	17,100
March 1984	112,900
March 1985	132,800
March 1986	199,900

The annual costs in cash prices, including programme administration costs, and residual expenditure on the cep were as follows:

	<i>£ million</i>
1982-83	177.0
1983-84	400.1
1984-85	534.3
*1985-86	688.0

*Forecast

Preliminary findings from the most recent survey of CP participants indicate average weekly earnings of £141.96 for managers and supervisors and £65.96 for other participants. However the manager and supervisor figure is thought to have been influenced by the incidence of back-pay during the survey period, resulting from last year's local authority pay settlement. The previous survey of participants, conducted three months earlier, showed average weekly earnings of £121.60 for managers and supervisors.

The reported earnings figures include top-up payments made by some project sponsors to participants in addition to wage costs met by the MSC. A survey currently in the field will provide information as to the extent of this topping-up.

The most recent survey found that, on average, managers and supervisors work 37 hours per week and other participants 27 hours per week.

Ms. Clare Short asked the Paymaster General if he will publish any available data which show the labour market activity of workers in the 12 months following participation in (i) the YTS, (ii) the CP, (iii) the young workers scheme and (iv) the EAS.

Mr. Trippier: A regular follow-up survey is conducted of young people some three months after they leave YTS. Results from this survey are produced monthly and copies are placed in the Library.

A survey of the CP was published in November 1985 and showed that 48 per cent. of people leaving the CP had held one or more jobs in the six to 10 month period since leaving the programme. An estimated 90 per cent. of those completing a year of support on the young workers scheme continue in employment with the same employer. Further details will be published in an article in the May issue of the *Employment Gazette*.

An article in the August 1985 issue of the *Employment Gazette* summarised survey work on the eas and reported that 80 per cent. of those who had completed a year on the scheme, were still running the business 15 months after starting it under the scheme.

Jobstart Scheme WA

Ms. Clare Short asked the Paymaster General (1) if he will estimate the number of new jobs to be created by the Government's jobstart and new workers' scheme initiatives; and on what basis the relevant expenditure estimates given in table 1 of the "Financial Statement and Budget Report" were calculated;

(2) how much public expenditure is being set aside in 1986-87 to finance (i) the jobstart allowance element of the national restart programme for the long-term unemployed and (ii) the new workers scheme; and how many new jobs he expects to be created by these measures.

Mr. Lang: The jobstart allowance is designed to encourage long-term unemployed people to take jobs which they might otherwise not consider and thereby to help employers to fill vacancies. It does not aim to create additional, new jobs, although it may help to fill vacancies which would otherwise remain unfilled (hence raising the overall level of employment). The allowance will be available from 1 July to anyone who is eligible and who makes a valid claim. It is difficult to predict what the take-up will be. A sum of £15 million has been provided for this programme in 1986-87.

The estimates of the expenditure on the new workers scheme published in table 1.1 of the Budget report were calculated on the basis of forecasts derived from our experience of the young workers scheme. We estimate that the coverage of the scheme in March 1987 may be some 63,000 and that its effectiveness in encouraging new jobs will be similar to that of the YWS.

V96 N98

Youth Training Scheme

Mr. Faulds asked the Paymaster Gen if he will make a statement on the premium place arrangements for the two-year YTS.

Mr. Trippier: Under two-year YTS, premium funding of £110 per month for each filled place will be paid in addition to the basic funding of £160 per filled place where appropriate. During 1986-87, around 51,000 first and one-year places and 13,000 continuation places, for those starting a second-year programme, will be payable. The Government are confident that this and the other measures continued in the new YTS will ensure that there is an adequate supply of high quality training places to provide for all eligible trainees.

Mr. O'Brien asked the PG what recent representations he has received on the future of mode B YTS provision.

Mr. Trippier: Most mode B providers will have contracts for premium places, or premium mixed with basic places, in two-year YTS; some will have additional funding for the disabled.

There have already been wide consultations over transitional funding, and the MSC has recently announced a further review of transitional funding to be undertaken by a sub-group of the YTB this autumn. The review will offer an opportunity for public representations.

Mr. Rogers asked the PG if he will estimate how many young people have left YTS since it began without going into a job or full-time education.

Mr. Trippier: This information is not available in the form requested. Since 1984 the MSC has conducted regular follow-up surveys of young people some three months after they leave YTS. We are expanding the programme to 255,000 places by November which in a full year will provide opportunities for up to 330,000 participants. There are about 1.5 million unemployed people in the eligible group.

Mrs. Clwyd asked the PG if he will make a statement on the future of the training element of the CP. **Mr. Lang:** The aim of the CP is to provide temporary employment. But training can be provided for workers both by agents and sponsors as part of their projects. And as part of the wider opportunities training programmes. We shall continue to encourage sponsors to provide training on their projects and aim to provide broadly the same amount of training nationally under the wider opportunities training programme in 1986-87 as in the previous year.

Mr. Colin Shepherd asked the PG how many CP places are currently unfilled.

Mr. Lang: On 7 February 1986, the latest available date, the number of unfilled CP vacancies nationally was 24,258.

The total number of CP vacancies notified to jobcentres from April 1985 to February 1986 as 224,300. During the same period, 195,700 CP vacancies were filled by jobcentres.

Community Programme WA

Mr. Sheerman asked the Paymaster General how many extra CP places would be needed to ensure that a place was available for every eligible person.

Mr. Lofthouse asked the PG what is the ratio of eligible unemployed to available places for the extra 25,000 CP places announced in the Budget.

Mr. Lang: The CP is just one of a range of options available to long-term unemployed.

The table gives comparable information for 1984 and 1985:

	<i>Leavers between 1 April to 31 October 1984 per cent.</i>	<i>Leavers between 1 April to 31 October 1985 per cent.</i>
In a job or full-time education	62	62
On another YTS Scheme	5	6
Doing something else	2	7
Unemployed	31	26

All figures are rounded.

Mr. Janner asked the PG what steps are taken to seek to ensure that young people on YTS schemes receive proper training for jobs.

Mr. Trippier: Potential managing agents are required to set out in detail their proposals for training including the job skills that young people will receive. The formal contract with the managing agent refers to the agreements reached on these proposals. Thereafter, there are arrangements to monitor the acquisition of skills and the quality of training provided. To strengthen these monitoring arrangements, the Gov are introducing a new training standards advisory service, and is requiring all providers of training to apply to become approved training organisations. Only organisations who gain such status will be able to take part in YTS.

V96 N102

Unemployment (Government Measures) WA

Mr. Ralph Howell asked the Prime Minister if she will list all Government measures passed, since taking office in 1979, to help the unemployed and to alleviate unemployment; and if she will also evaluate the overall cost of these measures.

The Prime Minister: Since 1979 we have introduced a range of measures to help the unemployed, and to provide training for both employed and unemployed people. We have also modified and improved a number of measures which were in place when we came to office. The measures are: CP; enterprise allowance scheme; job release scheme; job clubs; job search scheme; job splitting scheme; jobstart allowance; restart programme; new workers scheme; part time job release scheme; young workers scheme; Community Industry; voluntary projects programme; YTS; job training scheme; training for enterprise; wider opportunities training programme; training grants for employers; Open Tech programme; access to information technology; career development loans.

Expenditure on our employment and training measures in cash terms from 1979 to the end of this financial year will be in the region of £13 billion. Our current range of employment, enterprise and training measures is described in the recently published booklet "Action for Jobs".

V99 N125

Students (Grants) WA

Sir Regional Eyre asked the Sec State for Education and Science how many students are currently receiving mandatory grants; and how this figure compares with that for 1979.

Mr. Walden: There are nearly 400,000 students from England and Wales currently receiving a mandatory award - some 75,000 more than in 1979-80.

V96 N105

Students (Benefits) WA

Mr. Freud asked the Sec State for Social Services what representations he has received in respect of the proposals to restrict student eligibility to benefits; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Newton: Since publication of the White Paper we have received approximately 1,050 written representations and inquiries on the proposals which were put to the social Security Advisory Committee and the local authority associations on 7 January. We are currently considering the SSAC's report and the LAA's reviews.

Drug Abuse WA

Mr. Kennedy asked the Sec State for Social Services if he will make a statement outlining the steps which his Department is taking currently to combat drug abuse.

Mr. Whitney: We aim to reduce demand by continuing our campaign of information and education, whilst taking steps to encourage better services for those who suffer harm from misuse. We have taken a series of initiatives including a video package for school children and central funding to stimulate service provision. Our approach is described in detail in chapters 6 and 7 of "Tackling Drug Misuse: A Summary of the Government's Strategy", which the Home Office published last month.

V96 N104

School Leavers WA

Mr. Frank Field asked the Sec State for Education and Science (1) how many young people in England at (a) the minimum school leaving age, (b) one year above and (c) two years above minimum school leaving age left school in 1985; and of these groups what is his best estimate of the number who (a) were eligible to leave at the end of the Easter term and (b) did leave at the end of the Easter term;

(2) how many young people in England took (a) general certificate of education O-levels, (b) certificate of secondary education examinations and (c) both sets of examinations in 1985; and of these groups what is his best estimate of the number who did not return to school in the September term.

Mr. Dunn: There were 736,200 school leavers during the academic year 1984-85. Of these, 504,300 were in their minimum school leaving age year, 84,800 pupils had stayed on at school for up to one year in the sixth form and 126,400 for up to two years of sixth form study.

It is estimated that 290,000, or 40 per cent., of pupils who attained minimum school leaving age in 1984-85 were eligible to leave school at Easter 1985 and 37,000 were reported as having left by that date. Pupils in sixth forms may leave school at any age.

It is estimated that 490,300 school leavers in 1984-85 had attempted at least one GCE O-level examination, 580,600 had attempted at least one examination of each type. Comparable data for pupils who left school in their minimum school leaving age year were 276,900, 431,400 and 262,800 respectively.

School Places (Parental Appeals)

Mr. Fallon asked the Sec State for Education and Science, pursuant to the answer of the hon. Member for Darlington on 4 February, *Official Report*, column 113, how many parents appealed against their local authority's allocation of school places in each year since 1980.

Mr. Dunn: The appeal arrangements of the Education Act 1980 applied for the first time to school admissions for

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Lawler asked the Paymaster Gen if he will list those training groups and trade associations which have amended their apprenticeship scheme to incorporate YTS.

Mr. Trippier: Information is not available in the form requested. However, in many industries YTS is playing an increasingly important part in apprenticeship training. These include arrangements in agriculture, building, electrical contracting, engineering, heating and ventilating and road transport.

V97 N107

General Certificate of Secondary Education OA

Mr. Skinner asked the Sec State for Edu and Sci what representations he has received in the past month from the teachers' unions about the introduction of the general certificate of secondary education examination.

Mr. Chris Patten: My right hon. Friend has expressed to all the teachers' associations his willingness to receive any further and detailed comments they may have about the preparation for the funding of the introduction of the GCSE. The Department stands ready to consider these matters further.

Mr. Skinner: Is the Minister aware that nearly six weeks ago I sent a letter from a worried parent, Mr. Beal of New Houghton in my constituency, to the Sec State for Education and Science? The letter says that he is concerned about the examination going through. I have not yet had a reply from this deadbeat Sec State or the junior Minister who is trying to get his job. It is not a scandal that the Minister cannot reply to my constituent in six weeks and at the same time is trying to tell parents and teachers to rush through this tinpot examination? Why does the Sec State not make way for somebody else?

Mr. Patten: I am grateful for that balanced contribution. I assure the hon. Gent that, in the light of his question, I shall see that his constituent receives an early reply. I am equally sure that the hon. Gentleman will want to reassure his constituent about the importance of this examination being introduced smoothly in Sept.

Mr. Pawsey: Will my hon. Friend confirm that the GCSE was demanded by teachers' unions, that it has been most thoroughly researched and prepared, and that £30 million has been made available by the Government, in addition to the sums provided by local authorities? Does he agree that the new examination will do a great deal to improve the quality of education in our schools?

Mr. Patten: I could not have put it better myself.

Mr. Freud: Will the Minister confirm that a substantial sum of money is being granted to north Yorkshire, and Ryedale in particular, for the GCSE? If that is true, will he do his best to let counties that are not having by-elections have similar grants?

Mr. Patten: Thanks to the education support grant, all local education authorities will be able to add to the capitation that, doubtless, they are making available for the introduction of the GCSE. That is what the £20 million is for - for all local education authorities. Unfortunately, some local education authorities do not have quite as much as they might like for that purpose, for example, Derbyshire, is spending £60,000 on overprinting all its stationery with the news that Derbyshire is a nuclear-free zone.

Mr. Nicholas Baker: Is my hon. Friend aware that the teachers' unions - [Interruption].

Mr. Speaker: Order.

Mr. Baker: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Is my hon. Friend aware -

Mr. Skinner: We've got the muesli vote in west Derbyshire.

Mr. Speaker: Order. The hon. Gent has had one question. He cannot keep interrupting other people's questions.

Mr. Baker: Is my hon. Friend aware that the teachers' unions are putting forward figures for the cost of the GCSE and the time that its introduction will take which are very much in excess of the figures and the time that his Department has produced? Will he quickly examine those figures and refute them, because everyone wants to see this important examination introduced?

Mr. Patten: I shall certainly ensure that we continue to put sensible figures into play. The fact is that there has been a good deal of exaggeration. There is a tendency for some teachers to pile all their ambitions into an argument about resources for the GCSE. Nevertheless, we want to have serious discussions with the teachers' associations about the resources for that most important examination.

Mr. O'Brien: Is the Minister aware of the situation that is faced by some of the heads in schools in my constituency where, out of a possible 97 syllabuses, only 27 have been received so far? The syllabuses that are being submitted need to be amended in many ways. Therefore, the teachers are having to draw up programmes only weeks before the introduction of the GCSE. Will the minister take his head out of the sand and realise that there will be great difficulties in the introduction of the GCSE?

Mr. Patten: The arrangements for the introduction of syllabuses are exactly as they were when we first discussed that issue a couple of years ago. Over 235 syllabuses have now been mailed daily to schools. The arrangements for the approval of syllabuses are entirely on course.

Mr. Forth: Will my hon. Friend confirm that it was the teachers' unions that demanded this examination in the first place? What conclusion has my hon. Friend drawn as to the reason for the change of attitude now shown by the unions?

Mr. Patten: I still believe that the overwhelming majority of good and professional teachers want to see the examination introduced smoothly. Unfortunately, one or two people have been trying to use it as part of their pay dispute, but I hope that that will not apply to all teachers.

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett: Will the Minister tell us how his talks with the NUT are going? Does he not accept that he has a short time to win public acceptance - the acceptance of parents, pupils and teachers - for the new examination? If the Government showed a little urgency and gave a little extra in resources, that good will could be won. What are the Government doing to achieve that?

Mr. Patten: As the hon. Gentleman knows, we have been talking about the examination for the best part of 15 years. We only recently announced increased resources and training. But we are still talking to the teachers' associations. My right hon. Friend the Sec State has met the NUT, and the Department's officials are talking to some of the NUT's officials at the moment. I hope that it will be possible to persuade them to take part fully in making the examination the success that it deserves to be.

Further Education OA

Mr. Chapman asked the Sec State for Edu and Sci what is his latest estimate of the total number of students in higher and further education; and how this compares with previous years.

Mr. Walden: The numbers of students have been increasing and in higher education are now at their highest ever level. I have arranged for the detailed figures since 1979 to be published in the *Official Report*.

Mr. Chapman: Will my hon. Friend confirm, more specifically, that the number of full-time students in higher and further education has increased by over 13 per cent. in the past six years, and that that, in spite of much misleading propaganda, is a trend worthy of commendation rather than condemnation?

Mr. Walden: I am glad to have this chance to put the record straight, following earlier exchanges. The numbers of students in higher education since the Government came into office in 1979 are 80,000 up. The proportion of 18 and 19-year-olds entering higher education is 15 per cent. up and the numbers of mature students - an important category - are 12 per cent. up. If those are cuts, they sound very kind cuts to me.

Following are the figures:

Students in Higher and Further Education

	Thousands						
	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	*1985
Higher education* (Great Britain)							
Full-time and sandwich	510	521	542	553	566	573	579
Part-time†	268	288	297	303	312	328	
Non-advanced further education (England)							
Full-time and sandwich‡	288	296	328	355	344	337	338
Part-time	1,151	1,125	1,057	1,064	1,151	1,191	1,316

*Universities and public sector higher education. Provisional.

†Including the Open University.

‡Home and overseas students.

spending in secondary schools? Does he not agree that if Londoners are interested in the welfare and educational standards of their children they should vote Labour in the local elections on Thursday?

Mr. Patten: Life is difficult enough without trying to explain the Liberal party to the hon. Gentleman. I do not agree with the hon. Gentleman's figures. Under this Government spending per pupil on books and equipment has gone up by 8 per cent. for primary schoolchildren. Expenditure on books and equipment per pupil fell by 7.3 per cent. in real terms between 1975 and 1979.

Mr. Barron: Does the Minister's answer take into account last year's HMI report on books in schools which said that one third of schools were under-provided with books?

Mr. Patten: What the HMI report actually said was that poor management and inadequate identification of needs were a more common cause of the shortage of books and equipment than low capitalisation.

Schools (Homework) OA

Mr. Madel asked the Sec State for Edu and Sci when he expects to receive the report from Her Majesty's inspectors' survey of good practice in schools in relation to home work; and if he will make a statement.

The Minister of State, Department of Education and Science (Mr. Chris Patten): My right hon. Friend hopes to receive this report during the summer.

Mr. Madel: As part of the policy of raising standards in the classroom, at what age do the government think that homework should be compulsory for children? Do the Government accept that arrangements should be made for some children to do their homework at school at the end of the day if conditions at home are difficult?

Mr. Patten: I agree that where facilities are made available for doing homework at school, they are most welcome. I hope that Her Majesty's inspectors' survey will offer some useful evidence of current practices which will enable us to answer my hon. Friend's first question. I would point to the important role of parents in helping especially younger children with reading at home.

V97 N109

Students WA

Mr. Wigley asked the Sec State for Edu and Sci if he is satisfied that existing provisions for university and college students are adequate to ensure that no student who can benefit from such education will be deprived of the opportunity for financial reasons.

Mr. Chris Patten: There are now more students in higher education than ever before and the percentage of young people involved is the highest ever. Moreover, our awards system is more generous than those of other developed countries: no other country provides mandatory grant support at a similar level or devotes as high a proportion of its gross national product to student support as we do.

Mr. Wigley asked the Sec State for Edu and Sci if he will take steps to ensure that the minimum weekly grant income for subsistence purposes of a students aged 18 years and over following a full-time course in education is at least £23.60 per week, and for students aged 16 and 17 years at least £18.20 per week.

Mr. Walden: Students on mandatory and full value discretionary awards currently receive, subject to a means test, £53.70 per week in term time. To extend the grant system so that all students over 18 in England and Wales received £23.60 per week and all students aged 16 and 17 received £18.20 would cost in the region of an additional £480 million per annum.

V97 N112

YTS OA

Mr. Colvin asked the Sec State for Defence what measures are being taken to increase the take-up places under the YTS scheme by persons for whom his Dep is responsible; and if he will make a statement.

The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Defence Procurement (Mr. John Lee): My right hon.

Friend the Minister of State for the Armed Forces outlined steps being taken to encourage armed services YTS recruitment in his answer to questions put by my hon. Friends the Members for Windsor and Maidenhead (Dr. Glyn) and for Norwich, North (Mr. Thompson) on 15 April at columns 712-13.

Mr. Colvin: I congratulate my hon. Friend on the fact the 2,700 youngsters have done armed services YTS, and 60 per cent. are staying on for regular service in the armed forces. Nevertheless, only about a quarter of the ASYTS places are being taken up. I should be grateful if my hon. Friend will tell us what he proposes to do to promote YTS in the armed forces to a greater extent, perhaps through a cadet corps, particularly now that, with the introduction of the two-year YTS, greater training facilities will be available in particular qualifications for City and Guilds?

Mr. Lee: I know of my hon. Friend's interest in this matter. We shall consider his specific suggestions. We continue to promote the scheme actively through visits by service school liaison officers and several thousand such visits are planned this year, and there will be a new range of publicity material. There are some pleasing aspects. Of participants in armed forces YTS about 60 per cent. have gone onto regular engagements. On the civilian YTS, approximately 70 per cent. have gone on to full apprenticeship with us.

Mr. Douglas: We welcome the fact that there are new entrants in the services in the lower echelons, but what is happening to the attrition rate in the higher echelons. We seem to be losing highly skilled personnel, especially from the RN. Is that loss related to the lack of ordering of new classes of vessels, especially the types 22 and 23? When will orders be placed to suit the services so that we can keep our highly skilled personnel?

Mr. Lee: The hon. Gentleman is an extremely skilled parliamentarian. His specific question on frigates comes somewhat lower on the Order Paper. This early question does not really relate to the question on YTS.

Mr. Conway: Are those who do not convert from these schemes to regular service given information that may lead them to enlist in the TA?

Mr. Lee: I am not aware whether they are given specific information about possible engagement in the TA. I shall certainly look into that specific suggestion.

Mr. Allen McKay: Would not popularisation of YTS ensure that those who participated in it could, if they wished, join the armed forces afterwards?

Mr. Lee: I shall certainly take up that point.

V98 N120

Ms. Clare Short asked the Paymaster General what research work his Department and the MSC have undertaken, giving references to published work, on the operation and effect of the YTS, the cp and the young workers scheme.

Mr. Lang? The information requested is:

YOUTH TRAINING SCHEME

MSC Research

Regular follow-up of YTS Trainees to be published over the Summer

The Youth Training Scheme—the first 3 Years

MSC Research and Development Series No. 34.

YTS Provider Survey—results published in a short note in the Employment Gazette of April 1985, p. 163 and a full article in August 1985.

Ethnic Minorities and YTS

MSC Research and Development Series No. 20.

Review of the Information Technology Centre Programme

MSC Research and Development Series No. 27.

The Youth Training Schemes: A study of non-participants and early leavers

Research and Development Series No. 34, Summer 1986.

YTS Trainee Follow-Up of Non-Respondents Interview Survey

Reports made available to the House of Commons Library

School Leavers Cohort Survey—Sheffield and Bradford Pilot

Four Publications are available from the MCS:

1. Choices at 16; Report No. 1—Young people views on YTS
2. Choices at 16; Report No. 2—Staying on
3. choices at 16; Report No. 3—The Gender Gap
4. Futures in Black and White—Two studies of the experience of young people in Sheffield and Bradford.

Report on the 1984 pilot of the Scottish Young Peoples Suirvey

Available from MSC.

COMMUNITY PROGRAMME

MSC Research

Surveys of CP participants and ex participants, were undertaken Autumn 1983, Spring 1984 and Autumn 1984. Partial follow-up surveys of CP participants were carried out in 1984 and 1985.

Social and Community Planning Research have published one report "Survey of CP Participants 1984" (SCPR ref: 01/797).

A survey of CP sponsors was undertaken in 1984. Copies of reports on the other surveys have been made available to the House of Commons Library but not published elsewhere.

The report of an efficiency review conducted by the Cabinet Office entitled "Value for Money in the CP" was published on 14 April 1986 and is available free direct from the Department. An article entitled "After the CP - Results of the First Follow-up Study" was published in the *Employment Gazette* in January 1985.

The MSC has also produced a report entitled "Training Linked to the CP" outlining good practice, copies of which are available from the MSC.

YOUNG WORKERS SCHEME

DE Research

Young Workers Scheme Survey of Employers 1983

Young Workers Scheme Survey of Employers 1985

Young Workers Scheme Survey of Participants 1985

All three surveys were conducted for the Department by Social and Community Planning Research. A continuous postal survey of employers claiming payments was managed within the Department.

A summary of this material has been published in the *Employment Gazette* of May 1986 in an article entitled "Evaluation of the Young Workers Scheme".

Ms. Clare Short asked the Pay Gen if he will show, for each year or operation of the yos and the YTS, the level of the allowance payable under the schemes, both in current prices and in constant 1986 prices.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke: Expressed in terms of prices in March 1986 the following shows the level of allowance each year from April 1978 until March 1986f

Allowance £	Allowance at 1986 prices £	
April 1978	19.50	38.24
March 1979	20.55	37.24
March 1980	23.50	35.56
March 1981	23.50	31.58
March 1982	25.00	30.44

	Allowance £	Allowance at 1986 prices £
March 1983	25.00	29.09
March 1984	25.00	27.674
March 1985	26.25	27.36
March 1986	27.30	27.30

With the introduction of two year YTS, trainees in their second year of training will receive an enhanced allowance of £35.00. Allowance levels must reflect the fact that trainees are only learning, and YTS provides substantially upgraded training compared with the yop.

Ms. Clare Short asked the Pay Gen if he will indicate the number and proportion of workers on (a) the YTS scheme and (b) the yws, who are engaged in wages council sectors.

Mr. Lang: I regret that the information requested is not available for young people engaged on YTS.

A survey conducted by Social and CPS (SCPR) in 1985 found that 33 per cent. of those employed under support of the young workers scheme were covered by a wages council or board that set statutory minimum rates of pay. However the survey asked about "statutory" bodies but replies included many references to non-statutory bodies.

Ms. Clare Short asked the Pay Gen if he will publish available information about the earnings of those who remain in employment following the completion of a place under the YTS or support under the young workers scheme.

Mr. Lang: The MSC conducts a regular follow-up survey of leavers from YTS three months after they leave their programmes. The latest results are for young people who left YTS in November 1985. The survey gives the following information on the weekly net take home pay of leavers during the period April to November 1985, who were in full-time employment at the time of the survey.

YTS leavers in the period April to November 1985

Weekly take home pay	Percentage of leavers*
Up to £20	0.1
£20 to £40	24.2
£40 to £60	55.8
£60 to £80	16.3
£80 to £100	2.7
£100 and over	0.8

*In full-time employment at time of survey.

From the research carried out by social and community planning research (SCPR) for my Department, those youngsters who were employed after young workers scheme support had ended, had received average increases of 30 per cent. over their pay at the time of entry. However this evidence is based on a very small sample of youngsters.

V98 N121

Young People WA

Mr. Lawler asked the Prime Minister what initiatives the government have taken to further the interests of young people.

The Prime Minister: In education there has been an increase of 18 per cent. in real terms in spending per pupil between 1979-80 and 1984-85. This has enabled the averaged size of one-teacher classes between 1979 and 1985 to be reduced from 25.9 to 24.9 in primary and from 21 to 20.4 in secondary. In January 1985, the overall pupil-teacher ratio was at a best ever level of 17.8:1. More young children than ever receiving nursery education - an increase from 210,000 to 267,000 between 1979 and 1985 - and the proportion of young people continuing their education beyond compulsory school age has gone up from 40 to 46 per cent. over the same period. The number of students going into higher education has increased by 78,000 to its highest level - a record proportion of a record age cohort. The number of students on science and engineering courses has increased by 30 per cent. The engineering and technology programme launched by the Secretary of State for Education and Science last year will provide a further 5,000 university and polytechnic places in these subjects. In addition, we are placing greater emphasis on the achievements of higher standards.

Our White Paper "Better Schools" (Cmd. 9469) set out a range of initiatives to improve standards in schools: we are now taking vigorous action to put these into effect. Examination results have shown a welcome improvement. The number of students leaving school with no qualifications has fallen to below 10 per cent. High priority is being placed on all young people in schools having a broad and balanced education including the opportunity of following a more relevant and practical curriculum: under the technical and vocational education initiatives which started in 1983, and which will involve over 100,000 young people, pilot projects run by education authorities are exploring ways of organising ways of organising the technical and vocational education of students of all abilities in the 14 and 18 range. In aggregate this will cost £250 million over nine years. In addition, first year enrolments are exceeding expectation for the new certificate of pre-vocational education designed for 16-year-olds remaining in full-time education who are not taking a specific academic or vocational course. In addition, we are promoting the use of computers and information technology in schools through the new microelectronics education support unit, enhanced teacher training, and through the software in schools scheme. Government expenditure this year on new technology in school will be some £6 million. We are also promoting better links between industry and education through a variety of projects. The current scheme for Industry Year, to encourage every school to have a mini-enterprise, is an example.

We are acting to improve the quality of teaching. We are promoting more purposeful in-service training and the introduction of new appraisal arrangements. And we have offered substantial additional resources for school teachers' pay, beyond the recent increases, in return for a bargain on duties, appraisal and career development and on a new salary structure which will better reward responsibility, leadership and commitment.

In the field of youth training, the training scheme (YTS) has already helped one million young people and will now provide two years of high quality training and planned work experience for 16-year-old school leavers, and one year for 17-year-old leavers. It will place particular emphasis on quality and occupational relevance; all entrants will have the chance to gain a recognised vocational qualification or credit towards one.

Other measures to enhance the employment prospects of young people include the new workers scheme announced in this year's Budget; the job release scheme; the CP; and community industry. Our reforms of the wages council system will also make it easier for young people to find work at a rate of pay which they will accept and employers can afford.

For the youth service, we have established a new youth service unit within the Department of Education and Science; published the first circular on youth service policy generally for many years; and established a new national advisory council for the youth service. Grants payable to national voluntary youth organisations for headquarters expenditure have also been substantially increased in total.

The Government have developed a comprehensive strategy for tackling all aspects of drug misuse including an information and education campaign, the appointment of previous co-ordinators in each local education authority and the expansion of treatment and rehabilitation services. A £1 million pilot campaign to deter teenagers from smoking has also been launched.

In the field of sport and recreation, increased grant to the Sport Council has supported initiatives specifically aimed at encouraging young people to take part in sport and recreation. The council's national action sport programme, jointly funded by the MSC, will employ over 1,000 sports leaders

to encourage young people to take up sport.

Our policies to encourage home ownership have benefited young people and particularly first-time buyers. This country has a very high proportion of owner-occupation in the younger age categories: some 25 per cent. of householders under 25 are owner-occupiers - the highest proportion in Europe.

Further Education College Students WA

Mr. Wareing asked the Sec State for Education and Science what percentage of further education college students are engaged on courses funded out of the education budget; and what information he has as to the percentage who are taking courses, the funding of which comes under the responsibility of other Government Departments.

Mr. Walden: Full information on the funding of courses in further education establishments is not available. Five per cent. of students on full-time and sandwich courses and thirteen per cent. of students on part-time day courses were on MSC schemes in maintained, assisted and grant-aided further education establishment in November 1984.

EMPLOYMENT WA

Labour Statistics

Mr. Ralph Howell asked the Paymaster General, pursuant to his reply to the hon. Member for Norfolk, North of 28 April, *Official Report*, column 340 what is his latest estimate of the percentage of the 775,000 people who have a second job who are included twice in the monthly figures of employed persons.

Agency Title	Running Costs received (excluding office premises) £	Running Costs received for office premises £	Total Running Costs £
London Borough of Barking and Dagenham	n/a	n/a	14,021
London Borough of Havering	n/a	n/a	77,776
London Borough of Waltham Forest	n/a	n/a	29,649
Forest Projects	51,500	4,830	56,330
Interface	73,303	9,548	82,851
Newstart	24,298	2,542	26,840
Redbridge Community Care	37,061	4,708	41,769
Globetown	7,754	863	8,617
Disablement Income Group	n/a	n/a	1,277

n/a—not available

Note: Some Agencies have not yet rendered accounts

Mr. Lang: The quarterly estimates of the employed labour force include twice some people who have a second job as an employee. There are no direct estimates of the number of people who are in this way counted twice in the quarterly estimates of the employed labour force. However, out of the 775,000 people identified in the preliminary results of the 1985 labour force survey as having two jobs, two-thirds reported working as an employee in their second job.

Community Programme

Ms. Richardson asked the Paymaster General (1) whether he will list the agencies employing long-term unemployed people under the CP for the east London area; and what is the amount of running costs per participant given to each of the agencies (excluding contributions towards office premises); (2) whether he will list for each agency employing long-term unemployed people under the CP for the east London area the amount of money received from the Government in connection with the cost of office premises.

Mr. Lang: Under the CP agents are reimbursed up to £440 per year to cover running costs, including premises costs, in respect of each authorised place for workers other than managers and supervisors. When applying for support, agents must set out what they propose to spend under various running costs headings, including rent and rates. Agents are required to maintain detailed records of expenditure but it is not necessary for each head to be separately identified in their accounts. The amount received by each agency in the last year for which final audited accounts have been rendered is shown in the table, and information on office premises is provided where it is known.

YTS (Civil Service) WA

Mr. Lawler asked the Paymaster General what steps the Manpower Services Commission is taking to seek to increase the number of YTS places in the Civil Services.

Mr. Trippier: The MSC is engaged in continuing discussions with my Department and with the Management and Personnel Office which aim to establish how best to carry forward the development of YTS in the Civil Service.

Ms. Richardson asked the Paymaster General whether he will list for each agency employing long-term unemployed people under the CP for the east London area the numbers of (a) women, (b) men full-time, (c) women and (d) men part-time workers employed on a permanent basis, together with their job titles.

Mr. Lang: The CP provides temporary jobs for long-term unemployed people. None of the workers employed on the programme are employed on a permanent basis. The normal period of employment is up to 52 weeks, but a small proportion of managers, supervisors and key workers are employed for longer.

Mr. Lang: At the end of April, the latest date for which figures are available, the number of people employed on the CP by agencies operating in the east London area was as follows:

Title of Agency	Filled places at 30 April 1986
Forest Projects	310
Globe Town	60
London Borough of Havering	769
Interface	295
London Union of Youth Clubs	14
MENCAP	15
Mutual Aid (East)	258
Mutual Aid (North)	186
NACRO	20
Newstart	108
Redbridge Community Care	177
Tower Hamlets Area Health Authority	87
Age Concern	0
Association of Island Communities	42
London Borough of Barking and Dagenham	109
Community Developments	24
Community Roots Trust	64
CTF	218
Docklands Community Development	24
Energy Concern	278
Tonybee Hall	61
London Borough of Waltham Forest	495
Task Undertaking	4

The allocation of places in the area from October onwards is 3,723 places. Individual agencies are subject to annual renewal, and it is not possible to give project figures for them.

Young Workers Scheme

Mr. Corbyn asked the Paymaster General what proportion of people employed under the young workers scheme have retained their job after 12 months.

Mr. Lang: A survey of the young workers scheme in 1985, conducted for my Department, suggested that employers expected at least 90 per cent. of young workers would continue in their current job beyond the period of eligibility for young workers scheme support. We recently commissioned further research in this area to test how many young people are actually retained.

ERRATA

We would like to correct an error in the Harry Hendrick article published in Issue 18. In line 8 from the bottom of Page 41 the sentence should read 'The purpose of the discipline was **not** meant to confine...'

SCHOOL OF TEACHING & COMMUNITY STUDIES

Dept. of Applied & Community Studies - Ilkley Campus

B.A. (HONS) COMMUNITY STUDIES

This course integrates professional fieldwork training in multi-cultural settings with College based work in applied Social Sciences leading to professional recognition by the Council for Education and Training and Youth and Community Work.

CERTIFICATE IN YOUTH & COMMUNITY WORK

Two year course aimed at students wishing to obtain professional training to work in Youth and Community Situations in a multi-cultural society. Candidates must be over 21 with 5 G.C.E. 'O' level passes or equivalent. Mature students (over 25) considered without qualifications.

For further information contact:

The Admissions Officer
Room No. 76
Bradford & Ilkley Community College
Great Horton Road
BRADFORD
BD7 1AY
Tel: Bfd. (0274) 753026
All other general enquiries to
the Information Office.
Tel: Bradford 753004



BRADFORD & ILKLEY COMMUNITY COLLEGE

contributors

John Astley teaches at Oxford College of Further Education.

John Blackmore is Principal IT Officer with Hounslow Social Services Department.

Jonathan Bradshaw is Director of the Social Policy Research Unit at the University of York.

Kenneth Cooke works in the Social Policy Research Unit, University of York.

Bernard Doswell is Principal Youth Service Officer in the London Borough of Croydon.

Warren Feek is an independent freelance consultant and author.

Sarah Hargreaves is an independent freelance trainer involved with Framework Management Consultancy.

Alan Jones is Acting Head of the Department of Social Sciences at Sunderland Polytechnic and a lecturer in Politics.

Neil Kendra is course tutor on the Youth and Community Work course at Bradford and Ilkley Community College.

Ron Kirby is Senior Lecturer in Community Organisations at Bradford and Ilkley Community College.

Dorothy Lawton works in the Social Policy Research Unit, University of York.

Ruth Levitas teaches in the Department of Sociology at the University of Bristol.

Jim Riordan teaches in the Modern Languages Centre of the University of Bradford.

John Richardson teaches at St. Martins College, Lancaster.

Roger Smith is acting Director of the Corby Juvenile Liaison Bureau. Before that he was a Probation Officer, Residential Social Worker and Computer Programmer.

David Taylor works with the Unemployed Unit, London.

Terry Thomas teaches in the School of Social Studies, Leeds Polytechnic.

Fred Wilenius is an Information Officer with Islington Youth Service.

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

YOUTH the journal of critical analysis AND POLICY

SUBMISSION

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

ARTICLES

Editor: Tony Jeffs, 'Burnbrae', Black Lane, Blaydon Burn, Blaydon, Tyne & Wear NE21 6DS.

REVIEWS

Editor: Maura Banim, Dept. of Social Science, Douro House, Douro Terrace, Sunderland SR2 7DX.
Suggestions for future review material and names of possible contributors are invited from the readership.

WORKING SPACE

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

INSERTS

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

SUBSCRIPTIONS

Youth and Policy, 13 Hunstanton Court, Ravenswood Estate, Low Fell, Gateshead NE9 6LA.
Annual Subscription (4 issues): £14.00
Students and unwaged £11.00
Individual copies: £4.00
Back issues (if available): At cover price
Overseas rate: £19 sterling
(includes postage at 'printed paper' rate)
Special terms for orders of ten or more, on request.
There is no special rate for institutions.

contents

NO.19 WINTER 1986/87

JIM RIORDAN political socialisation & young people's organisations in the ussr	1
R. SMITH the practice of diversion	10
JOHNATHAN BRADSHAW, DOROTHY LAWTON & KENNETH COOKE income and expenditure of teenagers and their families	15
SARAH HARGREAVES & WARREN FEEK feature review – surviving simulation	20
JOHN ASTLEY youth service policy making in the 1950's	23
ALAN JONES farewell to robbins? higher education in a lower resource age	31
RUTH LEVITAS 'free speech' or 'no platform'?	37
BERNARD DOSWELL participation: the reality	42
Working Space	45
reviews	46
monitor	51
contributors	Inside back cover

YOUTH the journal of
critical analysis
AND POLICY