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youth unemployment: the changing response

PAUL LEWIS
& TIM LUNN

Six months after the General Election in June 1979 an extraordinary change occurred in the economy. The level of unemployment which had been falling since January 1978 began to rise. The rise has continued since in an unprecedented and almost unbroken trend, accelerating at first, and now at a fairly constant increase of about 2% a month. The August 1986 figures were the eighth successive monthly record. Despite nineteen changes in the way the figures have been collected and recorded which have reduced the total by nearly 600,000, and despite much heralded dips in the numbers of registered unemployed, official unemployment in December 1986 still stood at a record 3,229,200.

Economic action by Government does not normally work in this fashion. Attempts to control the money supply, output, interest rates or even inflation are seldom so consistent or so speedy in effect. It took over a year before inflation began to fall and over three years before it fell below the level of June 1979. It rose again in the last half of 1983 and the first of 1985. But within six months of the Conservative success in 1979 the new economic theories had reversed the trend in falling unemployment. And barely a hiccup has interrupted its inexorable rise each month since January 1980.

Despite a succession of Ministers expressing their disappointment or assuring us that the rate of increase in the growth was at last showing some signs of levelling off, there is no indication that the future will be any better.

Divided Youth

Among the unemployed, the young have fared particularly badly. From April 1979 to April 1986 the number of teenagers out of work or on a Government scheme grew by 190% compared with 173% for 25-59 year-olds. The number of under-18s in this category grew by 222%. Over 500,000 teenagers are claiming benefit as unemployed, about one in four of the teenage labour market. Another 300,000 are on the Youth Training Scheme or the Community Programme (including its new downmarket version UK 2000). There are nearly 1.2 million unemployed under 25, 331,000 of whom have been out of work more than a year. There are almost 350,000 on the dole who have never had a job.

But these shocking statistics hide rather than reveal the real problem. Unemployment does not strike at random. It strikes by age, by area, by race and by class. The division by age is striking enough. While 23% of 18-19-year-olds are out of work, the proportion is 15% aged 25-34 and as low as 9.5% among 35-44-year-olds. The north-south divide is well known, unemployment (at all ages) in South Tyneside is 25.7% and 21.8% in Middlesbrough compared with 5.9% in Guildford and in Aylesbury. But there are many high levels outside the North. There is a coastal effect, Newquay 27.8%, Thanet (Kent) 20.5%, Skegness 25%; a Welsh effect - Holyhead 22.9%; Cardigan 26.1%; a Scots effect - Cumnock 26.9%, Forres 25.7%; and of course an Irish effect - Strabane 38.1% and Cookstown 37% (only two areas in Northern Ireland have a rate below 20%). Even these astonishing figures hide local rates on estates or in areas of towns reported at up to 100% in some cases.

Unfortunately, there are no figures produced to show how these regional variations are compounded by age. But we can see the dual effect of age with another, less well-known set of figures - those which compare black people and white people. Figures from the Government's annual Labour Force Survey show that in 1985 unemployment among white people was (on a slightly different definition from that used in the monthly count) 11% compared with 23% for black Afro-caribbean people and 20% for black Asian people. And the difference between black and white compounds with that between young and old. Among under-25 year olds, unemployment was 21% among the white people, 43% among the black Afro-caribbeans and 41% among the black Asian people.

Finally in this tour of divided Britain, the General Household Survey (GHS) shows that unemployment is clearly linked to class. In 1983 (and results from 1982 were similar) unemployment among employers and managers was 4%, among skilled manual workers it was 12%, among semi-skilled 20% and among unskilled manual workers it was 30%. Tentative figures for 'professional' people puts their rate of unemployment at just 2%. (recalculated from Table 7.28 GHS 1983. See also table 6.33 GHS 1982).

These figures show that unemployment does not strike at random. It seeks out the divisions in British society, running along the cracks and splitting the

poor from the wealthy. Those who can bear unemployment least suffer it most. Those who could bear it best are protected from it. They also explain one of the strange findings of research into unemployment. Where one member of a family is unemployed, the chance that another will also be unemployed increases. For example a study by the Policy Studies Institute found that in half the families of the long-term unemployed another member was also unemployed. The evidence presented so far shows that unemployment strikes families and communities because members of the same family tend to live in the same part of the country, are the same skin colour, and the same class. Of all the determinants, only youth is not shared by children and their parents. And it is on youth unemployment that much of the attention and most of the Government money has been concentrated.

THE YOUTH TRAINING SCHEME

The Youth Opportunities Programme (1979-83) was unashamedly an 'employment measure'. It formed part of an overall strategy to keep the work experience of unemployed people ticking over. But it was soon realised that most young people who joined it had no such experience and that some form of training must form part of any worthwhile youth scheme. In 1981, Norman Tebbit, then Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, launched his White Paper *A New Training Initiative - A Programme for Action*. It proposed a new 'Youth Training Scheme' lasting a year for up to a third of a million young people which would cost £1 billion a year.

The £1 billion cost of the YTS has always been a political rather than an accountancy description - the scheme cost £818m in 1985/6 (net of £53m MSC administrative costs) of which £93m came from the European Community. But in the Tebbit scheme, young people were to be given a very low level of allowance, about £14.40 a week compared with the contemporary YOP allowance of £23.50. The balance of the cost, which came to over £2000 per trainee, would mainly be spent on their training. However, the Tebbit plan was modified and the allowance raised to the £23.50 paid on the YOP. In addition more young people were expected on the scheme (460,000 places were planned for 1983/4) and as the total budget remained the same, the amount for training given to those who ran the scheme was just £550 a year for each trainee.

The Tebbit White Paper proposed a scheme which cost over £3300 per trainee. That sum, even in cash terms, has never been achieved. The total amount spent per trainee, net of MSC administrative costs, was £3144 in 1984/5 and, despite a higher trainee allowance, £3057 in 1985/6. After the trainee allowance and management fee have been deducted the current grant for most YTS schemes leaves just £500 a year to pay for training in the first year and £100 in the second. From April, the increase on the first year allowance to £28.50 a week will leave just £438 a year for each trainee's training. The MSC expects extra resources to be found by those running the scheme in order to fulfil their training obligations.

Some of the scale of resources needed to provide decent training was obtained in two surveys of Managing Agents (who run the YTS for the MSC) by the MSC and by Youthaid in 1985. The MSC found that the average contribution by companies towards the YTS was £470 per trainee. The Youthaid survey of large companies found a higher figure of £600. However, both surveys found that about half those involved did not make such a contribution and the MSC found that 11% actually made a profit out of the YTS. Those organisations spent less on training than the £585 made available for it in 1984/5. Around the YTS there has grown up a new sort of business which trades in training, taking profit out of public funds rather than offering a service to young people. These profit-making private training agencies seem to be most prevalent in areas of high unemployment where there are not enough real employers to meet the MSC promise that every unemployed school-leaver will be offered a YTS place by Christmas.

And it now looks as though Christmas will be coming early for the private training agencies. The advent of the Job Training Scheme will give them the opportunity to make large profits out of long term unemployment while being obliged to provide little in return.

The JTS is intended for 18-25 year olds who have been out of work for six months or more. Trainees on the JTS will receive an allowance that is equivalent to their previous level of benefit, although they will not be counted as registered unemployed. Those who leave the JTS and rejoin the dole queue will be treated as new claimants, thereby making a nonsense of the figures for long term unemployment.

Like the YTS, the Job Training Scheme will be organised by managing agents, and for each new trainee they will receive £35, plus £58 for each month the trainee is on the JTS (that's £696 a year). But unlike the YTS, they do not pay the trainee's allowance out of this grant (the DHSS does that), nor are they obliged to provide a minimum period of off the job training other than a one week course to establish the trainee's Training Action Plan, and a few days at the end of the trainee's time on JTS in teaching "job search skills".

In addition, the MSC has found that in the areas where the JTS has been tested, managing agents are able to rent out their trainees to 'sponsoring employers' for an average of £20 a week. Managing agents that don't do well out of these arrangements will need to be very dim or very unlucky. What the trainees will get out of it is less obvious.

TRAINING OUT OF TROUBLE

Despite lack of resources to provide adequate training, or in the case of the JTS the absence of proper requirements for off the job training, neither scheme is officially an employment measure but a training measure.

Indeed, in its new two year format the YTS was nearly re named Training For Skills but this soubriquet is now relegated to a subtitle. The two year YTS is now seen as a permanent feature of the education and training of young people. Although the financial

commitment to the scheme has never reached the mnemonic £1 billion, it is still an extraordinary one from a Government determined to reduce spending. Without the YTS the basic rate of tax could be reduced by more than 1p in the £.

However, the belief that training will play a vital part in the recovery of the economy, expressed in three successive White Papers, seems to be based on a fallacy. In an economy where there is a competition for jobs, those with the better training have a better chance of getting the limited numbers of jobs available. So training helps individuals compete for the jobs that exist. That makes training popular among those without jobs. And it allows the Government to blame those who, having been trained, nevertheless fail to find work. But to go on from that position to conclude that if everybody were better trained they would all get jobs is ludicrous. It is like suggesting that, because anyone over 6'8" tall has a good chance of making a professional basketball team if only everyone could be given growth hormones problems of unemployment would be solved as they would all get jobs as basketball players.

The 'train ourselves out of recession' view has a superficial attraction and it clearly underpins the introduction of the Job Training Scheme. But, like so many bright ideas, it is defeated by the arithmetic. In the middle of last year, the MSC managed to find that of 27,000 jobs which had been vacant for more than a month, about 7000 remained unfilled due to skill shortages. That represents a small problem compared with the total number out of work. Even more striking is the fact that the major areas of unfilled skilled vacancies are those with the lowest rates of unemployment. The problem does not exist in the North East where unemployment is 16.4%. If a crash training programme had managed to fill all 7,000 skilled vacancies by the end of 1986, those 7,000 would have had a better Christmas. But Britain would still have had a record level of unemployment. And 99.8% of the unemployed would still be out of work.

JOB SUBSTITUTION

But if training is not the reason for spending all that money what is? The most common complaint about the YTS is that it is 'cheap labour'. In a survey by Youthaid of the young people who refused to join the scheme, 92% of them agreed that 'YTS provides employers with cheap labour' and 2% disagreed. Certainly, many accounts show that employers use the scheme to give them a flexibility in their workforce. A survey done for the MSC by the Technical Change Centre found that 32% gave 'savings on labour costs' as a reason for taking part in the YTS. Another 16% who did not expect to save on labour costs found that they did so. However, among those who did expect such savings, 8% found the trainees' work contribution less than expected. The study also found that 19% of the employers would have taken on employees if they had not had the YTS trainees and another 18% would have had to take on extra staff at peak periods and others would have contracted work out.

By comparison, only 10% mentioned 'industry's

obligation to train' as a reason for taking part and only 9% mentioned the contribution to the training budget.

Other estimates of the effect of the YTS on the youth labour market have come up with similar results. The National Audit Office were told by the MSC that 24% of YTS places represented jobs brought into the Scheme and a further 7% represented jobs which would otherwise have gone to older workers. An estimate by Youthaid based on labour market figures produced by the MSC during the preparations for the two-year YTS indicated that of the anticipated 360,000 trainees in training, about 120,000 would otherwise have been in work.

If these estimates are correct, the savings to industry are enormous. A conservative estimate is that 80,000 16 and 17-year-olds would be in work without the YTS. If they would have received an average £65 a week each, industry saves wages and National Insurance costs of £289m. On the other hand the Treasury loses £43m in tax and National Insurance. And each young person loses a net £1420 a year, a high price to pay as their contribution towards training which may cost less than £500 and is of doubtful intrinsic value and of even less clear value in getting them jobs.

The survey of those leaving the YTS shows that the proportion getting a full-time job within three months of leaving has now fallen to under 53% with a further 3.5% getting a part-time job. Inevitably, these figures show the same geographical and race differences as unemployment. In the North East only 40% get full-time work and 40% go straight onto the dole queue. In the South East 66% get work and 17% claim the dole. Nationally, 57% of young white people get full-time work within three months of leaving compared to 35% of black Afro-caribbean and 34% of black Asian people. Young people are learning the hard way that training does not create jobs, it only hots up the competition for them.

WORK — PART TIME AND LOW-PAID

Parallel to the growth in unemployment among young people has been the extraordinary rise in part-time work. In 1979 just 4% of teenage men and 8% of teenage women in work worked part-time. By 1985, the proportions were 19% and 30%. Among slightly older people the position has been quite different. The growth has been from less than 1% to 3% among men aged 20-24 and from 10% to 14% among women.

Taken with the unemployment and YTS figures, these latest figures for part-time teenage work show that barely half of the teenagers in the labour market in 1985 were in full-time work compared with 80% in 1979. Needless to say, the factors which bring unemployment down on people also make them liable to become part-timers. Among black teenagers, part-time work has grown from 6% for men and 12% for women to 32% and a staggering 46% respectively.

There is also evidence that even those young people with a job are particularly liable to be in and out of work. In the summer quarter of 1985, people under 18 in work had more than a one in five chance of

becoming unemployed within three months. But those out of work had a three in four chance of getting a job. Their pattern of work is change and insecurity.

A recurring notion behind Government policy is that young people are pricing themselves out of jobs. If only they weren't so greedy, and God knows they're lazy enough, employers would be more willing to employ them. In pursuit of this belief the Government has introduced a number of measures to reduce the wages of young people.

Some would class the YTS itself as a wage-cutting programme. They argue that starting young people off on an allowance of £27.30 a week clearly affects their wage expectations. However, the latest evidence does not fully bear out such a fear.

The MSC's survey of the earnings of young people in work after the YTS unfortunately records their take-home pay, making comparisons with the official average earnings figures, which are gross, more difficult. However, the YTS survey shows that the average 'take-home pay' of YTS leavers between April and September 1985 was £50. That represents gross earnings of £61.12 a week. At the same time, April 1985, the official average gross earnings of 16-17-year-olds was £67.30. The ratio of males to females in the two groups was almost identical (11:9) so the figures are comparable. However, the 9% difference may not be significant. One major problem with the average earnings figures is that they are based on records of those paying National Insurance. They therefore exclude anyone earning less than the threshold for paying NI, £35.50 when the 1985 figures were collected. The YTS leavers sample, however, includes a large number earning below this amount. About a quarter 'took home' less than £40, representing gross earnings of less than £45. So it is not clear that post-YTS wages are really significantly below the recorded average earnings of young people of that age. However, it must be remembered that this small sample is self-selecting - only those motivated to answer it do so - whereas the official Earnings Survey is a proper random sample.

If the evidence from the YTS survey is equivocal, that from another Government scheme more clearly devoted to reducing the pay of young people is not. The Young Workers Scheme paid a subsidy to employers who took young people off the dole queue and paid them less than a ceiling wage. An MSC survey of those leaving the YWS, again in 1985, found that the average gross wage on joining the scheme was £39.90 and on leaving was only £42.30. Employers could pay up to £50 a week and still get the subsidy of £15 from the government. Despite the huge subsidies to their wages costs, often 25% or more, there is little evidence that the YWS created a significant number of new jobs.

The YWS has now been replaced by the similar New Workers Scheme with the same £15 a week subsidy and a wage limit of £55 up to age 20 and £65 up to 21. But the scheme is not confined to people out of work, just to those in their first year in the labour market. It is therefore seen as a clear 'post-YTS' scheme and may have an effect in the future on reducing post-YTS wages.

Pre-dating the New Workers Scheme by six months were new lower rates of National Insurance for those earning below £140 a week, the lowest band of all being reserved for those below £60 a week. Although not confined to young people, most of those covered will probably be young. And the clear intention was to reward low-paying employers. It is doubtful that the cut of up to 5.5% in the cost of employment will create any jobs at all. But the wage levels of £60, £95, and £140 where the NI lower rate bands apply will form natural pay barriers and stratify low pay.

The final attack on the wages of the young is the exclusion of anyone under 21 from the protection of the Wages Councils. This change will remove over 500,000 young people from the limited protection of the wages councils. The Councils fix rates of pay in traditionally low-paid and un-unionised work. Minimum rates were already very low, typically between £45 and £65 but as low as £33 for starter wages in hairdressing. In addition the Councils protected workers against high board and lodging payments in accommodation tied to the job. With a fifth of the workforce in hotels and catering establishments under 21, removing that protection could cause major problems. It is estimated that about a fifth of all employed people under 21 were covered by the Wages Councils and about a third of those going into their first job. It is anticipated that the Wages Act 1986 will result in a sharp reduction of the rates of pay for young people in these industries.

Whatever the success of individual schemes in reducing pay, it is clear that the wages of young people have been, as an economist might say, subject to downward pressure. The average earnings figures themselves show that since 1979 the earnings of teenagers have remained fairly stable in real terms (that is in terms of the Retail Price Index) while the earnings of people over 21 have increased considerably. As a result, young people have become relatively cheaper to employ. In 1979 men aged 18-20 earned 75% of the wages of older men. By 1985, that figure was less than 70%. A similar fall has occurred among young women. In 1979, women aged 18-20 earned 61% of the wages of older women; by 1985 the proportion was just 55%. Similar falls affected the 16-17s. And the reduction has not just been in relation to the wages of older people. Young men aged 18-20 are now £1.67 a week worse off in real terms than they were in 1979 and 16-17-year-olds are 80p a week worse off. Young women in both age groups are similar amounts better off. But these rises are tiny compared with the £11.40 a week increase in real terms for women over 21 and the equivalent rise in real terms of no less than £18.26 a week for men over 21.

While youth wages have fallen compared with those of older workers, their relative rate of unemployment has risen. The link between wages and unemployment, if it exists at all, is in the opposite direction to that hoped for by the Government.

CUTS OUT OF WORK

With a quarter of the teenage workforce out of work and a quarter of those in work only there part-time, today's teenagers are not just a jobless generation, they

are a poverty stricken one too. Work fulfills many functions. But principally and for most people its central function is the distribution of money. In the UK in 1984 a total of £183bn was moved around through wages and salaries and another £13bn in contributions to private pension schemes. Getting a job is to plug in to this primary income distribution network. Of course, with the money comes access to goods, access to status, access to accommodation. For young people particularly, access to this income means access to housing and independence. For them getting a job is crossing the threshold between childhood and adulthood. But it is important to realise that all these things come from the access to the primary income distribution network.

It is this lack of access to money which makes unemployment so hard to bear. The problem of unemployment is not a problem of having no 'employment', having nothing to do, but having no money. It is a problem of poverty. For those in this position there is a secondary income distribution network moving around about a quarter of the amount moved around by work. It is called Social Security.

It might be thought that a Government whose policies had created and now sustain an economy where one in four teenagers who wants to work cannot do so, would at least ensure that the secondary income distribution network delivered an adequate substitute. But over the last six years the benefits available for young people have been singled out for cuts. Since 1980 there have been twelve cuts in the benefits for young people and their parents and another is imminent. They have taken a total of over £200m a year from this group. The Social Security Act will take another £100m away from under 25s out of work or in low paid work. No other group has been treated quite so badly.

The changes have had two main themes. First, they have forced a greater mutual dependence on members of families. Unemployed young people have become more dependent on employed parents and unemployed parents have become more dependent on employed older children. Such a move, under the guise of strengthening family relationships, has put an excessive strain on poorer families, adding to their problems that of demanding money from each other. Given the evidence cited earlier in this article that unemployment tends to fall on members of the same family such a policy is as wrong practically as it is morally.

These changes have been enacted through a series of regulations which have removed the addition to pay for housing costs from young people on supplementary benefit living with their parents. In 1983 it was taken from 16 and 17-year-olds. In 1984 from 18-20-year-olds. And in 1986 from 21-24-year-olds. Parallel provisions raised the contribution which employed teenagers were deemed to make their parent's housing costs when the parent applied for housing benefit and introduced such a contribution for 16-17-year-olds for the first time. For 18-20 year olds, the expected contribution is £10.40 a week, money that could otherwise be used to finance a move away from home. Clear evidence emerged from a study by CPAG and

Youthaid of the damage caused by imposing such financial demands on the fragile economic and emotional economy of teenage family life.

Alongside these changes to increase the mutual dependence of parents and their teenage children, a second series of changes has been concerned with reducing the freedom of young people to seek independence away from their parents home. The infamous Board and Lodging Regulations impose strict limits on the time for which any new claimant under 26 can live independently as a lodger in accommodation away from their parents. In most places it is four weeks a period not designed to enable them to find work but merely "to establish whether employment is likely to be available for them" (Cmmd. 9467 para.7).

For all young unemployed people, restrictions on their movement are getting tighter. Until August of this year, a young unemployed person moving out of their parents' home could claim a single payment to help with the cost of setting up a home, so long as they could satisfy the DHSS that there was no suitable alternative local furnished accommodation. This was difficult enough, and led to the absurd situation of young people being unable to accept, say, a hard to let flat from the council because the DHSS would not pay for a bed, cooker, and furniture. Now it's even worse.

Since August 1986, new Regulations - issued largely in response to successful benefit take up campaigns - provide for young people to get only a bed, a cooker, and a heater. And they can only get those if they can satisfy the DHSS that they moved out of home for specific reasons to do with the age and health of the people in the family, and the size and condition of the family accommodation. Being kicked out of home is not good enough reason for the DHSS, even if a young person has been accepted as vulnerable and statutorily homeless by the local authority.

These restrictions will be made even worse by the Social Security Act 1986 when it comes into effect in April 1988. From that date there will be no grants for such things available at all. There will only be loans from a 'Social Fund' and no right of appeal against the decision made by the local DHSS office.

The new Act will also consolidate the age of 25 as the new age of majority for the poor. Once it is in force, those under 25 will get, in current terms about £6.60 a week less than those who are older. This system of two-tier need will be extended to those in low-paid work claiming Housing Benefit. As a result at least 360,000 young people will be worse off than now. About 160,000 will suffer a reduction of £3.50, but nearly 100,000 will be £8.55 a week worse off.

Those young people who are already living independently - whether because they successfully left home, or because they have their own accommodation for special reasons, such as having left care - will find the rug pulled from under their feet. Because of the lower rates of benefit, and the requirement to pay all of their water rates and 20% of their domestic rates, young unemployed householders will be left with less than

£3 a day for food, heating, clothing, light, travel, the search for work and so on.

Young people in low-paid work who claim Housing Benefit who live on average wages and paying average rent will typically lose £11.50 a week off their benefit raising the share of their net income spent on housing from 21% to 42%.

These twin changes in Social Security are acting like a vice on the young. One set of changes makes it more and more expensive to stay with parents, the other makes it less and less possible to leave. And the families that are suffering are the very ones where unemployment is striking hardest - those in the North and round the coast, those who are black, those who are working class.

BACK TO MOTHER?

Of all the things that have got more difficult since 1979, advising homeless young people must be near the top of the list. Not that all the blame can be laid at the door of Number Ten's current tenant. It was a Labour Government which introduced a Homeless Persons' Act that specifically excluded single homeless people from statutory help (apart from advice and information). Inevitably, many of those excluded are young, poor, and working class. The Tories probably did more than any previous government to concentrate attention on the housing crisis for young people when they introduced the Board and Lodging Regulations. They were even prepared to go to court to justify a policy that turned 85,000 homeless and jobless young people into nomads. However, this was but an episode in a continuing story of the increasing obstacles facing young people trying to set themselves up in their own accommodation.

In restricting access to independence for young people who are unemployed or in low paid work, the government has been assisted by the many local authorities who operate policies that stop young people getting on to housing waiting lists, or that make it unlikely that they could qualify for housing. Many young people are prevented from even registering on a council

waiting list because the local authority applies age restrictions, length of residence restrictions, and criteria of housing need which specifically exclude single young people, or single people under pension age. Not only do these rules discriminate, but they also make it very difficult to assess accurately the level of demand from young people for secure accommodation at a decent rent.

The contraction in public sector house building has also played its part in stopping young people leaving home. For example, in Yorkshire and Humberside, the number of public sector one bed flats built in 1984 was two thirds less than in 1979. Greater London experienced a similar fall, and in most other areas the decline was at least a third. (Nobody pretends that the parallel rise in private sector building will help young people with little or no money.) At the same time, the private rented sector has got smaller and smaller, further restricting young people's chances to get away from home and set up on their own.

These changes have had their effect on young people's mobility, though apparently not as a result of a deliberate (or at least stated) Government attempt to make that happen. That is more than can be said for the benefits system. This is being used to stop young people with little money or young unemployed people from doing anything much but remain dependent on their families, assuming of course, that they have one in the first place.

The changes to social security coupled with the restriction on opportunities to obtain housing will create all too predictable results. Rent and rates arrears will grow; more young people will turn to loan sharks to dig themselves out of a deepening hole; housing single childless young people will become a very unattractive proposition to local authorities and housing associations; and young people unable to manage on inadequate benefit levels will face eviction proceedings for unpaid rent and rates. Presumably, the Government imagines this will mean back to mother. More likely it will mean going under the arches.

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- Working for young people.

what future for initial training?

TONY JEFFS & MARK SMITH

The Youth Service faces a very uncertain future. There has been a general movement towards forms of welfare provision directed at young people which are predicated upon notions of treatment and punishment. Schooling and further higher education has expanded considerably and can be seen to be fulfilling many of functions earlier seen as belonging to the Service. Alongside this there has been the development of vocational provision in the form of training schemes and the like, and the expansion of municipal and private leisure opportunities.

For some it may be that the Youth Service has come to resemble a beached whale, driven into a corner by predators and left behind by the tide. But this would be a misleading picture, for the Service is in reality more like a number of overlapping shoals of oddly assorted fish. It has always been something of a rhetorical device, a means of apparently combining the uncombinable. In truth its constituent elements share little in common. Even when the term is used in its most narrow sense, to describe the activities of a named section or department within a local authority, an examination of the work of front line units directly within its control will quickly reveal conflicting practices, ideologies and policies.

Whilst the future of the 'Youth Service' as a distinct entity might be in some doubt, the activity known as 'youth work' apparently continues, albeit in somewhat different organisational and professional forms. Aside from the continued evolution of the large voluntary movements, we find full-time youth workers sponsored or employed by the Police, social service departments, leisure service departments, within schools and colleges of further education, and in the context of various MSC initiatives. In this article we want to concentrate upon the full-time worker and, in particular, upon the training they receive to prepare them for the confusing and conflicting terrain in which they have to operate. In the light of the various shifts, what possible future is there for the forms of specialist initial training currently on offer?

The background of the full-time workforce

It is impossible to even secure accurate and reliable figures regarding the number employed full-time in this area. According to Kuper there were 4,094 full-time workers in 1983, excluding officers.⁽²⁾ This contrasts with the estimates in the Thompson Report

of 3,500⁽³⁾ and that of Holmes 3,300. These variations cannot be explained away simply by reference to the differences in the dates of collection or as being the end result of bad accounting practices. What these largely reflect is a divergence concerning the boundaries of the profession and the absence of a common qualification and an effective process of registration. It would, for example, be impossible for such discrepancies to arise regarding the number of qualified or employed teachers or health visitors.

The nearest equivalent to a registration for youth work is for an individual to secure recognition that they are entitled to qualified status according to the regulations of the JNC. It must be stressed that unlike most other areas of welfare work no legislation exists to constrain employers appointing who they wish as youth and community workers on non-JNC scales and conditions of service or which insists upon the possession of specified conditions of entry. Substantial use is made of Burnham scales especially for those who are school or college based and of local authority APTC scales. Both sets of scales and conditions are used as a means of circumventing JNC regulations. The use of APTC in particular, has greatly expanded in recent years with the growth of short-term projects funded via such programmes as Urban Aid and Inner-City Partnership.

Any estimation of the size of the profession is also hindered by the fact that a high proportion of those who do secure a youth and community qualification do not enter the Youth Service. Again precise information is not available but Holmes, for example, found in his survey of ex-students of youth and community courses that 33% did not take up positions in the Youth Service.⁽⁵⁾ This should not be interpreted as an implied criticism of the relevance or recruiting practices of the courses. They are often viewed as a medium of dual 'qualification' and many enrol with the clear intention of entering community work. Also the data should not be interpreted as meaning that their graduates are 'lost' to youth work, a number do work with young people but under the aegis of other agencies.

According to Kuper, of the staff in post in 1983 27% have received specialised training, 43% are qualified teachers, 17% trained through alternatives routes or received individual recognition and 13% were unqual-

ified.⁽⁶⁾ This means that, almost uniquely amongst welfare professionals, a clear majority of the youth work labour force has not received specialist training. In comparison, social workers have moved in little over a decade from being predominately unqualified to a position where over 70% of those engaged in front-line work are now qualified.⁽⁷⁾ Entry to social work has been largely closed to those who do not possess a specialist professional qualification. The reverse has occurred within youth work over that same period. For example, the proportion of teacher trained staff in the Youth Service workforce rose from 27% in 1972 to 43% in 1983. Teacher trained staff now constitute nearly half the new annual intake into the Youth Service. Only 16 per cent of these new entrants have taken specialised courses in youth work as part of their initial training.

The growth in the number of teachers entering youth work requires some comment. No research has been carried out to determine why this fundamental shift in the nature of the labour force is taking place. Nor do we have any information as to the background of those teachers who are transferring. Are they concentrated in a particular subject area such as PE? By what route have they qualified? It is possible to speculate on some of the reasons for this professional drift. An obvious explanation flows from wider demographic changes and the response of local and central government in respect of schooling and FE. This has led amongst teachers to unemployment, restricted opportunities for career development, redeployment and cutbacks in resources that have both lowered morale and contributed to depressed pay rates. Against this backcloth it is possible to see how youth and community work can become an attractive option both for the newly qualified seeking an entre into some form of educational employment and for experienced teachers wanting to escape from classroom teaching. For them youth work remains one of the few areas of welfare employment in which a teaching qualification has an unambiguously negotiable value. This may change, for the JNC has resolved that after 1988 teachers will no longer automatically be eligible for dual qualification. Just how much weight can be attached to this decision remains to be seen.

Firstly, a number of LEAs require a teaching qualification for school-based and other youth tutors and workers. For they have an expectation that the youth worker or tutor undertakes some teaching duties or that they should possess some degree of flexibility as to their deployment. Indeed there is considerable evidence that provision associated with schools has continued to increase.⁽⁸⁾ Secondly, the implementation of the JNC decision may, over time, lead to a serious shortfall in the number of workers. Such a shortfall provides a major incentive for employers to find mechanisms to short-circuit this decision by, for example, redesignating posts and utilising different conditions of service. Indeed the attempt to close youth work to those without specialist training may in fact ensure the opposite and could easily contribute to the end of a special JNC for youth workers.

A number of perhaps more positive explanations for the expansion in teacher entrants have to be noted. For the transfer may reflect an individual desire for career development based upon, for example, the opportunity to work more flexible hours, an increased degree of discretion and control over the working day, the chance to work in different ways with young people and adults, and finally, the pursuance of a specialist interest such as that of counselling and outdoor activities. Again, we have no hard research evidence as to what qualities are valued by teachers in the more informal atmosphere of youth work.

Trained teachers are not the only group that are able to gain qualified status within youth work without specialist training. A significant number of entrants are graduates who were technically eligible to enter teaching without a post-graduate qualification prior to the virtual closing down of this route of entry in the early 1970's. Their teaching 'qualification' thus allowed them to be seen as qualified youth workers. With the passage of time this group has become a declining element within the workforce. Individual recognition is provided to anyone holding a UK university or CNAA diploma or degree of a social science faculty, started before November 1977 and completed by December 1981. People with other qualifications can also qualify if the course included the appropriate content and period of practical work. In this way those holding a CQSW which fulfils the relevant conditions can be recognised as qualified youth workers. The numbers involved are relatively small. In 1985, some 35 people applied for such recognition of which only 11 were successful.

This position is worth contrasting with that which various reports concerning the staffing Youth Service envisaged. The Jackson⁽⁹⁾ and Albermarle⁽¹⁰⁾ Reports had a clear vision regarding the shape of the Youth Service workforce. They sought a cadre of trained qualified workers recruited from amongst the ranks of the mass of existing voluntary unpaid youth workers and leaders. These would be self-selecting in the sense that they would leave their current employment after a lengthy apprenticeship of unpaid voluntary youth work to enter upon a period of full-time training. They would be selected in the sense that they would be required to compete for a limited number of grants and college places. This hand-picked group would, as Albermarle recognised, be insufficient to meet the demand for full-time workers that expansion and turnover would produce. As a consequence the Report recommended that

...in the long run the corps of professional leaders shall be recruited from three main categories: teachers, social workers and mature persons with a natural gift for leadership. Leaders from the first two categories should be able, after a term of years in the Youth Service, to move across without difficulty to other forms of professional work. Those in the third category will not, without further professional training for which some may not be academically equipped; we recognise, however, their value to the Service. We follow the Jackson Committee in recommending that the qualified teacher should be the main source of recruitment.⁽¹¹⁾

In making this recommendation both the Jackson and Albermarle Committees departed from the line originally taken in the McNair Report.⁽¹²⁾ For McNair, workers would be highly professional and recruited from the widest possible range of backgrounds. Employment in industry or commerce was considered a pre-requisite for entry and therefore maturity in terms of years was given a high priority. Partly in order to attract such candidates McNair argued for an independent training scheme. To quote from the Report itself 'We do not think that training for youth leadership should be attempted within the course designed to train teachers and other kinds of social worker'. Further, it was also to be of three years duration and located within the University sector of HE. The lack of investment in the years following McNair meant that its proposals regarding staffing and training fell by the wayside. Even the courses that were set up to train Youth Service staff in the immediate post-war period, with one exception, closed within a decade. As a result the acute shortage of trained staff enabled the expediency of Albermarle to triumph over the vision of McNair. The significance of this Pyrrhic victory should not be under-estimated. The adoption of a particular model of training represented also the triumph of a particular style of practice and of one 'ideal type' of worker over alternatives. For neither training nor education is value free or devoid of ideological imperatives or undertones.

The contemporary labour force bears a marked resemblance to the Albermarle Report's proposals in a number of key respects. As we have already seen, teachers remain the main source of recruitment.

Social work although now professionally discrete in terms of its routes of entry does continue to provide an entrance to the Labour force. However, the 'mature persons with a natural gift for leadership'⁽¹⁴⁾ cannot be said to form a cadre. Those with other, more negotiable and higher status forms of professional and academic qualifications appear to be occupying the commanding heights of youth work. This applies within training, management, and within the Inspectorate and advisory services.

Those entering youth work via Initial Training courses are the only grouping about whom we possess any significant data. Thanks to Holmes we can partially construct an identi-kit picture of this group of workers.⁽¹⁵⁾ They have limited academic qualifications, often having left school at the minimum age; the vast bulk had been prior to entry in full-time paid employment; they are on average 29 years old when graduating; a substantive majority, 72%, are male; and perhaps not surprisingly the bulk are from working class parentage. However, the picture is changing. For example, between 1951 and 1976 the number of men in the total UK labour force remained stable at just under 16 million, whilst married women increased from 2.7 to 6.7 million.

Underlying these figures is a clear scissors effect as Pahl has noted, 'men moved out of traditional manufacturing industries and women moved into service industries, particularly in the public sector'.⁽¹⁶⁾ Within

youth work such movements have been reflected in the make-up of the full- and part-time labour force, the sex balance within initial training courses and the nature of the debates within youth work and in particular the development of work with girls and young women. According to Parr, women now make up 49 per cent of the intake to initial training courses⁽¹⁷⁾ but, as Holmes has outlined, women who complete these courses are a lot less likely to enter full-time posts in the Youth and Community Service.⁽¹⁸⁾

Without wishing to labour the point it is important to stress that only a minority of Youth Service employees are specialist trained and that the proportion so qualified has declined since the early 1970s. This state of affairs is unique within welfare work where the trend has unambiguously been towards the professionalism and closure of occupational groupings.⁽¹⁹⁾ Certainly the fears expressed within youth work in the 1970s regarding the immanent dangers of professionalisation have been shown to be premature if not misplaced.⁽²⁰⁾ The analysis on which such fears were based was understandable, for it flowed from an interpretation of trends that were current in all sections of welfare. The question that now needs to be addressed is why should youth work and the Youth Service have been the exception to the rule.

The failure of professionalisation

The professionalisation of welfare has been an area that has long attracted considerable research and academic interest. A great deal has been written regarding the desirability or otherwise of the professionalisation of welfare work.⁽²¹⁾ Numerous studies can be quoted that offer accounts and histories of this process as it has taken place regarding particular strands. The literature has encountered difficulties in terms of defining precisely who and what constitutes a professional. Indeed, many writers have argued that few welfare workers apart from doctors can lay claim to professional status, preferring to categorise groups such as social workers, nurses and teachers as semi- or lower- professionals.⁽²²⁾ This categorisation usually flows from their location within bureaucratically controlled structures that deny them control over key areas of their work and the ability to control entry into the 'profession'. The paradigm professions of the law and medicine have of course seen much of their independence eroded within the UK with the growth of mass state provision of medicine and the incorporation of much legal practice within multi-national corporations. Yet in terms of the control such paradigm professions can exercise over entry and qualification they can clearly retain distinctive characteristics that set them apart from groups such as youth workers.

Wilding argues that in an advanced capitalist society, the professions, including the lower- or semi-professions fulfil three functions. Firstly, they represent a tangible expression of public concern regarding private troubles which have been translated into public issues. Secondly, their expertise functions as a legitimisation for state action. Thirdly, with particular regard to the welfare professions, their growth has provided

a rich source of desirable jobs in the public and private sectors for members of elite and middle-class groups where such groups can enjoy varying degrees of power, privilege and freedom in their work and, through their efforts, help to maintain the system which supports them in various degrees of elegance.⁽²³⁾

For the individual worker, the accoutrements of professionalism offer considerable benefits and it is not difficult to understand why so many groups of workers have so energetically sought to acquire the epithet 'professional'. Youth workers have been no exception to this rule at one level. Indeed, as Davies points out, a great deal of commitment was shown by substantive groups within youth work to the achievement of that end.⁽²⁴⁾ What is interesting is that despite this desire and the advantages that professionalisation apparently offers the state, this process has, in youth work, unlike other areas of educational activity, been thwarted. A moment's reflection on the functions that professions could be said to perform, may indicate why this has happened.

State concern over troublesome youth has been a consistent feature of much welfare work and a justification for the expansion of state intervention in the family, education and training. The growth of investment in this area has been substantial and consistent.⁽²⁵⁾ It is significant that although this expansion may have smoothed the passage of professionalisation for some groups such as social workers, teachers and probation officers, it has not, so far, had a similar impact upon those employed within the Youth Service.

After a well catalogued period of decline, the Albermarle Report was produced with a clear remit to regenerate the Service and to equip it to deal with the perceived problems of troublesome youth. It was Albermarle's belief that it was 'of first importance to establish a satisfactory structure for the profession'.⁽²⁶⁾ A belief that led directly to the establishment of the National Training College (Leicester) and both the rapid expansion of training located within free-standing departments and as modules within teacher training. At this point of time it appeared that a new profession was indeed being created with a remit to work with young people. The justification for this investment of resources by the state was that it tangibly represented a determination to do something about the behaviour and attitudes of young people. This concern has not disappeared from the political agenda but, in the intervening years, the Youth Service has not been seen as the prime vehicle for its expression. The failure of youth work to emerge as a discreet profession cannot be separated from the failure of the Youth Service itself to live up to the unrealistic expectations placed upon it by Albermarle. After a period of initial post-Albermarle growth, the Youth Service once again experienced relative decline. Other agencies and professions have been the beneficiaries of that decline and the assumption of failure which preceded it.

It was assumed that the Youth Service would have two preeminent functions. The first was the social-

isation and social education of the mass of young people. The second, the control and containment of a deviant minority. The progressive erosion of the contribution made by the Youth Service in respect of these two functions to other agencies has undoubtedly contributed to the blocking of the emergence of a youth work profession. To understand this shift it is necessary to consider the relation of young people to formal education, training and employment. In 1959 the majority of young people in the designated age range of the Youth Service were in employment and therefore no longer in touch with full-time education. Since then this situation has changed beyond recognition. Firstly, the successive raising of the school-leaving age, initially to fifteen and then to sixteen alongside increasing levels of voluntary staying-on or transference to full-time further education and training, has meant that a growing proportion of the client group are now in full-time education. Secondly the re-emergence of mass youth unemployment has led to the creation of a range of programmes designed to ease the transition from school to either employment or unemployment.⁽²⁷⁾ The combination of these plus the post-Robbins expansion of higher education means that the overwhelming majority of those who had previously been seen as the clients of the Youth Service are no longer within the traditional labour market. The implications of this shift for the Youth Service are profound. The ability of the Youth Service to deliver social education was always limited because it depended upon the voluntary and 'part-time' affiliation of the young person. This is quite aside from any problems in deciding what 'social education' might actually involve. The growth of the proportion of young people in full-time education and the rise of MSC Programmes has meant that agencies now exist that have the ability to deliver the priorities set by Albermarle in a much more direct way.

Concern regarding the behaviour of deviant youth, which was used to justify the expansion of the Youth Service has not evaporated. Indeed the reverse has been the case as moral panic has superseded moral panic over juvenile crime rates, hooliganism, drug and alcohol abuse and 'declining' sexual morality. The intensity of this concern has been such that successive governments could not be seen to allow these areas to be tackled by an agency that had no legal powers to intervene nor had any demonstrable history of effective intervention. A good example of this has been the growth of expenditure on IT.⁽²⁸⁾ Although IT was initially envisaged as being closely linked to existing youth provision, the involvement of the Youth Service quickly faded into insignificance. New agencies, notably the local authority personal social service departments augmented by organisations directly funded by central government to deal with the deviant minority, came to play a central role. To have allowed the Youth Service to cater for these young people would have meant that they remained in contact with their peers and, therefore, a potentially corrupting influence. The growth of an independent IT sector has effectively led to the creation of an autonomous service catering for deviant or potentially deviant young people, possessing the dual advantages of containing them within the community whilst isolating them from it. Separate agencies, specifically designated to work with this clientele

offer a public demonstration of the state's commitment to deal with juvenile crime whilst also creating a group of professionals who must publicly show their effectiveness.

These developments have squeezed the Youth Service. It has left the Service in many areas, as merely a leisure provider catering for those too poor, too isolated or excluded for other reasons from the commercial leisure sector. But even in this role, the Youth Service has come under pressure from other developing professional areas, for example, from the rise of play provision and the expansion of local authority leisure departments.⁽²⁹⁾

The development of youth work as a discrete profession has not merely been blocked by changing economic, demographic and political circumstances. Although these have played a major role, the contribution must also be recognised of existing professions such as teachers, lecturers, social workers, probation officers and of new semi-professional groupings such as those concerned with welfare rights, play and leisure. All professions are involved in a continuous exercise of protecting and redefining their boundaries and legitimating their activities. The power, privilege and freedom that flows from membership of a professional body and the material benefits derived, are such that existing professions will seek to isolate or incorporate those that threaten their hegemony. For example, the threat posed to schools as the primary agents of education by an autonomous youth and community, and adult education services has been successfully countered in many areas by the growth of the community schools, which have sought to incorporate the work of these and other agencies within their structure. Social work has, in a similar fashion, expanded its activities and redefined its professional ethos in order to encompass those aspects of youth and community work which threatened its existence at the margins.⁽³⁰⁾ Once youth work was seen as some sort of threat to the teaching and social work professions it was inevitable that its capacity for expansion was in jeopardy.

The success of formal educationalists and social workers in emasculating youth work as a profession was not merely an end product of their size and structural position. They did not prevail through sheer weight of numbers but did so to a great extent because they possessed a clear sense of their own identity, a corpus of knowledge and competent professional organisations. Youth work not only lacked these but, like community work, it also had a powerful tradition that rejected professionalisation on ideological grounds.

As already noted there were elements within youth work who actively sought professionalisation and parity with other welfare practitioners. However, there were countervailing forces that were to exercise considerable influence in the period following Albermarle. Firstly, there was, and remains, a strong current of anti-intellectualism within youth work. This views youth work as both a practical and intuitive activity and rejects and distrusts theory. Theory is dismissed as the preserve of academics and if pressed

for a justification of this stance its advocates retreat into an approximation of the Shavian position that those who can do and those who can't, teach. To reject theory is almost a point of honour within certain youth work circles. This sets youth work apart in an important way from those welfare occupations which have met with some measure of success in securing professional status and closure. Nurses, social workers and teachers have actively sought theory, both to justify their role and embellish their practice. Many youth workers have passed them by going in the opposite direction.

Secondly, the rejection of theory has to be set alongside a long-standing belief that professionalisation would lead to the creation of artificial barriers between practitioner and client. The populist strand within youth work, whilst not rejecting theory per se, has nevertheless, constructed an intellectual justification for the creation of a different form of occupational organisation and relationship with users. Strongly influenced by many of the ideas current in the student activism of the late 1960s, professionalism has been labelled as irrevocably bourgeois, as being both a denial of the material interests shared by workers and users, and antipathetic to the notion of shared struggle. Any benefits that might accrue from professionalisation are not ignored, but are judged to be either insufficient or serving subordinating ends.

Unrealistic expectations, the development of adjacent agencies and a strong anti-professionalism and anti-intellectualism all played a part in the failure of professionalisation. Youth work, the bulk of which was anyway being carried out by unqualified, untrained and unpaid workers, was clearly too weak of itself to provide a legitimation for state intervention. Schools, social service departments and probation could all guarantee to offer a veneer of expertise sufficient to legitimate state intervention in the lives of young people.

The lost opportunities of Initial Training

The high social status and relative autonomy of any profession is in part, based on the possession by individuals within it of theoretical knowledge and qualifications secured through education and training.⁽³¹⁾ For youth work to become a profession it clearly had to develop a knowledge, skill and attitude base and acquire training agencies that would prepare students for initiation. As we have seen, Albermarle, like its predecessor the McNair Report, recognised that any progress towards professionalisation was dependent upon the creation of these training agencies. It was essential that these agencies possessed the capacity to train the majority of practitioners. For, as long as youth work was dependent upon staff trained initially for other careers, or upon those who were untrained, any hope of acquiring the status of a profession was untenable. Therefore, the long march towards professionalisation would entail two separate but linked processes. One would be the creation of a national network of training agencies and courses. The other would be the appearance within those agencies of a recognisable and unique educational experience based upon a developed understanding of

the tasks and processes of the activity of youth work. Such an educational experience would lead to a publicly acknowledged qualification which gave an assurance of competence in a particular welfare area. An important reason why youth work has not emerged as a profession, is that both of these enterprises have only met with partial success.

The graduates of initial training agencies have always been faced with the stark reality that their qualification has only offered limited status within their chosen occupation and has not protected them from the incursions of those holding other qualifications. A major contributing factor to the low status accorded the qualification has been the poor quality of the training that precedes certification. Certainly, to begin with, some LEAs and voluntary organisations have deliberately eschewed the employment of these graduates, opting to employ trained and graduate teachers. A number of voluntary organisations preferred to seek staff who had 'risen through the ranks' and thus been inducted into their tradition and ethos. Even amongst employers who did not positively discriminate against those who emerged from initial training courses, there was, and is, a widespread questioning of the content, direction and rigour of the training offered.⁽³²⁾ Similar doubts have also meant that youth work qualifications have never been readily negotiable in linked areas of welfare activity such as social work and teaching. The traffic has consistently been one way with the possible exception of IT agencies who do employ a limited number of specialist trained youth and community workers.

Theoretically there may be a shortfall in the number of specialist trained workers.⁽³³⁾ This state of affairs may worry some of those engaged in training and the satraps of the national youth work agencies, but it hardly induces sleepless nights amongst education officers or junior officers or junior ministers at the DES. For in the end the posts are filled, and by staff who are recognisably qualified in all but 17% of cases. Even with regards to the latter, doubts have to be acknowledged, for many of these appointments flow from the introduction of positive employment practices. In the final analysis, it must be stressed, the solution to any problem of 'shortfall' is always near at hand. Just as the problem of an unqualified social work profession was solved in little over a decade through secondment and discretionary grants, so the supposed difficulties in the staffing of the Youth Service could be disposed of with equal ease. If employers were genuinely worried about the staffing situation they would simply resource the training. There is no shortage of potential students, nor potential training opportunities. For we can be certain that the entrepreneurial spirit lurking within Higher Education would quickly ensure the space should funding be forthcoming. It is within this context that all the rhetoric that has circulated for the last three decades concerning difficulties of 'supply' has to be set.

The colonisation of youth work by other professions and by organisations outside the control of the Youth Service could have been resisted. The failure of the emergent youth work profession to secure boundaries

and self-identity was not inevitable. Indeed given the achievements of other welfare professions of similar size we must surely be more surprised with hindsight at the failure of youth work to secure a professional identity than we would be by any success it might have obtained. In the end much of the responsibility for that failure cannot be located anywhere but within youth work itself, the defeat was largely self inflicted. Since the rise of mass welfare, youth workers and their trainers and sponsors have been unable to define the essential character of their endeavours. As a consequence they have chosen to hover on the margins of education, training, social casework and leisure. If they had chosen one of these as their central activity and followed that choice through to its logical conclusion their identity would surely have been secure. The history of other welfare professions would appear to indicate that once that choice has been made it does not become exclusive. As education and social work have shown it is possible, from a position of strength, to adopt complimentary modes of practice that enhance rather than weaken their central tasks.

The failure to define the central character of youth work cannot of course be laid at one door. At different points during the post-war development of youth work, opportunities arose for such a decision to be made. Central government, local authorities collectively, national voluntary organisations and the workers themselves all individually or in association, could have made a clear choice. They chose not, whether out of inherent conservatism, ignorance, vested interest or plain indifference it matters not, for the reality is that the choice has never been made.

The reaction to *Youth and Community Work in the 70s*⁽³⁴⁾ is an example of the strength of the various youth work traditions and the fate that awaits proposals that seek to take the Youth Service as a whole beyond the accommodations of Albermarle. In the view of the Report, the purpose of the Youth Service was to offer young people an educational experience that would better equip them to play an active role as members of a participating democracy. Influenced by similar concerns as the Calouste Gulbenkian study group on community work,⁽³⁵⁾ the Report proposed that the youth worker should engage more directly 'in the community' in order that young people could be encouraged to play an active part in society.

The ink had hardly dried on the Report's pages before the existing initial training courses redesignated themselves as 'youth and community'. The DES response was to rule that the courses should restrict themselves to the training of youth workers and community centre wardens. Similarly, many local authority youth services added 'Community' to their title, but the change was little more than cosmetic in all but a few cases. From the 'centre' of local authority services there was little in the way of sustained and coherent policy and action concerning the implications of redesignation and most front-line units continued in much the same way. It was only later, with the impact of changing economic circumstances that some redirection of effort towards 'community' occurred. Again it is necessary to emphasise that this shift was

finance, rather than 'policy', led. Indeed, many key voluntary organisations were highly critical of the Report and their opposition was undoubtedly a major contributory factor in the Government's slow response. In the end it was left to the new Conservative Administration to announce in 1971 that the Government did not think it was right to change the nature of the Service radically.⁽³⁶⁾

The initial training agencies headlong rush into 'youth and community' may have turned attention away from youth work in many of those institutions. However, it is difficult to ascertain what actually their focus has been. Their role is crucial, for since the establishment of the National College for the Training of Youth Leaders in 1961 and the growth of Initial Training agencies following Albermarle from 2 to the current 12 in England and Wales,⁽³⁷⁾ there has existed a potentially powerful agent for change. With these agencies was created the space and the opportunity to develop theory and shape practice, to an extent unparalleled in youth work history. For a brief and flickering moment it appeared that the training agencies might rise to the task. Substantial additions were made to the literature by trainers,⁽³⁸⁾ however nothing of comparable stature has emerged since. This deafening silence is surely an indication of the moribund state of much youth work training. Between 1971 and 1986 the Initial Training agencies have generated neither a significant contribution to the literature nor substantive research with a handful of exceptions.⁽³⁹⁾ The agencies' offertory to the literature of community work is similarly limited. Significant gaps in our knowledge of youth work practice, policy and clientele remain. The scale of these omissions is such that informed debate regarding youth work is difficult and largely confined to the level of anecdote, intuition and 'feeling'. Such is the absence of a reflective culture that even the practice and processes of the agencies themselves have not prompted the trainers to generate a literature sufficient to sustain an informed public discourse.

The failings of the training agencies are reflected in a number of directions. Firstly the lack of a significant corpus of youth work literature does nothing to enhance the reputation of youth work either as an area of study or as a vibrant strand of welfare. The youth work section in any social policy library be it in an academic institution, training section, the DES or DHSS hardly fills a shelf. This may seem a trivial aside, but the ramifications of this are important. For it means that youth work does not intrude into mainstream welfare discourse. Pick up any contemporary descriptive text or journal on social policy, and youth work is noticeable only by its absence.

Second, the lack of attention to the essential purpose of youth work amongst those who are responsible for training means that policy and practice must inevitably be deficient in important areas. Without this cornerstone the whole planning process is skewed to the point of the ridiculous. What emerges is less a Tower of Pisa and more a pile of rubble. Searching through this debris for some clue as what the structure was or might be, are to be found the policy makers, practitioners and indeed the trainers themselves.

Against this background to give them more resources simply adds to the size of the pile of rubble and multiplies the confusion. It is small wonder that successive governments since the late 1960s have opted to resource other welfare initiatives directed at the very needs that youth work proclaims that it addresses.

Third, the content and style of the courses have come to resemble the vacuum that for two decades has existed in terms of research, publications and informed debate. The impact of this upon those who pass through the agencies cannot be brushed aside. At one level this is reflected in the lack of conclusive evidence that the courses encourage their students to develop an integrated sense of occupational identity. Graduates often have difficulty in locating themselves within the welfare continuum; are they for example educators, caseworkers, therapists, counsellors, Redcoats, community workers or administrators?⁽⁴⁰⁾ At another level, as we have argued elsewhere,⁽⁴¹⁾ the courses seem peculiarly unable to equip their students with a respect for, or competency in, intellectual enquiry and theory making. Whatever the reason for this state of affairs, be it poor selection procedures, weaknesses within the curriculum, sub-standard teaching or an absence of commitment to the area of activity, the result is predictably the same. In tandem with the lack of attention to purpose, this leaves the graduates of the courses in a highly exposed position. Vulnerable to the latest moral panic and prey to the siren call of the charlatan and mountebank. Without appropriate tools for analysis, little, apart from mere feelings and intuition, is left to fall back upon.

Arguably, the position has not been helped by the apparent failure of courses to cover a number of areas which workers find themselves engaging in. For example as Teasdale and Powell⁽⁴²⁾ have noted relatively little or no attention is given to the juvenile justice system and the sort of intervention that youth workers may make within it. A similar argument can be made about formal education, income maintenance and intervention within the overall policy making process. However, merely adding these and other items lifted from an individual shopping list or making the courses longer, can only have the most marginal impact. Indeed it is possible that such incrementalist tinkering may serve to make the situation worse. For until the central questions concerning purpose, occupational identity and competency in theory-making are tackled, the risk is of adding more of the same: 'Ruin upon ruin, rout on rout, confusion worst confounded'. For it is the base of training not the super-structure that requires urgent attention.

Fourthly, the minority of youth workers who have entered the occupation following the acquisition of a qualification from an initial training course, are in a somewhat unique position in comparison to other welfare professions. Not only are they, as already noted, in a minority and, worse, excluded from employment by a number of local authorities, but they are disadvantaged in other significant ways. To begin with, unlike those who have other qualifications such as a CQSW or BEd, they have very limited opportunities to negotiate their Certificate or Diploma in the marketplace of welfare employment. This leads

invariably to a number of youth and community workers seeking new qualifications whilst in employment such as diplomas in management and counselling, and degrees. To make matters worse many holding certificates are disadvantaged with regards movement up the career ladder. Initial training agencies are staffed overwhelmingly by those who eschewed the acquisition of the qualification they are bestowing, the upper echelons of local authority management are similarly dominated by those holding other qualifications. They are even inspected by HMIs none of whom, as far as we can ascertain, possess a youth work certificate or diploma. It cannot be denied that, in many respects, the graduates of initial training courses are consigned to second class citizenship, even within their chosen area of activity.

As a result of many workers, managers and employers not viewing the courses as being a critical determinant of the quality of service delivered to the user, a vital imperative is absent regarding the allocation of resources to training agencies. They have been under-resourced since their inception and a recent HMI report has underlined this.⁽⁴³⁾ Unfortunately a degree of cynicism concerning such comments is unavoidable. Coming as they do from a source that has shown little real commitment to raising standards or to offering a clear sense of intellectual and academic direction, it is difficult to grant them a great deal of credence. After all as Scott and Ritchie have demonstrated the HMIs have been unable to establish, even for themselves, a coherent picture of youth work endeavour.⁽⁴⁴⁾

The end of the road?

When the various elements are drawn together, the long-term future of specialist certificate-level courses looks distinctly shaky. First, the major institution which has shaped their identity and given them purpose, is itself subject to question. Squeezed by the growth of other state provision for young people, unsure of purpose, and neglectful of theory, major expanses of what we know as the Youth Service are fast falling out of cultivation. Their former tenders seemingly unable to make sense of the elements, their tools or indeed the market where they are supposed to sell their produce and ply for trade. Even if it is a bit early to run a full obituary notice, one thing is sure, certificate courses can no longer safely fall back to the apparently self-explanatory position of 'we train workers for the youth and community service'.

Second, whilst many of their graduates already find employment in other institutional settings such as community work and intermediate treatment, to make any further headway in other arenas substantial changes in the courses may be required. Crucially this doesn't simply relate to coverage, but also to the essential ethos of the training. Youth workers location in leisure, personal social services, schooling and the new vocationalism, inevitably involves engagement with very different occupational cultures with often conflicting notions of what constitutes 'good practice'. Seen in this light, the case for youth work options within these arenas becomes apparent. Not only is the worker then conditioned to the particular welfare or provision sector, but s/he has some degree of mob-

ility within it. Something which cannot be said of certificate trained youth workers within those areas.

As has already been argued this position has been exacerbated by the failure to develop a coherent body of theory or sense of purpose in order to guide the practice of youth work. Clearly with competing notions of what youth work might be, there cannot, for any practical purpose, be a single, commonly agreed, purpose or theory. Sadly, even within the various traditions of the work, notions of theory and purpose remain undeveloped⁽⁴⁵⁾ and as a consequence the basis for engagement with say casework or teaching, is lacking. At this point it is difficult to see what the courses as a whole, could legitimately claim as unique or special about their experience of, or theory-making about youth work. As such it is difficult to see what they can offer other welfare sectors.

Third, we come to the whole question of certification. As has already been seen, certificate trained workers are second-class citizens within their chosen occupation. Those holding post-graduate diplomas or recognisable qualifications in teaching or social work are more likely to advance in career terms. This trend will continue. The various proposals to lengthen social work training from two to three years in the early 1990s and, in a number of cases, to link it to degree level programme; the shift to all-graduate teaching profession, and the emergence of degree and post-graduate studies in leisure and sports management, leave the onlooker with no doubt as to the diminishing market value of two year certificate courses, aimed at what is, after all, a small and marginal area of welfare.

At the same time, within the Youth Service there are considerable pressures not to follow the same route. It is apparent that employers are not putting a very high market or skill value on certain types of job. What appears to be happening is that youth workers are judged in relation to other, apparently more understandable occupations. They are then 'graded' as a 'teacher' or 'social worker' or 'building manager' or 'caretaker'. Thus the further a job strays from the established professional areas, the more likely it is to be viewed as low status. In this way many youth work jobs such as those involving the running of a relatively small piece of plant such as a youth club or community centre are down graded: a position further aggravated by the use of Community Programme workers to apparently undertake similar duties. Seen in this light it becomes difficult to justify even two year certificate courses as being essential for the performance of the tasks involved. To this must be added the costs of training, and clearly calls for expenditure to lengthen and deepen specialist youth work training courses are unlikely to meet with a ready audience amongst funders who already provide inadequate discretionary awards to students and resource levels to courses.

Further, with the necessary development of equal opportunity programmes, there are those who see the 'upward' movement of qualification as acting to subordinate certain groups. It might be argued that the actual level of competence required by professionalised jobs is quite different to that suggested by the qualification. Such arguments find a ready audience within

youth work, given its longstanding dependence upon a part-time and voluntary labour force and the surrounding rhetoric of participation. The problem is that whilst other welfare groupings press for ever higher standards of certification (and hence remuneration), sectors which do not go along this route will have to find ways of retaining wage parity and of ensuring some muscle when dealing with other professionals, departments and authorities. Herein lies the catch, unionism within youth work is weak and practice, because it is rarely informed by any worked-through sense of purpose or coherent theory, is poor.

In sum, it would appear that the size of the potential market for the graduates of certificate level youth and community work courses is contracting and could shrink quite quickly. However, the variables are such that it is difficult to say with any certainty what will happen. We have yet to see what scale the redesignation of posts and work will take in the light of current movements. Indeed the trainers themselves might not wish to remain the providers of inferior certification for a declining service. However, the scale of their task is substantial for it involves tackling questions concerning:

- * the direction of their programmes. Is the focus to be leisure management, informal education, counselling/casework, community development, intermediate treatment, the new vocationalism or what?
- * the level of programmes. Do trainers aim for degree/diploma level courses, certificate courses, sub-certificate courses, what?
- * means of delivery. The current political and financial climate has created an expressed demand for alternative forms of delivery. Can they be responded to?
- * theory. What has gone wrong with the specialist training agencies? Why are they apparently unable to deliver even a minimal contribution to the thinking of youth work?

Attention to these areas does not carry with it any guarantee of success, the malaise is probably already too deep. However, progress may be made and, at worst, certificate course agencies might possibly disappear with some dignity.

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a disposable workforce - the youth labour market after the 1986 wages act

DOMINIC BYRNE

Young people have been getting a particularly raw deal in the world of work in recent years. Not only have the young been faced with a disproportionate share of high unemployment but they have also had to bear the main brunt of the Government's low wage policy. Successive measures, culminating in the 1986 Wages Act, have been introduced with the aim of reducing youth wages.

It is perhaps the ultimate example of 'blaming the victim'. Groups which are most vulnerable to unemployment, such as the young, are told that the only way to increase job opportunities is through a further deterioration in their pay and employment conditions - the 'pricing into work' thesis. In the meantime, others in work continue to receive wage rises above the rate of inflation and, in the case of the highest paid, a salary and dividends bonanza that has raised eyebrows at Number Ten⁽¹⁾. The result is to widen the gulf of labour market inequality still further.

The moral and social tensions inherent in such a policy are obvious. The real tragedy, though, is that the past seven years have shown that the claims made for such a policy are not only weak theoretically but unsustainable in practice. This article examines the impact on young people of the Conservative Government's 'priced-out' policies and asks what direction future policy must take if we are to avoid consigning young people to the status of a new 'servant class' in the labour market.

Deregulating the Youth Labour Market: Background

It was clear from the early days of the Conservative Government elected in 1979 that labour market policy was set to take a direction that would squeeze the most vulnerable. One of the first actions was the extension of the qualifying period for unfair dismissal from six months to one year. Since then unfair dismissal protection has been weakened even further with the result that full-time workers now have to work a full two years with an employer before being covered by this most fundamental form of employment protection.

The erosion of employment protection is a policy that is selective in its effects. It has little significant effect on managerial and higher salaried sections of the labour market. It is marginal also to the concerns

of those groups who are well protected by established trade union negotiating machinery. In contrast, it removes from non-unionised workers in high turnover, low paying sectors a key prop for establishing some semblance of a voice in workplace affairs.

Young workers have been disproportionately affected by the Government's 'deregulation' policy. They are more likely than other groups of workers to be employed in sectors where employment protection rights are needed. Around one in three young people find their first job, for example, in the distributive trades (mainly shopwork) and miscellaneous services (mainly catering and hairdressing)⁽²⁾. The service sector is the major employer of young people's labour. At the same time, leaving aside executive and managerial sectors, it is the least unionised part of the economy.

In the distributive trades, for example, only around 16 per cent of workers are unionised. In retailing itself - where a quarter of the workforce are aged under 21 - the proportion is even less. In the hotel and catering sector even fewer workers are unionised - around 6 per cent⁽³⁾. This highly profitable and expanding industry relies heavily on young people. Between one third and four-fifths of the workforce in hotel and catering are under 25 years old⁽⁴⁾. Finally in hairdressing, a trade with a quarter of its employees under the age of 21, trade union organisation is virtually non-existent.

Youth pay cuts

The removal of rights from the low paid and young people in particular is reflected in movements in earnings over the past six years. Between 1980 and 1986 the pay of young people has fallen well behind increases for adults. On average, the earnings of young males aged under 21 increased by 50 per cent in this period - barely enough to cover the 48 per cent increase in prices recorded by the Retail Price Index. In contrast adult males enjoyed an increase in average earnings of 66 per cent and the highest paid fifth of adults recorded an earnings increase of 75 per cent.

This is half as much again as the under 21s. Changes in women's earnings followed a similar, though less pronounced, pattern with the relative pay of young workers as a whole falling dramatically behind.

Changes in (a) the relative and (b) real earnings of young workers, 1980 - 1986

		Relative earnings (% change)	Real earnings (% change)
MALES	Average	-10	+1.5
	Bottom fifth	-14.2	-3.3
FEMALES	Average	- 6.5	+5.4
	Bottom fifth	- 9.5	+2.0

1. Age group = 18-20 year old.

2. Relative earnings are measured by comparison with the movement in the mean for adult males.

3. Real earnings are measured by comparison with the movement in the Retail Price Index.

Source: Department of Employment, New Earnings Survey, 1980 and 1986.

The small increase in the real level of earnings compared with prices for some groups of young workers needs to be seen against a background of far larger increases for adult workers. The average increase for adult males, for example, was 13 per cent whilst the highest paid fifth of adults gained in real terms by nearly 20 per cent.

Moreover, over the past six years, the pay of many young workers has fallen much further behind than these overall figures suggest. The movement in the average for young people conceals a disparity between the highest and the lowest paid that mirrors a similar widening inequality in the distribution of adult earnings. The lowest paid fifth of young earners have seen their pay fall not just in relative terms, compared with adults, but also in real terms, compared to price changes. The earnings of the lowest paid fifth of males aged between 18 and 21, for example, increased by only 43 per cent in the six years since 1980 - a cut in earnings in real terms of 3.3. per cent. Real cuts in earnings are also indicated by the data for other young males.

Ignoring the evidence - wages councils and young people

It is against this background that the Government implemented the 1986 Wages Act. The Act had been preceded by a long running campaign by Government ministers to pin the blame for youth unemployment on the level of young people's earnings and on the minimum pay rates set by wages councils in particular. Thus Sir Geoffrey Howe claimed in 1981 that: 'It is the case that the machinery of wages councils has operated in some cases to price people out of jobs. In particular, these councils have done damage to the opportunities of young people'.⁽⁵⁾

For some time though, the Government was unable to dismantle wages councils machinery because of its obligations under an International Labour Organisation convention⁽⁶⁾ It was not until 1985/6 that an opportunity arose to renege on the convention and introduce legislation to weaken wages council protection.

In the meantime the Government had an opportunity to try to gather the evidence to back up its belief that wages councils had served to "price young people out of work". However, despite a special working group being set up within the Employment Department⁽⁷⁾ the Government was never able to provide such evidence. Summarising the studies that had been carried out in this area the National Economic Development Organisation concluded:

The research that has been examined has, in the Group's view, left largely unproven the assertions that the wage rates determined by wages councils are substantially reducing the employment prospects of young people.⁽⁸⁾

This conclusion was supported by a survey of the UK economy by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. The OECD pointed out:

Although youth unemployment has tended to increase, it is not clear that statutorily-imposed rates of pay can be held to be the major cause. In recent years the ratio of youth to adult rates of pay has stabilized or even fallen back a little after having risen sharply in the early 1970s.⁽⁹⁾

Indeed the Government's allegations against wages council protection for young people ran into opposition from many groups who otherwise generally supported Conservative labour market policy. The CBI found 'little enthusiasm for the suggestion that all young workers should be excluded from coverage by wages councils'. They pointed out that: '...while (the "problem" of high relative wages) may be true for the economy as a whole, the wages council sector does not appear to be especially guilty ...'. Despite the widespread opposition that was voiced against any weakening of wage protection for young people the Wages Act removed all young people under the age of 21 - around half a million in total - from wages council protection.

The need for regulation

For these workers wages councils had previously played a vital role in protecting wage levels. They operate principally in the service sector, covering industries such as retailing, catering and hairdressing where, as we have seen, large number of young people are employed and where the prospects for adequate voluntary collective bargaining are slight. As the Auld Committee commented, in its inquiry into deregulation in retailing:

Shopworkers need their protection in this respect now as much as ever, in fact more so now when jobs are harder to find and the already low membership of unions in retailing is declining. We have all been struck by how poorly paid many retail workers are ... The (wages council) basic rates are not high.⁽¹¹⁾

The vulnerability of young people in wages council industries is illustrated by the low rates set by wages councils and the high incidence of employer infringement of even these low rates. In hairdressing the lowest rate - for a first year apprentice - was set at just 83p per hour in April 1986. Even when fully qualified the minimum rate for hairdressers is only £1.82. In other wages council sectors the rates are generally higher. Typical in 1985/6 was the range of wages council minima in cafes and snack bars. Here wages started at an hourly rate of £1.22 for 16 year olds rising to £1.88 for adults. Higher but hardly generous. In fact only just sufficient to yield the same spending power provided by a single person's basic supplementary entitlement⁽¹²⁾ and well below the Council of Europe's "decency threshold" for wages - equivalent to £3.05 per hour in 1985/6.

Despite the meagre level of these minima a large proportion of wages council employers are found, by the Wages Inspectorate, to illegally underpay. In 1985 unlawful underpayment was discovered in more than a third of the workplaces visited⁽¹³⁾ Young people were especially likely to be underpaid. A combination of inadequate enforcement, little publicity, weak employment rights and trade union organisation, unscrupulous employment practices and employer competition continues to create labour market conditions in which: '... the good employer is undercut by the bad and the bad employer is undercut by the worst...' Winston S. Churchill (Hansard, 28 April, 1909, vol. 4, col. 388).

Upon taking office in 1979, the new Conservative Government broke with previous Conservative support for the need for minimum wage regulation. They quickly implemented a cut of one third in the numbers of wages inspectors, seriously weakening the machinery of wages councils. The deregulation measures contained in the Wages Act 1986 were designed to build upon this earlier 'backdoor' deregulation and give added impetus to the downward spiral of wage undercutting in wages council sectors.

The Wages Act - its impact on the youth labour market
The centrepiece of the Wages Act is the promotion of a deregulated youth labour market with the removal of young people from wages council protection. In doing so the Government ignored both the lack of independent evidence to support the claim that deregulation would create jobs and the fact that for successive years youth unemployment had risen despite relative and, in many cases, real cuts in youth earnings.

At a press conference to launch the Act the then Employment Secretary, Tom King, claimed that 50,000 to 100,000 new jobs would result⁽¹⁴⁾ It was a claim neither he nor any other Minister ever repeated. Under the scrutiny of Parliamentary debate the job creation claims of the Government melted away like snowflakes as the evidence was examined. Indeed, Ministers were to later deny the press conference claim and admit instead that it was 'impossible to predict' any effect on jobs⁽¹⁵⁾ Since the implementation of the Act, Ministers have again declined to make any claims for the legislation, saying that these are impossible to quantify.

Young workers appear set to pay a high price for the implementation of the Wages Act with no prospect of extra jobs being created. Most commentators agree that the effect of wage cuts for young people will not be the creation of extra jobs but a shuffling around of existing jobs in wages council sectors. Young workers may be recruited at very low rates of pay but their jobs will be at the expense either of higher paid jobs that would have been available to young people or higher paid adult jobs. Young people, in other words, will be used largely as cheap labour substitutes with no net effect on the number of jobs. As the all-party House of Commons Employment Committee pointed out:

It seems likely that any job with a training element will be included under YTS and so any young person employed on the wages council rates is likely to

be engaged in jobs which are unskilled and for which they may be competing directly with adults. A significant cut in these rates could therefore result in a direct substitution of young people for adults.⁽¹⁶⁾

Indeed a Department of Employment research paper itself concedes that the vast majority (eight out of ten) of any jobs taken by young people would be at the expense of the employment of adult workers⁽¹⁷⁾

Worries about young people merely being used as cheap labour substitutes are borne out by the experience of the Young Workers' Scheme. This operated between 1981 and 1986 and provided employers with a £15 subsidy for any 16 or 17 year old worker employed on condition that they were paid £50 per week or less. The scheme had a widespread effect on encouraging employers to cut youth wages but only had a marginal impact on job creation.

Evidence from employer surveys carried out by the Department of Employment shows that wages covered by the scheme were cut, on the employers' own admission, by an average of 6 per cent⁽¹⁸⁾ Between February and December 1984 the average reported weekly wage of £40 was £2.40 less than employers said they would pay in the absence of YWS. One in ten of the jobs covered were reported as substitute jobs for previously higher paid workers. In these cases the wage cut was much higher - an average £20 per week according to the employers surveyed, implying a wage cut of one third.

The most significant aspect of the employers' surveys was the high proportion of jobs that either would have existed anyway (deadweight) or were at the expense of other workers (substitution). After allowing for this effect the most recent survey showed that actual job creation was running as low as 19 per cent of all jobs covered by the scheme. Earlier studies had indicated an even more marginal effect on jobs - just 6 per cent⁽¹⁹⁾ The response of the majority of employers, on their own admission, was thus to take advantage of the scheme to cut labour costs but not to create jobs.

The Wages Act will have a similar effect, reducing the incomes of young workers whilst having a negligible impact on employment levels. Indeed, many argue that the destabilising effects of deregulation, far from creating jobs, could destroy jobs with more secure and worthwhile employment being undermined by a downward spiral of wage cutting. As a research team in the Department of Applied Economics at Cambridge University point out, unregulated wage competition has the effect of undermining real economic efficiency and development with the result that: '... this type of competition could undermine the basis for sound industrial development in the UK.'⁽²⁰⁾

Conclusion

The available evidence indicates that employment opportunities for young people will deteriorate as a result of the Wages Act's deregulation of the youth labour market. Employment terms and conditions will become worse with, on the most optimistic

assumptions, a marginal impact on employment levels. To make matters worse the Government have revamped the old Young Workers' Scheme (renamed the New Workers' Scheme) to cover 18-20 year olds as an incentive for employers to keep wages low for this age group. The result will be to reinforce the use of young people as a source of cheap labour with little long-term prospects in the high turnover service sector.

The new deregulated, but heavily subsidised, youth labour market will encourage employers to take on young workers (post YTS) at very low wage levels for which employers can, in turn, receive substantial subsidies from the Government (£15 per week under the New Workers' Scheme). Instead of new jobs being created, though, the empirical evidence discussed above shows that most would have existed anyway - on better terms and conditions. Similarly, while there is such an incentive to recruit cheap teenage labour in this way, so there will also be a strong incentive for employers to dispose of workers when they reach the age of 21 at which they will be eligible for wages council protection.

Increasingly, young workers are being used as a new 'day labouring' class. Their work experience is characterised by short term, temporary and casual working, often part-time. Between 1979 and 1985 the number of teenagers who worked part-time soared from 116,000 to 407,000. By 1985 a quarter of working teenagers were in part-time work and about half of these jobs were temporary⁽²¹⁾. If anything, these official estimates understate the situation, concealing much higher levels of casual use of teenage labour. The Wages Act will increase the tendency for employers to regard the youth labour market as a source of cheap disposable labour, resulting in a damaging and disillusioning early employment experience for young people. The pricing down of young workers will also result in less incentive for employers to invest in training and the provision of qualifications. In such a climate the prospects of young people gaining secure and worthwhile 'in job' career development inevitably dwindle.

This youth labour market contrasts with conditions in competitor economies where the employment of young people is regulated by a framework of minimum protection. As the International Labour Organisation have pointed out: 'Almost all countries in the world now operate minimum wage systems, and none, to our knowledge, exclude young workers.'⁽²²⁾ In the EEC, for example, five countries have an across the board statutory national minimum wage. In other countries national minimum wages operate in effect, although their implementation is through legal enforceability of national agreements rather than through statute. In all these countries young people are covered - in most cases their wages are protected by an entitlement to receive a fixed proportion of the national minimum, according to age. In most EEC countries the full adult rate becomes payable either at age 18 or 21⁽²³⁾.

Britain, unlike other countries, has embarked on a path of far-reaching deregulation of minimum employment protections in the belief that new jobs will result. It has gone furthest down this path in the case

of the youth labour market - arguably the sector of the workforce that needs protection most. As this article has shown the range of evidence contradicts the claims made in support of the deregulation policy.

The present Government have thus pinned their hopes for job creation on a bankrupt policy. It is also a policy that pays no regard to job quality, pay and working conditions. The failure of deregulation as a motor for job creation gives the final lie to the notion that decent minimum protections, covering wages and other terms and conditions, are a disincentive to jobs. Future jobs policy must ensure that job creation measures are accompanied by a comprehensive set of minimum pay and employment rights. The evidence suggests that there need be no incompatibility between the two.

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15. See, for example, House of Lords *Hansard*, 6 June 1986, col 1240 and 26 June 1986, col 428-429.
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feature review

'spreading the story of AIDS'

PETER KENT-BAGULEY

PANIC: THE STORY OF AIDS

Robin McKie
Thorsons Publishing Group
1986 £1.99 123pp

AIDS: THE DEADLY EPIDEMIC

Graham Hancock & Enver Carim
Gollancz
1986 £2.95 191pp

AIDS: THE STORY OF A DISEASE

John Green & David Miller
Grafton Books
1986 £5.95 144pp

AIDS AND THE NEW PURITANISM

Dennis Altman
Pluto Press (now liquidated)
1986 £4.95 194pp

AIDS: A GUIDE TO SURVIVAL

Peter Tatchell
G.M.P.
1986 £3.50 141pp

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE AIDS PANIC

Michael Fitzpatrick & Don Milligan
Junius
March 1987 £1.95 64pp

'The story of AIDS has all the ingredients of a racy detective novel' declares McKie at the beginning of chapter two. It strikes me that his book has been packaged and priced to induce the inter-city commuter to forgo their usual choice of thriller-detection fiction in favour of real-life horror-death stories.

Curiously, he starts his story in Uganda in 1983 and then chapter two flashes-back to the USA in 1981 where the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta first monitored the symptoms of AIDS. From there on his journalistic tempo, tinged with liberal tolerance for gays, draws a broad and generalised picture of the spread of the virus and the accompanying hysteria in a style and at a speed which precludes reflection and analysis. It may well have been written on an inter-city train.

'... since the start of the epidemic, the public has frequently reacted with hysteria and has treated many homosexuals - affected or unaffected - as lepers' and

then a page later 'indeed, from the start most newspapers have treated AIDS as if it is a contagious disease . . . a 'gay plague' and not as a general sexually transmitted disease that can affect men and women, they have misled the public'. Maybe such a back-to-front narrative explains the absence of analysis.

Lack of thought, superficial tolerance, blinkered heterosexism or whatever, I found the following outrageous: 'Yet gays are not a threat to the public. In fact, the real risks come from ignorance about the spread of the AIDS virus to bridging groups.' Since when did gays cease to be members of the public? Until the virus had been identified and that information widely disseminated, ignorance of that knowledge was a real risk to gays!

Forty years after Kinsey's celebrated research showing that 47% of American men in his sample had experienced some form of same-sex activity to the point of orgasm and his conceptualization of the sexual continuum, his questioning of the validity of the exclusive heterosexual and the exclusive homosexual, and McKie and practically every other writer still tritely talks of 'risk groups', 'bridging groups' and 'the public' as though they are self contained, hermetically secluded populations.

Also, in common with many other writers, he conflates and therefore confuses sexual activities and sexual lifestyles. A debate has developed over the relative strengths of the interiors of vaginas and anuses and McKie seems in no doubt that 'the vagina is certainly a much harder place than the rectum, its lining walls being far less prone to penetration by micro-organisms' but 'emphasis on differences between hetero- and homosexual routes will give a false and dangerous sense of security'. The use of social concepts denoting lifestyles to describe activities with parts of our biological apparatus is not only misleading (are we to describe a woman and man relationship having anal intercourse as homosexual?) but again perpetuating sexual stereotypes. Crucially, such conflated confusion is a totally inadequate framework within which to attempt to educate people about the modes of transmission of the virus.

The spread of the virus, is, understandably, a central concern with all of the authors and Hancock and Carim in their Deadly Epidemic blast away one myth in their introduction, 'casual contagion is a complete

red herring' only to immediately reinforce another by saying that 'promiscuous sex of any kind' is a principal form of transmission. The morally laden 'promiscuous' is unhelpful at best and the 'any' is a downright lie. Hidden agendas, implicit, taken for granted common sense definitions of sexual activities and sexual life-styles do not advance awareness. Rather they induce erroneous notions of security and exacerbate moral persecution of inaccurately labelled people and activities.

They conclude their introduction thus: 'This is uniquely our virus - a reflection of our own lifestyles and of the world that we have fashioned. We have unleashed it, given it a headstart, provided it with fertile soil to take root and spread amongst us.' Is one to assume that other viruses, or at least some of them are not 'uniquely ours' and if so whose are they? They would profit by reading Green & Miller's book.

Their first chapter, grandiosely called AIDS IN CONTEXT, is a whirl-wind tour of countries, cities and clinicians, data, dates and deaths, a veritable handbook for number-crunching moral crusaders.

Anyone that confidently asserts that 'in mid-1985, four years after the first patient was registered in the United States, there were just over 11,000 cases in the world that met the strict clinical criteria of AIDS' must be treated with extreme caution, simply because it is only the industrialised nations that possess sufficiently sophisticated surveillance systems and also because many nations, regardless of the state of their health-care systems, for a variety of motives, persisted, until recently, in denying the existence of the disease in their countries.

AIDS IN CONTEXT concludes with a highly speculative and theatrical scenario based on the emerging evidence that the HIV virus not only reduces the immune system and therefore opening the body to opportunist infections but can itself attack the brain, inducing dementia: 'hundreds of thousands of time-bombs have been set ticking in the bodies of people throughout the world. There aren't likely to be many big bangs, however, lights will simply go out in people's minds. Darkness will descend . . . An army of soldiers with difficulties of these kinds, quietly going crazy with lethal weapons in their hands - there's a possibility to conjure with.' Clearly if these authors had scripted the Government's television advertisements we would have viewed something a little more dynamic than chunks of falling stone incongruously sounding like clanging metal! Had they, one wonders, got an eye for a Hollywood screen epic when scripting the first part of the book?

Chief Constable Anderton of Manchester is not alone with his 'swirling cess-pit' theory; 'the belief is evidently widespread that the swamps where diseases breed are in the under-developed parts of the world' write Hancock and Carim. 'Wrong,' they admonish, 'Objectly mistaken. Each person takes with them their own swamp wherever they go. The residues of pre-history, traces of the vermin that shared the primordial slime from which we have evolved, are still with us, sheltering in the warm protection of our body's membranes.' And still with an eye to the Big Screen

Epic, the slimy vermin are intelligent beings, 'they know, far better than we, that the war between us is still on' so 'members of the human race drop their guard at their own peril'. In their own words, 'there's a possibility to conjure with'!

Half way through the book there is a sudden change of key; theatrical hype gives way to measured reality. Perhaps word reached them that the mighty moguls didn't want their kind of epic. Anyway, from chapter six, What It's Like To Have Aids, onwards they make a valuable contribution to our understanding and appreciation of the reality of suffering from the virus and AIDS and deliberately emphasise the spread of the virus via vaginal intercourse (what they call heterosexual sex) not only to diffuse the myths and hysteria surrounding gay men but also to emphasise the worldwide reality of the sexual transmission of the virus.

Their sensitive case study of John Lorinzini, an AIDS sufferer is comparable to Tatchell's moving treatment of people fighting for their lives. Lorinzini despairs when he thinks of some of the doctors involved in the research race for a cure, obsessed as they are with personal fame and professional glory, products of the macho, heterosexist societies of America and France, squabbling over who first indentified the virus, who first developed the test, clamouring for patents and profits, and all the time people are suffering and dying. One can appreciate his despair but equally of course failing to recognise that nothing escapes the clutches of capitalism - medical care included - is self-indulgent idealism.

Green & Miller's AIDS: The Story of a Disease fulfills its tasks excellently; well planned, clearly written and mercifully free of adjectival hype it is one of the few books on AIDS I have read that coherently explains the nature, spread and range of effects of the HIV virus. Scare mongers clamouring for compulsory HIV testing of entire populations would learn that tests 1) can show the presence of HIV but not the likelihood of any ensuing illness developing; 2) that 25 in 100,000 show false positive readings; 3) that perhaps up to 4% of people infected with AIDS show no antibodies and therefore will reveal a false negative test. There is still no general agreement about the usefulness of being tested. Green & Miller, rightly, I think, conclude that 'in fact it quite often tells them little that is very helpful' because 'it is not the test which prevents the spread of HIV, it is change in life-style, and people can be offered exactly the same advice whether they are tested or not.'(once again, substitute sexual activity for life-style).

They dispute health risks faced by health care workers even where workers have experienced a 'needle-stick' injury while taking a blood sample from a patient with the virus. Over 650 cases have been recorded they say but only one worker became infected with HIV but is still healthy. In contrast they report that 'there have been a number of cases in which needle stick injuries have occurred involving a patient who is dually infected with HIV and hepatitis B' and several became infected with the latter but none with HIV. Although it is hepatitis B that is extremely infectious it has been HIV that has caused the hysteria and moral

backlash. And finally, doubtless in the hope of demolishing the HIV and AIDs contagion hysteria, they emphasise that 'you could be marooned in a life-boat with fifty AIDS sufferers for a month and suffer nothing worse than sea-sickness'.

Perhaps, in part, it is the arrogance of conventional medical science that has induced a wide-spread belief and faith in its omnipotent powers and the relatively recent appearance of a new disease defying the powers of the medical establishment is a salutary shock to our faith in the 'prescription pad'. The conquest of so many former 'killer' diseases has led us to overlook the fact that disease is not static; 'people generally think of diseases as always being the same and think that the appearance of a new disease is something new. It is in fact an almost commonplace event'.

Until the medical profession produce a control the task is left to each and every one of us and traditionalists, obsessed with penile penetration, vaginally and anally, must by now have got the Government's message: 'it is safest to stick to one faithful partner' and if not 'always use a condom, this will reduce the risk of catching the virus'. Of course no indication of the level of risk remaining is given. Green and Miller report a fifty per cent failure rate amongst prostitutes having anal intercourse!

In their extended coverage of homosexual men as a risk group they provide an excellent demolition job of the variety of 'causes' of homosexuality but regrettably they too have failed to rid themselves completely of ideological moralising thus making a nonsense of their advice about controlling the spread of the virus.

'... specific sexual practices are probably much less important than the sheer number of partners ...' is not only incorrect but clearly contradicts their view four pages later when they say 'it is not a change in numbers of sexual partners that will make a difference, it is a change to safer sexual practices.' Earlier they had rightly said that if people were to stick to mutual masturbation and body rubbing 'they could sleep with as many people as they wanted and be at virtually no risk'. Furthermore, only the absence of a sound grasp of sexual politics permits the bizarre view that 'for once it is not society that is persecuting gay men, it is sheer bad luck'. If they reprint the book I hope such utter nonsense is deleted.

Not only the title of Altman's book but memories of his writings on gay oppression and liberation in the early '70s gave me high expectations of Aids and the New Puritanism. But I was disappointed. Much of the book, I suspect, will not be particularly interesting nor illuminating for those who have followed the daily media coverage and the more informative weekly column in Capital Gay. It is predominantly concerned with the United States - often mulling the minutiae of who said what, when, to whom with what consequences - with little more than nodding acknowledgements that HIV and AIDS has reached Europe.

But he does make some useful points not least that; 'it would have been clearer had the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta used terms describing particular

(sexual) behaviour rather than terms proclaiming identity' because 'the fact that the first reported cases were exclusively among gay men was to affect the whole future conceptualizations of AIDS'.

Altman's major contribution is his discussion of the critical challenge AIDS has presented gay ideology and practice. It has forced on to our agenda the choice between desire and death. Unfettered libertarian sexual activities amongst certain groups of gays after the 1969 Stonewall Riot in New York, the symbolic birth date of gay liberation, emerged as a significant (if not the) gay liberation life-style. The rising toll of deaths from AIDS, the presumed probabilities of death and disease from the virus, as well as the still vast unknowns about the origins, all modes of transmission and all effects of the virus have necessarily forced a serious reconsideration of key elements of '70s-style gay liberation life-styles and sexual activities. The debate has highlighted ambivalences, ambiguities and contradictions within the heterogenous gay communities while at the same time there has been an equally urgent task to be homogenous, united and strong to defend ourselves from the renewed and concerted attacks from the realigned and reinviroated heterosexual entrepreneurs. The renewed and virulent attacks have highlighted the infancy and vulnerability of gay liberation; equally they have demonstrated our maturity and strength. We have withstood the challenge with remarkable alacrity; we have changed, we have cared and we have communicated to the very people who would have us persecuted. We have been and we still are at the forefront of the educative battle against AIDS. It is a monumental example of self-help achieved in the face of massive heterosexual neglect.

Altman indulges in unacceptable charitable collusion with Reaganite and Thatcherite state power when he says 'often what is attributed to homophobia is more likely due to incompetence, fear of disease and limited resources' (limited resources?!) and again '... four years after the epidemic began ... the general attitude seemed one of neglect rather than persecution' overlooks the point that neglect is a powerful tool in the vast repertoire of persecution. The fact is once the heterosexuals realised that HIV has no particular 'sexual orientation' resources were discovered, albeit in the UK of derisory small amounts.

Peter Tatchell's book offers sound suggestions and sensitive support for sufferers of AIDS and admirable advice for everyone. It is a positive and cogent challenge to national negativism and seldom have I experienced theory and practice, the personal and the political, so effortlessly interwoven as it is here.

Aids concerns everyone and Tatchell's message is simple and brief: 'Ultimately', he says, 'it's a choice between survival or suicide'. Of course, as he points out, 'the choice is not between abstinence and AIDS but rather between AIDS and playing safely'. He goes on to lay the ghost of promiscuity in itself being the source of disease: 'the key to playing safe and preventing AIDS is not how often people have sex or how many partners they have. It is the way people have sex.' Later, he rightly makes the point that 'a society which places so many obstacles in the

way of homosexual love hardly has any right to turn round and condemn gay promiscuity'.

Unlike Green & Miller he argues for taking the HIV test, 'since knowledge is power, taking the test and knowing the result enables informed decisions to be made which enhance a person's sense of control and mastery over their future.' Awareness and attention to the needs of our bodies is emphasised in the chapter 'Fighting Back Against Aids' and is relevant for everyone, not just those with the virus or AIDS. Possibilities not proscriptions are introduced, encouraging the reader to construct a personal daily programme for a holistic health routine.

In a sensitive and moving way Tatchell emphasises that people with AIDS 'need to face up to the possibility, though not the inevitability of death' and explores a range of practical issues faced by those severely debilitated with the illness.

Finally he slams the 'sordid and morbid' press coverage and the Government's lack of a 'coherent, comprehensive and co-ordinated strategy for the prevention of AIDS, the treatment of people with HIV and the development of a vaccine.'

Just published, *THE TRUTH ABOUT THE AIDS PANIC*, is the only book I know that focuses equally on the ideological reality of the panic as well as the material reality of the disease.

Fitzpatrick is a G.P. working in east London, Milligan (Author of *The Politics of Homosexuality*, Pluto Press, 1973.) a long-time fighter for gay liberation and socialism. Their analysis, informed by a revolutionary perspective, is clear, cogent and condemnatory of the Government, the Labour party, radical gay groups, AIDS advisory and support-care groups.

'The defect of the radical response to AIDS is that it unquestioningly accepts the official view that AIDS is a major threat to public health and that the call for safe sex is a rational response'. They argue that radical gays, in forlornly and mistakenly attempting to deflect and diffuse the anti-gay backlash 'encourage heterosexual anxieties and turn a blind eye to the mounting attack on homosexuals.'

They go on to say 'scaring straights is no way to protect gays from the anti-homosexual backlash generated around the fear of HIV contagion.'

AIDS, in this country, is overwhelmingly a gay disease. Pretending otherwise is no protection, ideologically or materially. They say, 'in noting that AIDS predominantly affects gay men, we attribute no blame to them. On the contrary, this is our scientific point of departure for the defence of the rights of all homosexuals. When we acknowledge that anal intercourse is probably the major route by which the AIDS virus has spread in the West, we recognise at the same time that millions of people the world over find this a pleasurable form of sexual activity.'

Their blistering attack on the government publicity campaign is sharply focussed: 'Posting the official AIDS leaflet to every household in Britain in the

coldest January for decades summed up the absurdity of the safe sex campaign. About a third of the homes receiving the leaflet contained either a single person over 60, or an elderly couple. For the millions of pensioners who learnt the importance of shunning promiscuity and using condoms, hypothermia was a much more serious threat to life.'

Furthermore, 'while the (government's) safe sex campaign may cause widespread alarm among people who have a higher chance of being run-over by a bus than they have of contracting AIDS, it will not stop the spread of AIDS in the high risk categories.' The out gay minority have already varied their sexual activities, having watched developments in the States during the past two or three years, so the campaign is irrelevant for them. It is useless for the majority of gays, closeted, and pursuing their sexual activities furtively and fearfully lest they be socially exposed.

In short, Fitzpatrick and Milligan maintain that 'the way to stop the spread of AIDS is neither to pretend that it is a threat to heterosexuals, nor to make futile exhortations to gays, but rather to challenge every act of discrimination or harassment against homosexuals'. They are in no doubt that 'for as long as homosexuality remains an underground activity in Britain, it will be impossible to prevent AIDS spreading among gay men.'

Consequently, they argue that 'a national response to the AIDS epidemic would set about getting rid of all forms of discrimination against homosexuals and ensure adequate resources for research into a cure and vaccine for HIV infection and for all aspects of care of AIDS sufferers'. And they argue, government policy is quite the contrary. While the government leaves direct condemnation of homosexuals to the churches, the police, the media and so on it promotes monogamy within the family in its pursuit of personally pathologising those who stray from that norm, thus atomising, fragmenting, individualising people, preventing the development of solidarity which just might threaten its exploitative control over the majority.

Their attacks on gay radicals is equally strong and will undoubtedly elicit defensive hostility from them. In a broad-side against those progressive Labour councils supporting gay and lesbian centres and employing lesbian and gay workers they say, 'the quangoisation of the gay movement had the effect of softening it up before the AIDS panic struck,' and 'like naughty boys who have been made into school prefects, the gay radicals of the past now promote sexual restraint with greater zeal than they ever did the cause of sexual liberation'.

Fitzpatrick and Milligan's analysis will, I am sure, be seen by many inside and outside of the gay movement, to be contentious and controversial. What cannot be denied is its uncompromising and accomplished attack against institutions and people perpetuating oppression of gays. For that alone it shines like a nugget of gold amongst the avalanche of books on AIDS that have appeared with increasing frequency during the past two years.

young homeless: pressure groups, politics, & the press

MALCOLM BRYNIN

On the 3rd April 1984 the Daily Mail ran an article under the headline

Costa Del Dole

How the state pays out for £37 rooms at Grand Hotel

The article continued as follows:

The guests at Maureen Palmer's seaside Grand Hotel are having a marvellous time. The beach is good, the air bracing and for most of them there's absolutely no rush to go home.

That's because they are on the dole, and the State is paying for their long, long holiday.

This appeared at a time when the government was desperately trying to cut spending on the homeless in board and lodgings. In March it had introduced draft regulations, the most important element of which would have removed 'boarder status' from people claiming outside their 'normal office area'. The proposals were withdrawn after much criticism. In September, the government froze the financial limits which then applied. Finally, on 29th April 1985 it cut both the amount that could be claimed and the time it could be claimed in any one area. This paper describes the reaction to the new regulations by housing pressure groups and the Housing Committee of the Greater London Council which together were responsible for a substantial anti-regulations campaign, aimed at influencing both the government and the public. Though this campaign did not remove or alter the regulations it did a great deal to attack the myth of the 'Costa del Dole', to publicise a different agenda from that which the tabloid press and the government were promoting. The government's emphasis on scrounging and benefit savings washed over the underlying housing crisis and its associated homelessness. The anti-regulations campaign helped to set the issue in this wider context.

Who Are The Young Homeless?

Boarders on supplementary benefit (SB) are defined not primarily by their homelessness but by their unemployment. In principle they need not be homeless at all but simply in strange parts of the country looking for jobs. It can be made clear straight away that the Costa syndrome is a myth. The fundamental cause of the substantial growth in DHSS claimants in board and lodgings is the growth in unemployment. Though the number of boarders increased from 40,000 in 1969 to 84,000 in 1982, unemployment had more than doubled, so the proportion of total unemployed claimants who were boarders actually fell (from 17.5% to 4.9%). The 'problem' of DHSS boarders had in

'real' terms actually been receding. Though the proportion of DHSS boarders to total unemployed claimants increased to 8.4% in 1984, this was still less than half of the 1969 ratio. The Policy Studies Institute (PSI) report by Berthoud, a detailed analysis of the effects of the regulations, from which these figures are obtained, puts forward a number of reasons for the increase in boarders after 1982, suggesting amongst other possible causes that this rise was perhaps a delayed response to the sudden leap in unemployment between 1980 and 1982. It was over the slightly later period, of course, that the number of long-term unemployed increased most sharply.⁽¹⁾

Unemployment has clearly been the main underlying cause of the increase in claims for boarder status. However, it is not the direct cause. The critical problem is one of homelessness. Boarders really have two problems, unemployment and homelessness, but the latter is for most claimants the more pressing. Their unemployment is revealed through their homelessness. Who are the young homeless then? The Housing (Homeless Persons) Act 1977 only allows certain categories of people to be defined as homeless: priority goes to people with children, pregnant women, the mentally or physically handicapped, and the elderly. Only these people in 'priority need' have a statutory right to demand accommodation from local authorities. Being without a home, therefore, is not enough. Other homeless people over 16 would probably have to lose their home through fire or flood or be at risk of sexual or financial exploitation to have a chance of council accommodation. Official statistics of homelessness therefore mean little. Young people without an adequate home who end up in board and lodgings on supplementary benefit are not officially counted as homeless.

Broadly speaking three types of people live in some sort of board and lodgings at 'state expense': those with a statutory right to be housed by the council but for whom there is no council accommodation immediately available (an increasing problem), elderly people in nursing or residential homes, and unemployed people without a home, or away from home and unable to find rented rooms. The last two groups are paid for by the DHSS within the supplementary benefit system. Though the government is trying to limit spending on the elderly it is the young who have become the main target for cuts. The government has

suggested that perhaps most boarders do not need to be away from home and are scrounging off the state. Crucial to their thinking is the idea that the problem is essentially a social security problem, ie simply an unnecessary drain on DHSS funds. Pressure groups supporting the homeless believe the issue is essentially a housing problem.

Are young people in board and lodgings genuinely homeless or just having a good time? There are no reliable figures on homelessness. However, there is no doubt that it has been increasing at a rapid rate in recent years, and it does not seem unreasonable to argue that homelessness among young people is an aspect of a more general trend. One indication of this trend is the increase in the number of people the council is obliged but unable to house. As just explained, these people are also likely to end up in board and lodgings (paid by the council rather than the DHSS). The number of households put in board and lodgings by councils rose from 1,800 in 1979 to 3,020 in 1984, an increase of 68%. Since then, in one year alone (1985), the number of families in temporary board and lodgings increased by 47% in 'non-metropolitan areas' and by 23% in Greater London. The number in London alone was 2,960 at the end of 1985.⁽²⁾ In Camden, which has perhaps the worst problem, the number of households in hotels in July 1985 was 930, an increase of 75% over the previous year.⁽³⁾ By September 1986 the national figure was 6,480 - over two and a half times the 1979 level. Much of this accommodation is highly inadequate. A national study by Shelter revealed that 62% of the establishments Shelter was able to get information on had failed inspections by environmental health officers.⁽⁴⁾

The growth in the use of emergency accommodation is only the tip of the iceberg. A broader indicator of homelessness is the number of homeless people actually rehoused by local authorities. This amounts to nearly 100,000 a year, while another 175,000 are refused. 'Clearly, these are imperfect indicators of demand, but do give some guidance to the situation.'⁽⁵⁾ The Institute of Housing has assessed the shortfall of dwellings at around 500,000. In London the number of families accepted as homeless by the boroughs increased seven-fold between 1970 and 1985. A yet broader indicator is the number of people on council waiting lists. Shelter's recent survey of housing waiting lists (including new towns and some housing associations) showed an increase since 1981 of nearly 30%.⁽⁶⁾ Waiting lists in England and Wales now hold over a million households. As an indication of homelessness this is crude because, for example, many applications become redundant. However, Newcastle-upon-Tyne recently updated their list by eliminating people who had moved, died, etc. The list had increased from over 13,000 in 1981 to nearly 24,000 in 1985. After updating the figure became 19,000.⁽⁷⁾ There has therefore been an increase in demand of getting on for 50% in four years. While many people on waiting lists might not be actually destitute their homelessness is often real enough, but 'hidden'. It could, for instance, mean a couple with a child living in a single room in a relative's house. Greve estimated that the number of potential households in London 'in relatively short-term need of separate housing was between 12% and 18% of the number of existing

households.' This would mean 300,000 'potentially homeless' households in London. There are now over 240,000 households waiting for council homes in London.⁽⁸⁾ In Camden alone applications for rehousing *py prima facie* priority homeless were running at about 400 per quarter in 1983/4; this had risen to about 700 per quarter by the first half of 1986. Those from this category actually rehoused went up from 243 in 1977/8 to 729 in 1985/6.⁽⁹⁾

What is the cause of this growth in homelessness? The main reason, not surprisingly, is the huge growth in unemployment. Increased homelessness is one of the most important indirect effects of the recession. (The direct effect of unemployment has already been noted.) This primarily affects renters but has also had a significant effect on lower income home-owners. In 1981 there were 35,471 possession actions by lenders. In 1984 the figure was 54,754. In 1979 the top 17 building societies repossessed 2,530 properties. In 1984 the figure was 10,950.⁽¹⁰⁾ By mid-1986 the figure was up to 20,020.⁽¹¹⁾ The second reason is the government's policy of reducing public sector housing. There has been a huge cut-back in the funding the government has allowed for council-house building. In 1977 there were 163,000 public sector completions (including those by housing associations). By 1985 this had fallen to 39,000. In the same period private completions rose by only 8,000.⁽¹²⁾ This decline has been exacerbated by the sale of council homes, totalling about one million since 1975. Though only council tenants are allowed to buy individual council homes, when they move their homes enter the private sector rather than being released back to the council, thus reducing the stock available for homeless people. It is of note that public housing has been the arena of both the biggest proportional cutback in government spending and the biggest privatisation programme (ie sales of council houses). The combination has had an important effect on homelessness.

The third major cause of homelessness is the huge decline in the availability of private rented accommodation. There has been a long-term decline in this sector, which tenancy protection, incidentally, has at most slightly increased. In 1914 90% of households were in private rented accommodation. By 1984, excluding housing association tenancies, the figure had become 7%.⁽¹³⁾ What is of most importance here is that both young and single people are primarily dependent on this sector for their accommodation. In Camden 57% of demand for council accommodation is by single people for one-bedroom units (and most of this demand is 'non-statutory').

Single people now make up nearly 50% of all households in the Borough and it is expected that this will increase to 52% by 1991. They have traditionally been particularly dependent on the fast disappearing private rented sector, and thus comprise 55% of the waiting list.⁽¹⁴⁾

A GLC survey in 1983/4 showed that single adults occupied 55% of the private rented sector in London. 'Housing of single people was previously considered the domain of the private sector but this sector no longer meets the needs of single people, if, indeed it ever adequately did, because it has declined so rapidly.'⁽¹⁵⁾

Young people are a significant part of this. It would seem that about 40% of furnished rented accommodation is taken up by people under 25 years old and another 26% by those aged 25 to 29.⁽¹⁶⁾ This problem has been temporarily exacerbated by fulfilment of long-term central and local government policy to close a number of inadequate hostels for the homeless (mostly short-stay), which are gradually being replaced by smaller, better, often more specialised accommodation. Between 1981 and 1985 the number of bedspaces in London in hostels for single people (only a small proportion of whom are young) fell from 13,579 to 10,078, though another 1,878 places were 'in development'.⁽¹⁷⁾

So the supply of suitable accommodation has declined. The other side of the coin is that there has been a huge increase in demand. The reason for this is household fragmentation. Though the population of England and Wales increased by only 0.5% between 1971 and 1981, Britain saw an estimated increase of over 10% in the number of households in this period.⁽¹⁸⁾ Furthermore, the increase in household formation has been particularly pronounced amongst young adults.

In Britain the number of one and two person households has increased steadily over a long period since the Second World War, from 42% of all households in 1961 to 54% in 1981. This is in part a reflection of the preference for separate household status amongst both younger and older people. These are also age groups that are experiencing continued growth in numbers in the 1980s. The peaking of the birth rate in the mid 1960s means that the numbers of people aged 20-24 will reach a peak in 1986, and remain high for the rest of the decade.⁽¹⁹⁾

The PSI report mentioned earlier showed that between 1982 and 1984 the number of boarders under 26 years old increased at about twice the rate of those over 26.⁽²⁰⁾ A more specific cause of increased household fragmentation is the growth in divorce. According to a recent DOE analysis up to 150,000 extra households are created each year as owner-occupier couples split. 30,000 of these seek rented accommodation, to which must be added 25,000 divorcees already in rented accommodation. (Remarriage reduces the total but only by 15,000.)⁽²¹⁾

Is it reasonable to believe that homelessness amongst young people has nothing to do with general homelessness? The above would suggest that it is not. It is difficult to see why young or single people should be an exception to the general rise in homelessness. It is in fact possible that general homelessness has a 'multiplier effect' on homelessness amongst the young. As council waiting lists grow and increasing unemployment makes more people unable to buy their own property (and adds to the numbers of mortgage defaults), demand for private rented accommodation must be growing. The release of mentally ill or handicapped people 'into the community' must also aggravate this competition. The young are therefore facing intensified competition from other people, more likely to have priority or be better able to pay, for accommodation in this sector. There has not been a sudden increase in scrounging off the state. The greatly increased bill the DHSS has had to foot for accommodating

the young in board and lodgings is a result of demographic and structural change. However, such things are of little interest to a government which upholds the sanctity of the family, especially where economic expediency is involved. Rather than worry about the underlying causes it is simpler to cut the funding and assume all young people have a home to go to. Hence the new regulations.

The Supplementary Benefit (Requirements and Resources) Miscellaneous Provisions Regulations 1985: 'The Regulations'

From the government's point-of-view the problem was that spending on DHSS-funded board and lodgings had gone up from £52m in 1979 to £380m in 1984. The government has since said that the cost within 1984 went up to over £500m and the number of boarders up from 112,000 to over 160,000.⁽²²⁾ Any government would have found that a problem. However not every government would have attacked it in the same way. It did this in two ways: the regulations firstly substantially cut the amount that the DHSS would pay for board and lodgings accommodation (by as much as £40 per week in extreme cases; the absolute amount varied by region). Secondly, the amount of time a claimant could stay in such accommodation in any one area was severely restricted - to eight weeks in the case of London, four in most other inland areas, and a mere two in seaside resorts. What is of particular note is the short time for stay in seaside areas and the fact that the time limits are only aimed at the young. Those over 26 are excluded (but not from the financial limits). The effect of the Costa myth is quite clear.

Why this Victorian-style 'move-on' policy? The link with Mr. Tebbit's stern injunction to 'get on your bike' seems clear enough. The government argued that if a job was not found within a certain number of weeks a claimant should either go 'home' or move on to a more promising area. However, the government was certainly not interested in a giant game of musical chairs whereby claimants simply swap board and lodgings places, whether that aided job mobility or not. It hoped the disruption would deter the young homeless from seeking this type of accommodation at all. The time limits had an additional advantage. They implied that the problem was essentially a social security rather than a housing problem, apparently caused by young people travelling around at the state's expense pretending to be seeking work, but not by young people with no home. Summarising a survey by the Social Security Policy Inspectorate (SSPI) of nearly 300 claimants, which suggested that over half had moved into board and lodgings because of problems at their previous address (28% because of a dispute with parents or relatives, 15% as a result of a break-up of marriage, 11% because of eviction or other departure from the earlier address), the PSI report mentioned above concludes that 'only 24 out of 288 lodgers in the sample had taken lodgings for reasons that have been suggested as illegitimate causes of the growth in numbers - "to be independent of parents" and "to be financially better off".'⁽²³⁾ Though a DHSS monitoring exercise after the introduction of the regulations found that the time limits had not led to the exodus onto the streets that pressure groups had

predicted, the figures, some of which have no apparent explanation, 'do not show more than a trickle of young claimants returning home from lodgings which they might have taken up for frivolous reasons, "manipulating the system".'⁽²⁴⁾

One absurdity of the Costa myth is the idea that most board and lodgings is in seaside towns or very comfortable hotels. (The SSPI survey found only 5% of claimants staying in hotels; 53% were in private homes, 17% in lodgings houses.⁽²⁵⁾ In fact, most is in metropolitan area (getting on for a fifth of boarders have been in the GLC area in recent years,⁽²⁶⁾ in towns with very little like Torquay's sandy beach, hills and palm trees. B&L places tend to be in depressed areas, declining inner cities, and are by and large pretty awful places to live. Furthermore, while there is undoubtedly some abuse of the system (though this would not always be easy to define), it does seem that the search for work is an important factor for the geographically mobile. A SHAC survey of 353 households (33% of whom were single) trying to move to London who turned to SHAC with housing problems found that, while half of the movers already had a job in London, 31% were seeking work in London.⁽²⁷⁾ A survey of 304 (non-priority) households who approached Camden Housing Aid Centre as homeless in 1985/6, ie after introduction of the regulations, found that 55% were under 26 years old and 79% were single, 19% had been sleeping rough, 36% had come to London to look for work, while only 16% had just left their parents' home. 'Even if "going back home" was a conceivable option for most of the 16% (a very optimistic assumption) it would only be feasible for a small minority of the under 26 year olds.'⁽²⁸⁾

The financial limits had a different justification, and on the face of it a more reasonable one. This was that the willingness of the state to pay the board and lodgings costs of the unemployed was itself encouraging those who own such accommodation (for simplicity's sake here called 'owners') to raise their prices to the level of the board and lodgings limits, which had previously been set by local DHSS offices according to their assessment of the market in their area. Furthermore, the DHSS was encouraging a whole new business of unscrupulous owners whose sole source of profit was the DHSS funding of the unemployed. Few people doubt there is some truth in this. Indeed, housing pressure groups themselves had been arguing as much for some time.

At the national average DHSS limit for bed and breakfast of about £50 a week per person, a medium sized hotel with five single, five double and five triple rooms, could bring in about £1,500 a week. There are therefore substantial financial incentives for some property owners to shift from providing holiday accommodation to providing residential accommodation for DHSS claimants.⁽²⁹⁾

There is a strong element here of the 'privatisation of poverty' (comparable to DHSS-sponsored private homes for the elderly). Private provision of welfare may lead to poor service and great public expense. In both cases the government was forced to limit the cost, but, contrary to what the pressure groups were advising, it acted against the symptoms rather than the cause.

All agree the system is wrong. The following refers to the system as it developed from 1980.

Unlike other rented accommodation, there is a relatively closed and unregulated market of lodgings and hotel or bed and breakfast accommodation which caters almost exclusively for DHSS claimants - as local social security staff are well aware. The charges are determined to some extent by the maximum the DHSS will pay. Thus, the local board and lodging limit has been used as an indirect and inappropriate means of controlling charges for this type of accommodation.⁽³⁰⁾

The odd thing is that the government changed the system in 1983 and at the same time raised the limits. The government's current problems have been blamed by some on its own unplanned and contradictory approach. Though the increase in the limits was good news for boarders, 'it was also good news for unscrupulous landlords, who could put their charges up with the knowledge that they still had an easy monopoly.'⁽³¹⁾ On 22.8.85 the Labour MP Frank Field wrote to the Times pointing out that while the number of young boarders had increased less than four-fold since 1979, the cost to the government had gone up by nearly eight times. He blamed the government for this 'rip-off of public funds'. The previous year, Michael Meacher, described the government's policy for young and old as 'reckless folly in pursuing an orgy of privatisation of residential and nursing care at the taxpayer's expense'.⁽³²⁾ The new regulations were not a 'crackdown', a new approach; they are a worsening of an old solution to a difficult problem. The time limits were aimed at catching 'claimant scroungers' while the financial limits were aimed at catching 'owner scroungers', but ultimately it was the claimants who would bear the brunt of this dual attack.

As soon as the regulations reached the light of day, indeed even before then, they suffered an extraordinary barrage of criticism from a wide variety of quarters - parliament, the government's own advisers, the legal system, local authorities, pressure groups, other voluntary and statutory bodies, and, interestingly, large sections of the media. The government remained impervious. The first reaction came from the government's own social security advisers, the Social Security Advisory Committee (SSAC), which the government is obliged to consult over new measures (but whose advice it can ignore). The SSAC received over 500 comments from interested parties - an unusually high number (the earlier regulations which had been withdrawn also stimulated a very large response). Nearly all of these were severely critical. As a consequence the committee strongly recommended that the regulations should not be introduced as they stood, also arguing that 'a long-term solution has to lie in housing policy'.⁽³³⁾ The final regulations were announced, ignoring the SSAC's advice, on 30 January 1985.

After the introduction of the regulations, on July 31, the High Court found the regulations illegal, though only because of the way they had been introduced, and this only applied to the time limits. However, on September 16 two claimants appealed successfully against the price limits too. The regulations appeared to be in tatters but the government carried on undaun-

ted. It sought an appeal against the High Court ruling, but, remarkably, it introduced new regulations even before the appeal came up. Even then the Joint Statutory Instruments Committee, which examines the parliamentary validity of new government measures declared that the new regulations were *ultra vires*. They were withdrawn but quickly replaced by more acceptable ones. Finally the government lost its appeal against the earlier High Court ruling. But by this time the only loss was one of face, because the government had already pre-empted the judgement with its new regulations. From then on the battle against the regulations became one of attrition and was in the hands of pressure groups and local authorities working through these.

The Housing Pressure Groups

The reaction on the part of pressure groups was substantial, not only from homelessness or housing pressure groups. A whole range of other groups and individuals protested (directly or through the media), including many organisations and individuals who might not normally get involved in opposing government. Refuges for the homeless, unemployment centres, law centres, churches, individual clerics, probation officers - were apparently fleetingly politicised. In addition, a whole plethora of new groups came into existence whose sole aim was to either help or speak on behalf of those affected by the regulations. One of their effects, then, was to engender a new range of pressure groups.

The two main established pressure groups who speak for the homeless are Shelter and CHAR. A third, SHAC, deals solely with London, though many of the issues it deals with have national implications. However, none of these groups are pressure groups alone. They are also organised, either themselves, through branches, or through affiliated groups, to provide help for those with specific housing problems (which primarily means the homeless) or to assist other voluntary organisations. This was an important aspect of their ability to react meaningfully against the regulations.

Shelter is a highly respectable group, wearing its respectability on its sleeve in the form of Cardinal Hume (President) and Lord Pitt of Hampstead (Chair). However, though statements from the top were issued, the main role was played by national officers and local branches. As the effects of the regulations were visibly local (young people sleeping rough, 'tent' cities etc) local pressure came to be of prime significance. Apart from its national offices (England/Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland), at the time the regulations were introduced Shelter had 35 regional offices or Shelter-supported housing aid centres. It in addition supports a large number of other organisations or projects (including CHAR). Shelter had two advantages which enabled it to react adequately to the regulations - its local network, which enabled it to keep close to the young homeless as the DHSS regulations began to bite at the local level; and its independence: only a very small part of its income comes from grants. Nearly 99% of its income comes from donations, including legacies.⁽³⁴⁾

CHAR is more central to the issue, because it is specifically the Housing Campaign For Single People. The two organisations are closely linked through a certain amount of financial and administrative cooperation and a great deal of mutual affiliation with other groups. CHAR differs from Shelter in that it is to a significant extent dependent on grants - from government (the DOE and DHSS), local authorities, and other voluntary organisations (such as Shelter). Though it has nearly as many local groups as Shelter, it is a much smaller operation with about a fifth of Shelter's income. The reason for the difference is that CHAR is a campaigning organisation while Shelter is primarily a client organisation. In 1983/4, 20.1% of Shelter's expenditure was on fundraising and campaigning, with most of the rest going on housing aid services. All CHAR's expenditure is directly or indirectly related to campaigning. Despite that difference, in the case of the regulations Shelter's campaigning profile was somewhat higher. This was because of its active local housing-aid network.

Probably the main pre-regulations concern of the established pressure groups in respect of the young homeless (in fact of all homeless) was to publicise the huge expense and inadequacy of bed and breakfast accommodation as a solution to the problem. The aim was to emphasise the need for the building of more home of sufficient variety and cheapness to suit the needs of the poor and homeless. For instance, in 1985, between the floating of the first proposed regulations and the existing ones, SHAC published the report quoted above - *Bed and Breakfast: Slum Housing of the Eighties*. This argued that it would in most cases be cheaper to build more council housing than to rely on bed and breakfast and that where it was necessary to use the latter, prices should be related to standards rather than arbitrarily set, with these standards enforced by registration and supervision. Much board and lodging accommodation is insanitary, unsafe and overcrowded.

One group, HASSLL (Homeless Against Social Security Lodging Laws), was set up directly as a result of the regulations, in February 1985. This is in fact an umbrella organisation for a large proportion of the many local groups set up after the regulations were introduced. As its name suggests, HASSLL is a pressure group, but it is also has a client relationship with claimants. What then is a pressure group? The traditional concept revolves round the idea that groups wanting to promote their own or other people's interests try to influence the government but without seeking power themselves.⁽³⁵⁾ That does not say a great deal. It seems to suggest, moreover, that the core of pressure group activity is lobbying government. Indeed, the term 'lobby groups' is sometimes used instead. However, many groups, whether trade associations, trade unions or voluntary organisations, only intermittently try to influence government policy. They also have other functions, for example servicing members or clients. Others might only exceptionally seek to influence government policy. Many voluntary groups are committed to changing public perceptions of their clients (eg of the poor, the homeless, the mentally handicapped). The eventual aim might well be to influence government policy, but the prime aim

is to remove prejudice against 'minority' groups and thus to raise their status. To call some groups pressure groups and not others therefore becomes rather difficult. A huge number of groups exist in the housing/homelessness sphere, and this sphere is becoming increasingly politicised. For instance, the quaint-sounding National Cyrenians, in an attempt to 'revitalise' the organisation, has recently been converted to the much more direct Homes For Homeless People. It's aims not only include servicing member groups but lobbying and creating 'a positive and nationally-recognised identity'.⁽³⁶⁾

As far as opposition to the regulations is concerned, lobbying - the traditional element of pressure group activity - failed. Perhaps the main achievement of the pressure groups was the publicity they created over the issue. This they did largely because of their networks of local groups. Though considerable coverage was obtained in the *Guardian* perhaps the most remarkable representation was through the local press. Coverage of the issue in the local press was dominated by the claimants' and housing groups' side. Moreover, it was not just the national groups that obtained coverage, but a myriad of small voluntary organisations. In nearly all cases the issue changed from one of scrounging off the state to one of homelessness. The local press revealed many cases of apparent hardship caused by the regulations, thus doing something to counter the hectic scroungerphobia promoted by the national tabloids. In a sample of 364 items on the issue in the local press (between March 1985 and March 1986) in which I looked at the number of references to groups who acted as sources on the issue, voluntary organisations were the only or primary reference in 162 cases. The next highest was councillors or council officials, with 64. The government or DHSS was responsible for a mere eight. Though 91 voluntary groups got into the local press on the issue, Shelter and CHAR were the subject of 35% of all references to voluntary organisations. The reaction to the regulations, often by groups simply trying to help their clients, made the problem of homelessness more salient, and helped discredit the Costa myth.

The GLC

The authority most active in opposing the regulations was the GLC. Its activity can perhaps be seen as an addendum to its input into the campaign against abolition of the GLC and the metropolitan counties, where it played a more dynamic and central role than the met's.⁽³⁷⁾ However, the role was also a dangerous one in view of the legal restrictions on local authority publicity. It was precisely the sort of activity the government hoped to end through abolition. This explains the name of the organisation the GLC set up to oppose the regulations: The Board and Lodgings Information Programme (BLIP). Ostensibly the campaign was geared to inform rather than to campaign - to warn claimants (but also wider opinion) of the difficulties the regulations would cause. BLIP was an alliance between the GLC and five voluntary organisations: Shelter, CHAR, SHAC, HASSLL and the Central London Social Security Advisers' Forum (CLASSAF). CLASSAF is an umbrella body for a number of agencies dealing with social security claimant problems in central London.

The inspiration behind BLIP came initially from Camden's Housing Committee. Camden has one of the worst homelessness problems in London and a high concentration of board and lodgings places. In January 1986 Camden Housing Department had 1,600 priority households in temporary accommodation (Camden Housing Department figures). However, because of the GLC's central position, its vast publicity operation, and the fact that the GLC's Housing Committee had lost its major housing functions, the GLC took over the idea. (Camden regained it after abolition of the GLC and when BLIP continued under the Chair of Camden's Housing Committee.) In the words of one of the contributing groups: 'The GLC had been stripped of all its housing so there was no-one to complain about the money'.⁽³⁸⁾ The Chair of the GLC's Housing Committee, Tony McBrearty, became the driving force behind BLIP.

Founded about three weeks before the regulations came into operation, BLIP was effective in causing some embarrassment for the government. It is of note that the GLC chose to work through the voluntary sector. Though BLIP was on the face of it an alliance between the GLC and these groups they needed the GLC more than the GLC needed them. Their main purpose from the GLC's point-of-view was that they provided legitimacy to its operations. The GLC provided resources and organisational 'clout'. In McBrearty's view a high profile for the GLC could have been 'counter-productive. It was better to have CHAR-headed letters. I made a conscious decision on that. I could have had GLC stamped all over it'.⁽³⁹⁾ This by no means means that these groups were merely a 'front' for the GLC; they contributed a considerable amount of expertise. But only the GLC was able to make this effective.

There were two reasons for the GLC's involvement: firstly, overt partisanship. The long-standing antagonism between the GLC and the Conservative government needs no explanation. The issue was a political weapon used against a government which was attacking local autonomy primarily on political grounds. The second element, clearly related to this restriction of local autonomy, concerned the role of housing policy, Housing Departments, especially in London, argue that the government is not only ignoring a growing housing crisis (which goes far wider than the homelessness issue, taking in such problems as the need to replace high-rise blocks of flats and system built buildings, and increasing disrepair in both the public and private sector), but preventing them from dealing with it. The reaction from local authorities was therefore not entirely from their Labour or Alliance components. Moreover, the growing housing crisis has been obscured by the government through its emphasis on increasing home-ownership, popular with those who can afford it (and many who cannot). In the words of Tony McBrearty, "the government was able successfully to remove housing from the political agenda." This was one of the main motivations behind the formation of BLIP.

It just kept talking about home ownership . . . Even Ken wouldn't get any publicity if he said housing is a scandal in London. So I made a conscious decision to make sure it stimulated a housing

debate. I was looking for an issue to get housing on the map. Here was one where the government was vulnerable, especially in terms of the homeless sleeping rough and suicides.⁽⁴⁰⁾

The BLIP campaign comprised the following:

- 1) Advertising:
 - a) three advertisements in the national press (each for one day)
 - b) a poster campaign
 - c) a week-end of advertising on Capital Radio
 - d) an ad to publicise a BBC TV programme on homelessness
- 2) Publications: the sponsorship of
 - a) a booklet on the decline of board and lodging availability after the introduction of the regulations
 - b) a newspaper for boarders called *The Hassler*
- 3) The distribution of over 100,000 leaflets for the young homeless
- 4) A large number of press releases either directly or through pressure groups, along with extra efforts to get the message across to journalists - a press 'seminar' and a special 'editors' press pack'
- 5) Meetings and conferences with activists and welfare workers
- 6) The hiring of a parliamentary lobbyist for a three-month contract

The first (half-page) ad went into 11 national, 15 ethnic minority papers and the *New Musical Express: Unemployed? Soon you could be homeless too*. It contained a freepost coupon through which further information could be obtained. The subsequent three advertisements were clearly more political: *This Signature Could Make Thousands Of Young People Homeless* (signed Norman Fowler), *Merry Christmas To The Young Unemployed* (showing a DHSS letter being delivered through a letterbox), and *What the Government allows the homeless unemployed* (with a picture of pea-nuts). Though addresses were given for further information only one had a coupon, while the 'pea-nuts' ad contained the caption: *The board and lodgings regulations make even more people homeless. Something must be done*. To the above publicity must be added a longer-running campaign based on a single London-wide poster showing a young man sitting on a suitcase hitching his way north, under the caption *The new DHSS housing rules could alter your sitting room*.

The advertising and media campaigns were linked with sustained lobbying. It was hoped that publicity would encourage backbench Tories to question at least parts of the regulations. The most important component of the lobbying exercise was the publication of a booklet designed to prove that the financial limits were not achieving their main aim, that of inducing board and lodgings places to lower their charges. This was based on a study, published by CLASSAF and CHAR⁽⁴¹⁾ of hotel prices 10 months into the regulations. The idea itself originated within CLASSAF but the GLC's Housing Committee decided to give it political effect by funding it and promoting its findings in parliament. Data was obtained from 710 London hotels. Taking single rooms only, instead of prices falling during the year they had gone up by 20%. Only 382 of the hotels in

fact said they would let to benefit claimants and 83% of these had charges which were above the new limits. Only 35% of the rest actually had vacancies, despite the fact that the survey was undertaken in winter. The PSI report rightly argues that this understates the true availability as it takes inadequate account of the possibilities of sharing available rooms.⁽⁴²⁾ The survey did ask about numbers in rooms already occupied and found that it was common for three or four people, sometimes considerably more, to be sharing. The report concludes that 'one of the basic assumptions behind the Government's board and lodgings regulations is false . . . Government attempts to interfere with bed and breakfast market forces have failed'.

The reference to market forces is no doubt ironic. The government had argued that it was trying to remove market distortions. BLIP argued that the government was ignoring the reality of the market. High prices are an inevitable part of the 'privatisation of poverty'. The PSI report puts it as follows.

It is surprising to find a government, usually the champion of entrepreneurial initiative, seeming to object on almost-moral grounds to the idea that landlords should set up in business and charge the going rate in the hope of making a profit. That is exactly what the textbook says they should do to reduce the evident scarcity of accommodation.⁽⁴³⁾

These findings might seem to contradict the arguments of SHAC's paper, *Bed and Breakfast: Slum Housing of the Eighties*, in which SHAC conceded that many owners do raise prices to DHSS limits. However, the contradiction is only an apparent one. All homelessness groups admit to exploitation by owners, and the CLASSAF survey did show some price-clustering around DHSS limits. However, this was limited. The survey also showed that rather than reduce prices owners simply crammed more into a room or sought a different market such as homeless families. The PSI Report also makes clear that, although there is little hard evidence to support the DHSS's claim that benefit levels are pushing up charges, this is only likely to occur in areas of scarce accommodation, and then the basic cause is pressure on the market. In fact the SHAC report makes quite clear that the homelessness crisis is so severe that owners are able to bid up prices by charging desperate local authorities more than the DHSS limits. The contradiction in fact exists in the 'privatisation of poverty': using profit-seeking private agencies for welfare purposes contains inevitable contradictions.

It's The Limit caused the government to rush over-precipitately into its own 'counter-survey' (which at least shows that pressure groups can be effective in embarrassing government). This, of a mere 20 hotels, apparently found several within DHSS limits but seemed a little like weather-forecasting by putting a wet finger in the air. Even the Housing Minister called it a 'dipstick survey'. *It's The Limit* took care to give details of every hotel it covered in an appendix. This thoroughness forced the government to be careful in its claims. Under pressure in the Commons, Mr. Newton said 'I am prepared to be a little contrite . . . I make it clear that to call the smaller of the DHSS's samples a random survey is to over-dignify it'.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The bigger of the DHSS samples (in London), of about

the same size as the *It's The Limit* sample, was also criticised in the PSI report. It sums up the two studies as follows: 'it is safe to conclude that there is a little short-term below limit accommodation available in London, but not much.'⁽⁴⁵⁾

What was the overall impact of BLIP's activities, and the relative effect of BLIP's component parts? In its immediate task of getting the regulations amended or abolished BLIP failed completely. The campaign cost just over £500,000 in all, with some important elements to come (in particular, an exhibition and an animated film). But as a campaign to influence public opinion rather than the government, it is likely to have had longer term effects than can be easily assessed. The following opposed views of two people who were involved probably summarise fairly well the short and long-term effects of the BLIP campaign:

'Our actions have been a miserable failure. We tried to alter the regulations but failed.'

'The regulations enabled us to focus attention on the housing crisis. That this is a scandalous situation . . . What is the government doing? . . . It's making it worse. We raised the profile of all the issues generally.'⁽⁴⁶⁾

Finally, was the GLC more important than the pressure groups it worked through? In the view of one of the voluntary organisations where the GLC helped is in advertising the issue, in 'the background stuff. The image of moving on . . . 'Isn't it dreadful' . . . The GLC money was well spent in spreading this, making it tangible.' Tony McBrearty's view was not dissimilar:

I saw our role as providing money. Without the GLC the groups couldn't have done the ad's. Its the Limit wouldn't have been possible. There would have been fewer leaflets. The important thing for the groups was that it was a new budget for them. It meant they didn't have to compete within the organisations for money.'⁽⁴⁷⁾

There were tensions between the groups and the GLC. For instance, the GLC felt the established groups did too little for blacks (complaining at the BLIP conference of groups fearing that 'diverting campaign(s) towards ethnic minorities will take weight away from' campaigns for more or better housing),⁽⁴⁸⁾ while CHAR was not entirely happy in having the GLC's PR agency imposed on them. But the relationship seemed to work well. The groups provided legitimacy and networks of contacts close to claimants. The GLC provided money and highly professional publicity.

BLIP represented shifting relationships between the voluntary sector, local government, and central government. One of CHAR's main policy aims, for instance, has been to include the young or single homeless within the scope of the 1977 Housing Act. It has tried to persuade both local government to adopt a more flexible attitude to 'vulnerability' but also central government to enforce this through

widening the scope of the Act. It has therefore often acted against the interests of local government. In 1985 CHAR published a study⁽⁴⁹⁾ of the policies of 302 housing authorities which showed that only 6% 'allowed single people access to council housing by implementing policies which extended the provisions of the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act 1977.' Another 11% 'implemented discretionary action which did so.' CHAR believes that 'Each authority should plan to provide a range of accommodation to meet the varying needs of single people', arguing that eligibility should be on the basis of housing need rather than personal status (eg age). The regulations accentuated this conflict as CHAR and other groups pressurised housing departments to accommodate those made homeless by the regulations. While some were prepared to help, most were only willing to make this temporary. It is quite clear that with many housing departments unable to house those they are obliged to by law they are not going to increase their burdens by giving accommodation to all young people who demand it. Thus even the Chair of the GLC Housing Committee, who has shown considerable sympathy to CHAR, said 'I had to say we won't be able to house them even if the legislation was passed. Passing legislation doesn't mean anything. It isn't really going to happen.'⁽⁵⁰⁾

The role of the GLC Housing Committee as a pivot between national policy and the voluntary sector is a very interesting one. The nature of local government has changed a great deal in recent years. There has been a long-term trend towards centralisation of local government functions (utilities, health, increasing financial control over housing), which has two main causes, well described by the authors of *Half a Century of Municipal Decline*: 1) local government has lost a number of services to the centre because of the need for uniformity; the remaining services have a strong redistributive element (especially social services and housing) which is bound to cause political conflict and hence invite central interference; in addition these services are labour-intensive: local government employment is 30% bigger than that of central government. This makes local government an easier target for cuts than central government. The current government has merely intensified certain trends which were already apparent in local-central relations.⁽⁵¹⁾ 2) Local government finance has become increasingly dependent on central government funding - a result of losing its trading revenue (gas and electricity) while incurring increased social service burdens, especially in the inner cities.⁽⁵²⁾

At the same time, however, there has been considerable decentralisation of services in both Tory and Labour authorities. In the former this tends to be through private companies (privatisation of refuse disposal etc). Labour authorities decentralise through the voluntary sector: 'the new style of municipal socialism is committed, at least in principle, to decentralisation of local government activity in the interests of popular accountability'.⁽⁵³⁾ How far this represents extension of control by local authorities over the voluntary sector, and how far this also rep-

resent competition with central government (through departments such as the DHSS or agencies like the MSC) for influence in the voluntary sector, are separate questions. The case of CHAR is particularly interesting 'CHAR was started by government, and is to some extent its secret weapon against local authorities, though undoubtedly central government also finds the weapon used against it too'.⁽⁵⁴⁾ That seems increasingly the case. In the early 1980s CHAR was 70% dependent on DHSS and DOE funding. This is now down to about 20%, somewhat less than the contribution it received from the GLC during the regulations campaign.⁽⁵⁵⁾ In 1985 SHAC got about a third of its funding from the GLC, a third from the DOE and a third from other sources. The GLC Housing Chair had the following view: "I wanted to put more money into SHAC but didn't want to break their integrity with DOE."⁽⁵⁶⁾ The housing pressure groups are frequently critical of both central and local government, as are many other voluntary organisations. The GLC can take much credit for expanding this sector in London (often with national implications), but this can lead to difficulties. Tony McBrearty summarised the inevitable problems succinctly:

'They frequently act against the boroughs. But I suppose at the end of the day they know we could always pull the plug on them if they became too critical.'⁽⁵⁷⁾ The GLC was using voluntary organisations not only as a network of decentralised services, but as a tool in its own struggle against the government. This struggle is a clear example of resistance not only to the continuing decline of local relative to central control, but to cut-backs in services to the needy.

At the same time as local authorities have accused the government of adding to their burdens while reducing their ability to cope with them, the government has accused local authorities of deliberately taking advantage of DHSS funding of board and lodgings through the supplementary benefit system by palming off people who have a claim on them under the 1977 Housing Act, in particular the elderly.

It may be - we have no evidence to prove it - that health and local authorities are deliberately directing the elderly in need of residential care into the private sector where the non-cash-limited funds of supplementary benefit can foot the bill.⁽⁵⁸⁾

The same applies indirectly to the young as local authorities have no incentive to accommodate these when they know the DHSS will fund their stay in board and lodgings.

The antagonism between local and central government as ultimately reflected in grant reductions, rate-capping and abolition of the GLC and the met's, is the result of a double clash: between left and right and between local and central control of services. The two processes have reinforced each other in the current government's relations with local government. Housing is yet another battle-front for this double clash.

On the one hand, for ideological reasons the government has constrained local authorities' housing functions - forcing council rents to rise, encouraging the sale of council housing, and severely restricting council investment programmes. On the other, the problems

these policies have helped engender (especially increased homelessness) have forced councils to **expand** some of their functions, both directly and through voluntary organisations. The conflict was exacerbated by the regulations. Camden, one of the councils which extended help to boarders affected by the regulations (in this case by 'topping up' the money the DHSS would pay), took on the government directly. In February 1986 it took the government to court, arguing that its extra expenses (which it estimated would come to £3m a year) were the government's responsibility (effectively claiming damages from the government). It lost, but is still 'topping up'. The government has therefore to some extent simply been 'passing the buck'.

The GLC's Housing Committee was the ideal vehicle for opposing the regulations. The government had transferred its housing stock to the boroughs, leaving the GLC with a co-ordinating, supportive housing function. In 1984 the Housing Committee gave £4m to 280 voluntary groups in the housing area.⁽⁵⁹⁾ 'There isn't a housing project anywhere in London we haven't funded.'⁽⁶⁰⁾ In 1981/2 the GLC contributed £0.617m to single homeless organisations. By 1985/6 this had become £4.753 m.⁽⁶¹⁾ This made the GLC by far the largest contributor to this sector's revenue (non-capital) funding. It has also set up bodies to act in areas it felt were neglected, such as sleeping rough, through the Thames Reach Housing Association, set up in 1984 with the aim of 'working with people sleeping out, on their own terms and physical territory'.⁽⁶²⁾ BLIP therefore represented three things: resistance to the attack by central government against 'big' local government, socialist decentralisation of local government into the voluntary sector; and a specific attempt to halt the growth of a severe housing and homelessness problem.

Conclusion

There is little hard evidence on the effects of the regulations, especially the financial limits. A report by the Social Security Inspectorate in July 1986 found one in eight unemployed homeless using a large proportion of their meals allowance to remain in lodgings.⁽⁶³⁾ It seems likely that claimants have also gravitated to cheaper, less salubrious lodgings or allowed themselves to be crammed more to a room so owners can maintain profit margins. A quarter of boarders under 26 years old were exempt from the time limits. The statistics on what happened to the others are not very revealing. A lot of claimants seem to have 'gone to ground' in some way but it is not clear where or how. Though predictions by pressure groups of mass problems might not have been borne out there have been a great number of reports, both in the media and within the files of voluntary organisations dealing with the young or homeless, of individual suffering. (At the most extreme two suicides have been widely claimed to have been a result of the regulations, with another person swallowing bleach in the attempt. Other reports describe how some without any accommodation have had to make do - sleeping rough in cardboard boxes, on stairs, in rubbish skips, or, of course, under the Queen Elizabeth Hall.) The PSI report tends to understate the implications of what evidence there is (perhaps a lot depends

on what one consider to be 'reasonable' suffering), but does conclude that 'in the absence of a clear analysis of the outcome of the time and price limits on actual people, we have to worry about the possibility of hardship among the lodgers who have not been accounted for'. The problem is that the young unemployed are a shifting population who are difficult to trace and monitor (and indeed often resent being monitored rather than helped). Despite the reports of hardship that have occurred, this 'inscrutability' is an advantage for the government. Problems driven underground are problems that do not have to be met.

The rising cost of the DHSS board and lodging bill clearly was a problem for the government. Some limitation was expected, but this was eventually based on an artificial agenda. There were structural reasons for much of the growth in expenditure but these were completely ignored.

The reaction, however, seems to have been instinctive rather than rational. There was much talk, at the time the proposals were under discussion, of unemployed young people enjoying prolonged holidays in Cornwall. There never was any evidence that this was a widespread or numerically large problem.⁽⁶⁵⁾

The problem was presented, and apparently perceived, as a social security rather than a housing problem. The very real accommodation problems faced by a growing number of young people went by the board.

There is no easy solution to the long-term problem of growing demand by young people for accommodation of their own (a demand very much fuelled at the moment by the effects of the recession). Pressure groups for the homeless want councils to widen the range of categories of people they will accept as homeless. While there has been some increase in flexibility, which CHAR has claimed credit for, eg in Newcastle,⁽⁶⁴⁾ most councils do not see that it is their job to take in anyone who claims they have no home to go to. With inadequate resources to deal even with families with children it is unlikely the single homeless will be a priority. The Labour Party has recently pledged to widen the 1977 Housing Act to force local authorities to house single homeless people. This represents a potential victory for pressure groups like CHAR over the 'restrictive practices' of local authorities. However, the real problem might be one of finance rather than of legislation. Moreover, Jeff Rooker, shadow housing minister 'is less forthcoming about when such changes might be introduced or what sort of accommodation councils would be obliged to provide. He has also warned that not all Labour's housing promises could be implemented immediately . . .'⁽⁶⁵⁾ The growing housing crisis amongst the young and single can only be ameliorated through a carefully thought-out programme of co-operation between government, local authorities and voluntary organisations.

The above paper has looked at three levels of responsibility for the homeless: central government, local government, and voluntary organisations (particularly pressure groups). The ultimate responsibility must rest with central government, but whereas previous governments have had ambitious house-building schemes, the current regime has limited itself to control of the purse-strings. It has used this to extend

its political control over local government, on whom falls the practical responsibility for the homeless, Labour councils have resented this control both on their freedom and on their ability to provide services. They have turned to the voluntary sector for expansion. While the current right-wing government has decentralised into the private sector and encouraged private, profit-making provision of some welfare services (a part of which I have referred to above as the 'privatisation of poverty'), some left-wing local governments are decentralising into the voluntary sector. The regulations issue highlights this contrast. The regulations were a government backlash against the cost effects of the privatisation of poverty, while the reaction to the regulations was led by an alliance of a left-wing authority and a number of pressure groups.

There are many contradictions in these relationships. There is conflict between Left and Right and between central and local government. Pressure groups within the voluntary sector, meanwhile, attempt to influence both central and local government. One result is that local authorities find they are being squeezed from all sides. Take Camden (on the Tories' 'loony left'), currently trying to expand its commitment to overcoming the area's severe housing problems: in one week the *Ham and High* printed two articles reflecting criticism of the council. One reported complaints from the borough's Commercial Ratepayers Group that Camden's spending per head was over three times the national average: 'The group criticises high spending in the field of housing and social services . . . and urges stricter legislation to force councils such as Camden to take note of the business voice.' The other reported a bitter complaint from Bill More of HASSLL that Camden (whose Housing Management Committee Chair happens to be current chair of BLIP) had boycotted a meeting with HASSLL and some boarders, quoting as follows:

not a single councillor attended to hear of Camden's appalling record and its inability to cope, at almost every level, with those cast in the living hell of being without a roof over their heads . . . Councillors of all parties now have no excuse for the anger which I know will be vented on them during the next few months.⁽⁶⁶⁾

One of the key areas of local authority responsibility is housing and provision for the homeless. How policies shape up in this area over the next few years will depend very much on how the battle between central and local government goes. Voluntary organisations, including pressure groups, will be drawn into this struggle. (Housing groups will ally with Labour authorities for instance). At the moment much of the responsibility for reminding government, present or future, that housing and homelessness should be on the national policy agenda seems to rest with local authorities and housing pressure groups. The regulations issue is only one episode in this struggle. The next episode is currently under way with government plans to abolish special board and lodging payments altogether, in 1988, for replacement by a combination of standard housing benefit and payments for living costs under the new income support scheme. The DHSS consultation paper, *Help With Board And Lodging Charges For People On Low Incomes*, is expressed entirely in terms of reducing spending, 'abuse', and administrative simplification. Though

there is some merit to the proposals, especially the abolition of time limits, there is hardly a reference to the needs of those the payments are to help. The real crunch will come should the above measure combine with the effects of government plans to limit housing benefit by reducing payments for "unreasonable" private sector rents. In its response to the DHSS consultation paper CHAR said it could 'see advantages in the local authority being involved with boarders, as not only are local authorities the main providers of rented accommodation, but they also have a duty to consider the need for housing locally.' However, CHAR go on to say that it 'is vital that the local authorities are given adequate resources to facilitate this role'. The tendency to greater central control over local authority housing policy and a recent threat of penalties for authorities suspected of paying too much housing benefit suggests young people in real need might be in for a rough time. The government seems unwilling to accept that such people exist.

Meanwhile the regulations will undoubtedly cause much suffering for some. While the financial limits mean the government still has responsibility to pay, the time limits are solely intended to demoralise claimants and force them to seek accommodation anywhere but in board and lodgings - whether at 'home' or on the streets.

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positive action for young women in YTS:

CYNTHIA COCKBURN

If young women choose to be typists and hairdressers, while young men look for training and work as garage mechanics and carpenters, can this be said to be 'inequality'? Everywhere I went while researching on the Youth Training Scheme I met with adults who were aware, yes, that young women and young men were almost entirely sex-stereotyped in their training placements, but who shrugged and said, 'It's just a question of choice'. Difference does not necessarily mean inequality, people felt. And if it does, well, it is an inequality freely chosen by young women and therefore it is not something for which the Scheme's managers and policy makers can be held to account.

This article will explore some of the statistics showing sex differences in YTS, and data that, within sex differences, also show racial differences. I will make the case that differences here and now between young women and young men on YTS, and between young women of different races, presage future inequalities. When we look at the causes of sexual divisions in training it becomes clear that there is something that could well be done within the parameter of YTS to end them. About one quarter of sixteen year olds now spend time on the Youth Training Scheme. For all the Scheme's many shortcomings, a fair number of these young people will be subject to some supervision and some formal training that they would not have received before the introduction of YTS. The Scheme therefore represents a shamefully wasted opportunity to improve the prospects of today's young women.

The Youth Task Group that designed YTS and later the MSC that administers it proclaimed from the outset that YTS was an 'equal opportunities' scheme, open to all young people of the age group regardless of race or sex. Yet the MSC, it is not unfair to say, clearly had no notion of the extent and nature of the responsibility to young women they had taken on, nor of the practical implications of achieving sex equality. Had it been aware of the challenge and the occasion that YTS represented to improve young women's chances it would certainly have ensured that it could know precisely the subject of training each trainee was entering and could produce statistics specified by race and by sex comparable to national figures on occupations in employment. The Department of Employment uses a statistical scheme known as CODOT, with over three thousand occupational categories. Working simplifications of CODOT such as

KOS (Key Occupations for Statistical Purposes) have several hundred. The MSC's system, by contrast, had only 11 occupational categories. These the Commission called 'occupational training families' (OTF). MSC did not research the possibility of correlating OTF with CODOT/KOS either before adopting the system or since. Professional opinion is that it would be impossible.

OTFs were never, in fact, intended to be statistical instruments. They were developed by the Institute of Manpower Studies in work commissioned by the MSC and were intended to aid conceptualisation of broad and inclusive forms of training. MSC was partly misled perhaps by its own philosophy of training. It had hoped that YTS would be a progressive and advanced kind of training in which young people would learn 'transferable skills'. They would not immediately be slotted into existing recognised occupations but given a chance to explore and develop. In reality the nature of existing employment, the employer-led nature of the Scheme and the pressure on young people today to find a job at any price have combined to create a Youth Training Scheme where the majority of placements are highly traditional and could quite easily be described within conventional statistical categories. Young women hairdressing trainees know quite well they are in hairdressing. They do not need or recognise themselves in an abstract statistical category called 'personal service and sales'.

MSC is introducing a more detailed occupational categorisation of YTS placements in the current Scheme year (1986/7). It is called the Training and Occupational Classification (TOC) and is said to be compatible with the national statistical system of the Department of Employment and the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, though, in the words of an MSC statistician 'the system has yet to be evaluated and possibly refined'. Certainly by 1988 we could be in possession of a more detailed and much needed knowledge of what is happening within YTS.

The gender-skew in YTS

The need for this new and better classification became evident to MSC as OTF statistics began to emerge, inadequate though they were, showing an alarming degree of sex-segregation on the Scheme. In her seminal paper on this subject Catherine Hakim gives a useful definition. 'Occupational segregation on the

basis of sex exists when men and women do different kinds of work, so that one can speak of two separate labour forces, one male and one female, which are not in competition with each other for the same jobs. Similarly it has been argued that race is sometimes a factor of occupational segregation such that white and coloured workers do not in fact compete for the same kinds of job.^{3 (1)} In this article I will be dealing mainly with the first kind of segregation, though the cross-cutting incidence of race segregation will be noted.

Occupational segregation by sex is a strong characteristic of employment in Britain today, and, as Hakim found, by some measures has actually increased in the course of this century. It can be measured in two ways. One method is to group occupations according to the sex ratio observed in each. Figure 1, showing the distribution of trainees by sex by OTF is the basis for an analysis of this kind represented in Figures 2 and 7.

FIG 1

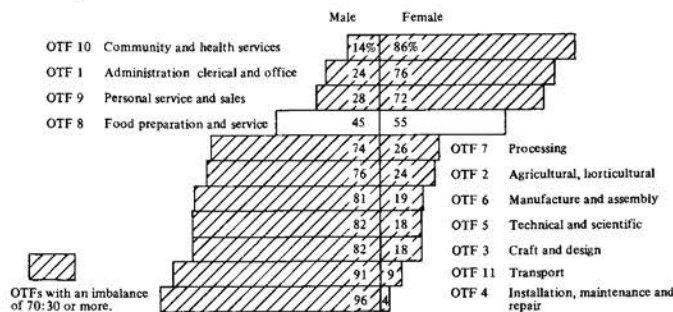
YTS 'starters' in the period April to December, 1985, nationally.
Number of trainees analysed by sex and ethnic group, distributed to 'occupational training family' of placement.

OTF	Total number of trainees	Total males	Total females	Ethnic Gp. 1 (White)		Ethnic Gp. 2 (Afro-Caribbean)		Ethnic Gp. 3 (Asian)		Ethnic Gp. 4 (Residual)	
				Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	67,687	16,525	51,162	15,272	48,096	475	1121	439	1197	339	748
2	16,417	12,240	3,997	12,201	3,921	43	10	17	6	159	60
3	17,152	14,063	3,089	13,267	2,864	373	87	184	86	239	52
4	52,208	49,972	2,236	47,531	2,096	911	50	762	26	768	64
5	7,085	5,784	1,301	5,422	1,227	148	26	102	20	112	28
6	54,081	43,628	10,453	41,976	10,013	613	135	477	208	562	97
7	1,951	1,451	500	1,400	485	21	5	9	6	21	4
8	15,319	6,838	8,481	6,447	8,107	225	236	51	32	115	106
9	68,505	19,226	49,279	18,457	47,781	250	543	240	331	279	624
10	15,694	2,220	13,474	2,073	12,736	67	279	29	150	51	309
11	6,668	6,069	599	5,856	584	83	7	61	3	69	5
Total 1-11	322,767	178,196	144,571	169,902	137,910	3209	2499	2371	2065	2714	2097
Unclassified	40,416	26,196	14,220	24,070	13,014	981	509	649	416	496	281
Grand Total	363,183	204,392	158,791	193,972	150,924	4190	3,008	3,020	2,481	3,210	2,378

Source: Manpower Services Commission, 1986.

FIG 2

YTS starters in the period April to December 1985, nationally.
All trainees distributed by sex to the 'occupational training families' of their placements.



NB. Figures cover approximately 89% of all trainees. Excluded are those who were not reported by their managing agents as allocated to a specific OTF.

Source: Manpower Services Commission, 1986.

Taking Hakim's sex ratio of 70:30 as a benchmark to indicate significant over-representation of one sex, it will be clear that ten out of MSC's eleven OTFs have this kind of gendered character. Sex-segregation is extremely marked. No less than 79% of all

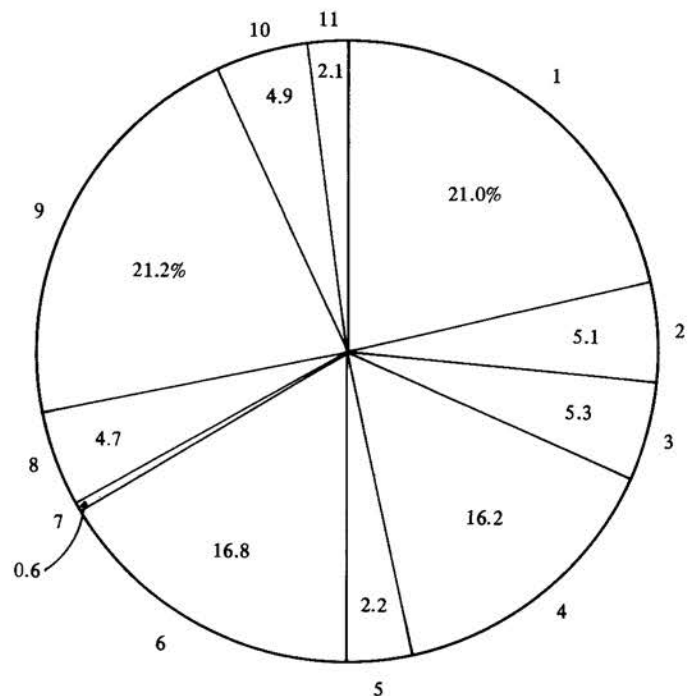
women trainees are in OTFs that are sex-typed female, while 75% of young men are in OTFs sex-typed male. OTF-1: administrative, clerical and office; OTF-9: personal service and sales; and OTF-10: community and health care, are those marked by a high female presence. If we say that occupational groups in which the majority sex is 70% or more of the trainees, then these three are sex-typed. One category, OTF-8: food preparation and service, is more or less unisex. While female occupational groups are characterised by work with people (and paper), the male occupations are those that deal with things (mainly machines).

If we look anew at the figures bearing in mind that young women in fact represent somewhat less than half all YTS trainees (44%), it will be evident that the preponderance of young women in 'female' OTFs is somewhat under-stated in our diagrams, and their absence from 'male' OTFs slightly over-stated. The number of OTFs that are sex-segregated according to our definition however remains unchanged.

A second measure of occupational sex-segregation is the degree to which one sex is concentrated in a relatively small number of occupational categories.

FIG 3a

Youth Training Scheme 'starters' in the period April to December 1985, nationally
All trainees (both sexes, all ethnic groups) distributed by 'occupational Training family' of their placement.



NB. Figures are expressed as a percentage of those trainees for whom an OTF was specified in managing agents returns, viz. approx 89% of all trainees on the Scheme

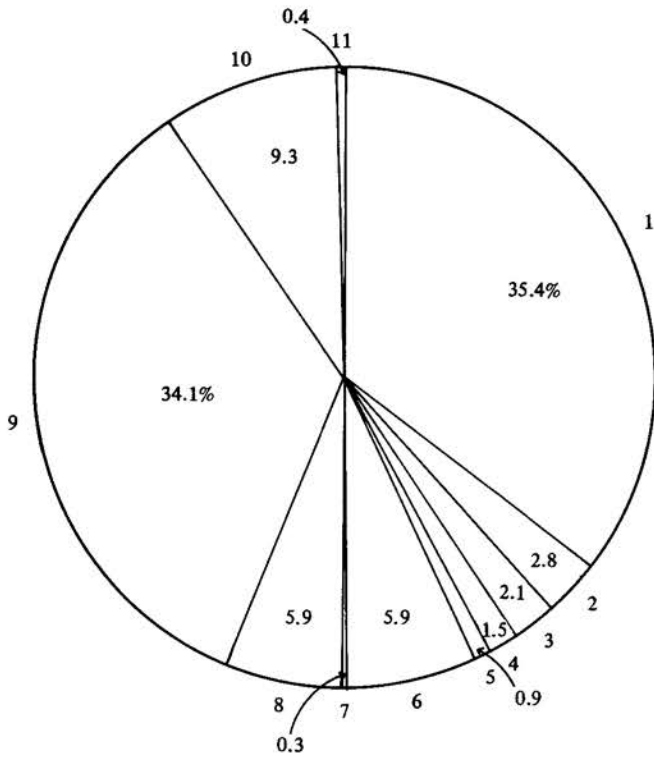
Source: Manpower Services Commission

Fig.3 shows this for female (a), male (b) and total filled places (c). Women are clustered in two or three OTFs, while being almost entirely absent from others. No more than 8% of all female trainees are found in total in the sex most male-dominated OTFs, which contain 31.5% of all filled places. Men are much more evenly spread over a range of OTFs. They penetrate women's areas more than women penetrate men's areas.

FIG 3b

Youth Training Scheme 'starters' in the period April to December 1985, nationally.

Female trainees (of all ethnic groups) distributed by 'occupational training family' of their placement.



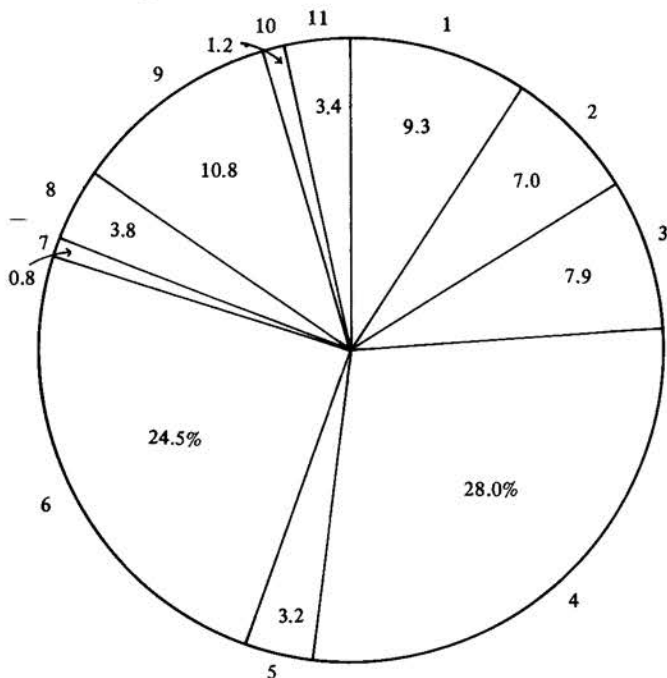
NB. Figures are expressed as a percentage of those trainees for whom an OTF was specified in managing agents' returns, viz. approx 89% of all trainees on the Scheme.

Source: Manpower Services Commission

FIG 3c

Youth Training Scheme 'starters' in the period April to December 1985, nationally.

Male trainees (of all ethnic groups) distributed by 'occupational training family' of their placement.



N.B. Figures are expressed as a percentage of those trainees for whom an OTF was specified in managing agents' returns, viz. approx 89% of all trainees on the Scheme.

Source: Manpower Services Commission

There is a general tendency for more sex segregation to come to light the finer the statistical net used. As Hakim puts it, 'the shorter the list of separately identified occupations the greater the likelihood that a certain amount of occupational sex segregation is being masked.' MSC's OTFs represent a very short list indeed. We should expect it to grossly under-represent the full extent of sex divisions in YTS and anticipate that when TOC is brought into use it will reveal more. What we can see is the tip of an iceberg. My case study in a London area found indications that the actual level of segregation is extreme. For instance, of 344 retail butcher trainees reported to me, only two were female. All 53 trainees in a sports scheme were male. Of 942 trainees in building trades only 20 (about 2%) were female. On the other hand only about 8% of hairdressing trainees were male.

There is, in addition to occupational sex segregation of a 'horizontal' kind, as described here, also a 'vertical' segregation, with men filling higher positions in any one occupational group and women lower. This also exists as a potential within YTS. For instance I observed that in OTF-1 young women were mainly in secretarial and typing placements, while young men were in general clerical and administrative placements with more climbing potential. It is likely that in catering male trainees are poised to develop into chefs and cooks, while female trainees are likely to remain at the level of kitchen assistant. In hairdressing salons young men may be more likely to be groomed to head the salon. And so on.

The foundation of inequality

YTS is an innovatory scheme, a purposeful exercise in official policy intending to create a 'permanent bridge between school and work' by a government formally committed to equal opportunities. Yet it appears to be faithfully reproducing an archaic sexual division of labour.

Does it matter? The answer has to be yes. Though YTS seems equal in the sense that all trainees, female and male, get the same money, have access to the same training, it is in fact preparing trainees for future inequalities.

A sexual division of labour in domestic life underlies a sexual division of labour in paid employment. This in turn is the main reason that the Equal Pay Act has failed to bring women's pay up to more than 66% of men's.⁽²⁾ In general young people's pay shows greater sex equality than is the case with older age groups. The gap widens sharply at age 18 for manual workers and continues to widen till age 50. For non-manual workers the deterioration is less sudden and the inequality not so extreme. Yet in their forties even non-manual women are earning only 56% of comparable men's earnings. Young women can get a false sense of security from the apparently similar earning power of women's jobs and men's jobs at age 18. It is a misconception fostered by the equality in the YTS allowance. Inequalities may be held at bay, but in the long run there will be no escaping them.

YTS is laying the groundwork for a working life in which for every £10 a young man earns, a young woman will earn only £6 or £7. Besides, it will be a

future in which he is much more likely than she to obtain further skill or professional training. Figure 5 shows that even today at sixteen times as many boys as girls are obtaining day release education, YTS excluded. Young men's career ladders, of which YTS is the first rung, will prove longer and stronger than young women's. 'Equal though different' is a deception.

Women: in line for least-skilled jobs

In two respects, for all this, young women could be said to be 'more than equal' with young men on the Youth Training Scheme. First, they have a higher proportion of employer-based training places than young men, as shown in Fig.4. These are the schemes that were called, in 1985/6 when these statistics were produced, 'Mode A.' YTS.)

FIG 4

YTS 'starters' during the period April 1985 to February 1986, nationally.

Percentage of male and female trainees, specified by ethnic group, placed in each YTS Mode.

Trainees: Ethnic Group		Sex	Mode A	Mode B1	Mode B2	YTS All Modes
White	Male		73	23	4	100
	Female		83	14	3	100
Afro-Caribbean	Male		49	45	6	100
	Female		68	26	6	100
Asian	Male		60	30	10	100
	Female		68	27	5	100
All ethnic Groups	Male		72	24	4	100
	Female		83	15	2	100
All ethnic groups	Both Sexes		77	20	3	100

NB. MSC used a fourth ethnic category, for residual ethnic groups and for unspecified trainees. It is not included here.

Source: Manpower Services Commission, 1986.

Employer-based schemes are favoured in two ways. First, they are favoured by the MSC, which intends to increase the proportion of employer-based schemes until they become the norm. Second, employer-based placements are favoured by young people themselves because they are more like a 'real job'. Eighty-three per cent of young women were on Mode A schemes in 1985/6 compared with 72% of young men. Secondly, MSC's 100% Survey of ex-trainees showed that young women have a better record than young men when it comes to getting employment after YTS. These facts are connected of course. Mode A trainees have the best employment chances, with only 21% unemployed in the findings of the leavers' survey. This would make sense, of course, since many employer-based trainees are likely to stay on with the employer with whom they trained. Among Mode B schemes only Information Technology Centres with their emphasis on computer skills produce equal prospects of employment (23% of ex trainees unemployed). More typical forms of Mode B, Community Projects and Training Workshops, have post-YTS unemployment rates of 50% or more.

The two phenomena however are also linked to a third: the occupational segregation by sex we have

already discussed. It is precisely because young women enter female-stereotyped work that they are found disproportionately in employer-based schemes and get more jobs than do young men out of their YTS experience. Women's jobs - that is to say relatively unskilled, temporary, casual and boring work, with poor prospects of training and promotion - are the kind of jobs being created by employers today. That is the growth area in employment. That is what 'restructuring the economy' means. As the Equal Opportunities Commission put it, (3) 'Women's concentration in the service industries has afforded them some protection from the worst effects of the recession, which has seen the greatest job losses in manufacturing.' Service employment is projected to continue to develop at the expense of manufacturing employment. Besides, part-time employment is predicted to increase seven times as fast as full-time employment, with the result that women are expected to take two-thirds of the net increase in jobs to the end of the decade.

Young women's job-pulling power, therefore, has to be seen as contradictory. While we are urging changes to help young women acquire more skill and a wider range of skills we are continually reminded that trends in the economy and the actions of a Conservative government are favouring the abolition of skill. What is euphemistically called 'flexibility' means the creation of an employment structure and a workforce in which most jobs and most workers are here today and gone tomorrow. The Economist, asking 'why do women workers get the jobs?' answered its own question: because women workers are the ideally flexible kind of worker, little unionised, often part-time and with skills that need not be acknowledged. (4) On the other hand employers also increasingly depend on (and will pay dearly for) a select core of highly skilled technical and managerial employees. Very few women indeed are acquiring the experience that could enable them to compete with men for this work.

FIG 5

Educational and economic activity of 16 year olds as at January 1986. Sexes as a percentage of the age group.

Educational/economic activity	Per cent		
	Male	Female	Total Both Sexes
In Full-Time education:			
At School	29	31	30
Further education	12	19	15
All	40	50	45
YTS	28	23	26
In employment (outside YTS)	20	18	19
Unemployed	11	9	10
{ Of which in part-time day education (included in employed/unemployed)	6	3	5
Total	100	100	100

Source: Department of Education and Science, Statistical Bulletin.

The tendency to sex-stereotyping in employment also calls for a cautionary evaluation of the statistics of educational and economic activity of sixteen year olds. The table at Figure 5 tells what seems to be a success story for girls, or at least a story with promise. Fifty per cent of girls, as opposed to only 40% of boys, stay on at school at sixteen or go into full time further education. It partly follows that fewer girls than boys are unemployed. And fewer are on YTS (44% as against 56%). This sex difference in the commitment to further education however has to be seen as being once again an artefact of the sexual division of labour. It is expressed in large part in young women doing short secretarial and clerical courses that are unlikely to lead to further training or qualification.

MSC's neglect

Sex-stereotyping, then, has to be acknowledged as the sex inequality issue in YTS. Yet my research on YTS showed that not only did the MSC omit to provide itself with the statistical instruments needed to evaluate sexual divisions on its Scheme but it did very little during the first three years of the Scheme's operation to alert its national and local officers and its 100,000 YTS managing agents to the issue of sex inequality and sexual divisions. Standard documents issued for use in monitoring contained no prompts on this subject. Provision for in-service training did not include mandatory material on sex equality. Area Manpower Boards, which could have brought political pressure to bear on the working of the Scheme at local level, were disproportionately male and overtaxed with worries about the general quality of training. They were, besides, watchdogs sadly lacking in teeth.

Both in my case study area in London and in other Training Division offices of the MSC there was an extraordinary lack of critical interest in the actual data showing trainees by sex by OTF. Discussion of the problem tended to be limited on the one hand to complaints of young people's essential conservatism and on the other to anecdotes about the girl mechanic who couldn't stand the pace. Statistics as detailed as those presented here were never made available to officers and Board members in my case study area and it is unlikely that they were regularly studied in other MSC areas. Yet the MSC's computer was fully capable of producing them at national, and no doubt also at local, level.

The office and Board were however (and this is widespread in YTS) very worried about possible racial discrimination in the Scheme. They were anxious not only because of a sense of fair play among some of the individuals concerned but because they were subject to pressure, both understandable and necessary, from organised and active ethnic groups. Had they taken the trouble to look at the figures they would have found that statistics specifying sex could be made to yield, in addition, interesting data specific to race.

The racial dimension

Young women are not a unitary group. They come from many different ethnic backgrounds and communities. Cultural differences produce tendencies towards different career paths for young women. Racial prejudice and discrimination also close some

routes. A policy for young women in YTS needs to take account of this.

MSC's ethnic categories have been no more viable for statistical use than its occupational categories. Its original classification system comprised four categories: white European; Afro-Caribbean; Asian; and 'other'. The 'European' was soon dropped and the first category became simply 'white'. Managing agents completing trainee 'start' forms on which MSC's statistics are based were instructed to complete the racial information in consultation with the individual trainee. It was intended that groups such as Greek, Turkish or Arab would be entered under 'white'. One can imagine however less scrupulous managing agents flinging ticks into boxes on the basis of a vague impression of colour. Many such will have been entered under 'others'. The 'other' category however was often also used by embarrassed managing agents wishing to resist labelling young people at all.

From 1986 and in the context of the two-year Scheme the racial classification has improved. It now has three main categories: white; black/African/Caribbean; Indian sub-continent; 'none of these'; and 'I prefer not to say'. The statistics I use below were collected and published in the earlier period. They undoubtedly contain many errors and omissions, but nonetheless reveal some interesting facts.

FIG 6

YTS 'starters' in the period between April - December 1985, nationality.

Trainees by sex/race group distributed to the 'occupational training families' of their placements.

OTF	White		Afro-Caribbean		Asian		All trainees	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1. Admin, clerical and office	9.0	34.9	14.8	44.9	18.3	58.0	9.3	35.4
2. Agricultural horticultural etc	7.2	2.8	1.3	0.4	0.7	0.3	7.0	2.8
3. Craft & design	7.8	2.1	11.7	3.5	7.7	4.2	7.9	2.1
4. Installation, maintenance & repair	28.0	1.5	28.5	2.0	31.8	1.3	28.0	1.5
5. Technical & Scientific	3.2	0.9	4.6	1.0	4.3	1.0	3.2	0.9
6. Manufacture and assembly	24.7	7.3	19.2	5.4	19.9	10.1	24.5	7.2
7. Processing	0.8	0.4	0.7	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.8	0.3
8. Food preparation & service	3.8	5.9	7.0	9.4	2.1	1.5	3.8	5.9
9. Personal service & sales	10.9	34.6	7.8	21.7	10.0	16.0	10.8	34.1
10. Community & Health Service	1.2	9.2	2.1	11.1	1.2	7.3	1.2	9.3
11. Transport	3.4	0.4	2.6	0.3	2.5	0.1	3.4	0.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

The table at Figure 6 shows that for all ethnic groups and both sexes of trainee the employer-based Mode A form of YTS was the most widespread (77%). However it also shows that a higher proportion of women than of men in every ethnic group were to be found in employer-based schemes. The most 'privileged' race/sex group in this respect was white young women, of whom no less than 83% were in Mode A. They had a ten percentage point lead over white young men. Afro-Caribbean young women, however, though less likely to be found in Mode A than white young women, had a nineteen percentage point lead over males of their racial group. Asian young women had the same likelihood of being in Mode A as Afro-Caribbean

young women but the sex gap for Asian trainees was somewhat less than for either of the other racial groups at eight percentage points. As we shall see to be the case with occupational segregation by sex, measured through the distribution of male and female to occupational training families, Asian trainees show more similarity between the sexes than other racial groups.

It is noticeable from the table in Figure 6 that in general more Afro-Caribbeans than whites and many more Asians than either of the other groups are training for OTF-1: administrative, clerical and office work. A notable absence is of Afro-Caribbean and Asians from OTF-2: agricultural and horticultural work, no doubt for sociogeographical reasons. It is also interesting that fewer whites than other groups are in the promising category of 'technical and scientific' (OTF-5). Whites predominate in manufacturing (OTF-6) and personal service and sales (OTF-9), from which Asians and Afro-Caribbeans may be barred partly due to barriers erected by discriminating employers (or even by trade unions).

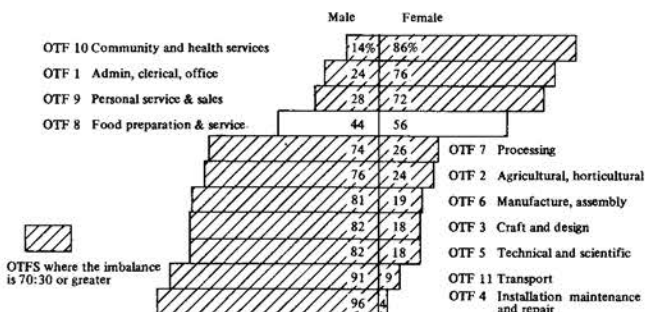
Looking specifically at young women trainees (Figure 6) 44.9% of Afro-Caribbean young women and 58.0% of Asian young women, as against 34.9% of whites entered office occupations (OTF-1). Far fewer Afro-Caribbean and Asian young women were to be found in agriculture and horticulture (OTF-2) but more in craft and design (OTF-3). Fewer Afro-Caribbean girls and more Asians than whites were in OTF-6; manufacture and assembly. This probably reflects the likelihood of Asian women entering the clothing industry and the prevalence of Afro-Caribbean women in service jobs in the economy as a whole. Afro-Caribbean young women show a much greater propensity than whites (and Asian women a much lower one) to go into food preparation and service (OTF-8). Another notable difference is in OTF-9: personal service and sales, where a large 34.6% of white young women find their placements, against 21.7% of Afro-Caribbeans and only 16.8% of Asians. Somewhat more Afro-Caribbeans are in community and health services (OTF-10) and somewhat fewer Asians, than their white equivalents.

Occupational segregation by sex and by race is shown in an alternative manner in the bar charts of Fig.7. The overall pattern is similar for the three ethnic groups. The number of relatively unisex occupations is greater for Afro-Caribbeans (2) and more still Asians (4) than for whites (1). And young men penetrate women's occupations slightly more in the case of these groups than for whites. The male-dominated occupations OTF-6; manufacture and assembly, and OTF-3; craft and design have more females among Asian trainees, probably due to their prevalence in the clothing industry. (It should be remembered, however, that within that industry sex-typing is high.) The male nature of male-sex-typed OTFs is more exaggerated for Afro-Caribbeans than for whites. Adjusting the ratio to take account of the numerical presence of women on YTS (45% for ethnic groups 1 and 2, 47% for ethnic group 3) has the same effect noted above: a slight lessening of female sex-typing and an emphasising of male sex-typing.

FIG 7a

YTS 'starters' in the period April to December 1985, nationally.

Trainees of Ethnic Group 1 : white, distributed by sex to the 'occupational training families' of their placement.



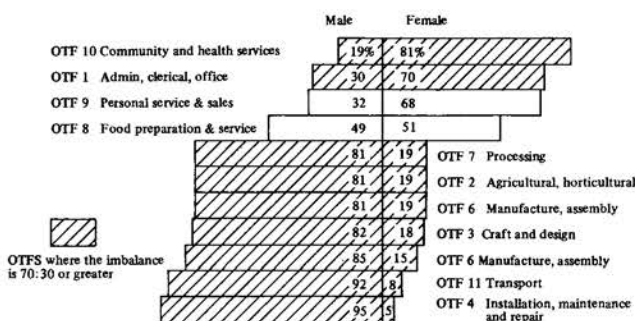
NB: Figures cover approximately 89% of all trainees. Excluded are those trainees who were not reported by their managing agents as allocated to a specific OTF.

Source: Manpower Services Commission, 1986.

FIG 7b

YTS 'starters' in the period April to December 1985, nationally.

Trainees of Ethnic Group 2: Afro-Caribbean distributed by sex to the 'occupational training families' of their placement.



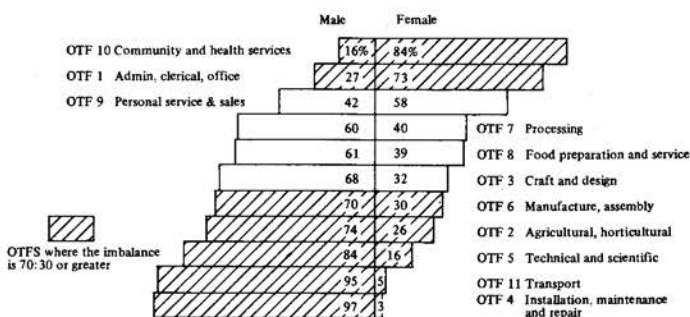
NB: Figures cover approximately 89% of all trainees. Excluded are those trainees who were not reported by their managing agents as allocated to a specific OTF.

Source: Manpower Services Commission, 1986.

FIG 7c

YTS 'starters' in the period April to December 1985, nationally.

Trainees of Ethnic Group 3: Asian, distributed by sex to the 'occupational training families' of their placement.



NB: Figures cover approximately 89% of all trainees. Excluded are those trainees who were not reported by their managing agents as allocated to a specific OTF.

Source: Manpower Services Commission, 1986.

What lies behind 'choice'?

The question that urgently needs addressing and is seldom dealt with in anything but a rhetorical vein in the MSC is: **why** are young women apparently choosing to train for sex-stereotyped work and why does the exact form of stereotyping differ between white, Afro-Caribbean and Asian young women? It tends to be assumed that young women have been brought up and schooled to want certain kinds of occupation and that is the beginning and end of explanation. It follows that a progressive, 'trainee-centred' approach to training must accept that 'want' at face value and attempt to satisfy it - a response that can only reinforce sex-stereotyping.

The statistical slant to this article may give the misleading impression that the research it describes was quantitative. On the contrary it was a qualitative study that aimed to understand the processes underlying statistics such as we have seen here. It was based on listening and watching. I interviewed over seventy trainees and as many adults, participated in some training and induction sessions along with new trainees, and observed interactions between the sexes and races, and between young people and adults. I set out to be particularly alert to detailed expressions of the pressure of heterosexual relations on young women in the context of work and training.

The situation is more complex than is often understood within YTS. First, while it is true that most young people want occupations that are appropriately gendered, by no means all do so. Sometimes we do not really hear what young people are saying, so much do we expect them to say the conformist thing. Many have in fact expressed hopes of something different from the stereotype, but have been discouraged on leaving school from pursuing their alternative route by busy, 'realistic' careers teachers and careers officers with one eye on the clock and the other on the job market. Sometimes we do hear what they say, but do little to help. Some young women arrive on YTS schemes ready to try out non-traditional work. They start, have bad experiences and drop out, back into the female ghetto. In the great majority of cases however we are probably hearing aright: most young women do appear to have chosen their straightjacket. But how genuine is this thing that passes for 'choice'?

The literature on occupational choice and the school-to-work-transition, though it began with a white male perspective from which naive assumptions of equality were made, has gradually developed greater awareness of economic and social constraints on choice. First it was recognised that working class young people knew better than to aspire to middle class jobs. Besides, working class schools were equipping few working class kids with the school leaving qualifications to enable class-contrary moves. Belatedly an awareness of sex difference has entered the debate. The activities of school girls were already sex-typed. They had already experienced pressure from their male peers. Now they understood some jobs to be gendered feminine and others masculine. They understood too the price paid for gender-contrary decisions. They were making what they felt to be sex-appropriate, necessary choices. More recently, but still inadequately, race has been

identified as a further source of realism in young women. Asian girls see their mothers and sisters working in laundries and sitting at sewing machines. Afro-Caribbean girls see theirs limited to the lower ranks of the NHS or cooking school dinners. They are aware of prejudice and discrimination at a very practical level in the labour market and it is not surprising if a number do not wish to risk rebuff or resentment in the workplace by aspiring to jobs in which few black people are found.

Changing the experience of the workplace

Few of these pressures for conformity, it is true, are readily accessible to any policies for change that might be generated by the Manpower Services Commission. One, however, is so accessible and it is important. MSC has a considerable degree of control over the social relations of the training it sponsors. And what actually happens both in work and training is very well known to young people when they make their supposed choices. As a review of the Sheffield Young Women's Plastering Project put it, 'those young women who are discriminated against at the outset, those who drop out because they can't stand the isolation and those exceptional young women who survive, all have tales to tell and word gets around. Young women listen to their friends.'

It is only if we change the circumstances and relations of young women's training, and ultimately of women's paid work, that school girls can legitimately be urged to enter non-traditional occupations.

What I found in YTS - and this can only be reported in summary form - was a miniature replica of the world of employment. Male spaces were being created through the relationship of young men to each other and to their adult male supervisors. Female spaces were being created by the boycott by males of female occupations. Some, a few, of either sex were crossing the gender boundaries and trying to train for non-traditional work. They came from all ethnic groups. The strong masculine or feminine culture, however, was making it all but impossible for them.

To take just one example: an Information Technology Centre. Here there were four sections: electronics; computer applications; computer programming and office technology. The first three titles will be self-explanatory, but it is necessary to understand that office technology was not in fact technical training but involved learning to type on a word processor, to use a photocopier and a telephone switchboard. Sex segregation in the ITeC was almost total. Since the inception of the ITeC some nine months previously, the amount of time spent, in total, by boys in office tech and by girls in the three other sections was almost non-existent: it amounted to 1% of trainee weeks.

The electronics section had quickly established itself as entirely black and male. The culture here was based on music, disruption and craft skills. Computer applications and computer programming were the - relatively intellectual - preserve of (mainly) white and Asian young men. Young women of all races populated the office skills arena. As a minority in the ITeC, girls were subdued and stuck mainly to each others'

company. This kind of strongly gendered cultural environment is widespread in YTS schemes, as indeed it is at work.

As a young woman, to be the odd-ball in such a situation calls for a specially bold and brave personality. What is really at stake here is gender-identity itself. This precious item is crucial to establishing a viable social life. To sixteen year old girls it is as important, perhaps more important, than earning an independent living. After all it is the key to romance, to love and, as they are sold it, to another kind of security, delusory though it may be.

Research on adolescent subcultures and in particular on adolescent girls reveals a situation in which the serious pursuit of any career, but especially a career in a male-dominated field, is impeded by the necessity to relate in an appropriately gendered way to young men.⁽⁵⁾ Though young men may have aspirations to manual craft qualifications or to professional achievements, young women cannot avoid thinking in terms of marriage and domesticity. Though they expect and are expected to do some kind of work as well, it may seem unrealistic to think of this as a 'career'. Young men have no more intention in this generation than in previous generations of subordinating their own paid work to housework and looking after children and needy adults. It is assumed that young women will mature to pick up that burden. An almost total mismatch of desires and needs emerges between the sexes. Young women seek loving and secure relationships with young men. Young men give primacy to make friendships and 'pulling the birds' on a casual basis. Young women's social and sexual reputation depends on a steady boyfriend, young men's on a succession of instrumental conquests. Heterosexuality is compulsory, homophobia is rife, young lesbians abused.

In circumstances such as these, for a girl to enter training for, say, engineering at craft or technician level is to challenge males, to threaten her own sexual identity and incur the label of 'slag' (if she shows sexual interest in males) or 'lezzie' (if she does not). The perceived link between the gender of the job and the gender identity of the person who does it is direct to the point of crudity. A group of young men in a computer class to whom I showed photos of young women operating lathes cried out in scorn and disgust 'Ugh! Men! Men!'

Scope for positive action

YTS is a problematic scheme. Many and cogent criticisms have been made of it on grounds that include the generally poor quality of training, the exploitative level of the training allowance, the tendency to substitute trainees for fully-paid labour and the lack of local, or even national, democratic control.

Yet some form of youth training system is here to stay. Thousands of adults work in YTS, hundreds of thousands of young people have found themselves swept up into it. We need to devise some principles for turning its public rhetoric of 'equality of opportunity' into concrete reality. What can be done?

There is clearly racial discrimination and prejudice in YTS keeping young Afro-Caribbean and Asian women to a relatively narrow band of training placements. The evidence for this is widespread.⁽⁶⁾ It must be confronted as a priority. There is certainly some discrimination, too, on grounds of sex, but discrimination is not the main problem. The impediment here is mainly cultural. It derives from the social pressures women experience and they are - directly or indirectly - pressures applied by men and boys. Occupational sex segregation is largely informal but effective gender demarcation by men. It occurs at a practical level in the workplace and more diffusely by means of the understandings we develop of what is proper behaviour in a heterosexual, gendered and male-orientated world.

It is not enough therefore to evaluate our performance in training young people, as MSC have done in the past, against a benchmark that measures access: 'Are women free to apply?' We have to use a measure of outcomes. The separation of women and men, of female and male spheres, is a kind of apartheid: separation for disadvantage. It is only when young women lead similar lives to young men, train for similar work, get similar jobs and do similarly well in them, that we will be able to speak of equality.

MSC during 1986/7 embarked on a tentative programme of positive action for women in YTS. It was a welcome move to many, women and men, working in the Scheme. It should be expanded rapidly. Doubly positive action should be devised to support Afro-Caribbean and Asian women trainees. There are a thousand small practical steps the MSC and its local that would improve the chances of young women. The disabled are entitled to an extra 13 weeks' preparatory training on the YTS allowance. Why not extend this provision to young women wishing to try non-traditional kinds of work? The disabled also have a right within the two-year YTS to take the 24 months' training at any time up to the age of 21. Why not women too in male-dominated fields?

Many more 'women only' projects are called for, in which young women can learn male skills without struggling simultaneously with the male presence. These have proved useful and popular with an older age-group of women. They will become easier to set up now MSC have given their approval and the need for special designation under the Sex Discrimination Act has been waived.

We have to recognise, however, the specific heterosexual dynamic into which sixteen year olds are so painfully locked. Many young women of this age actively seek to be in an environment where both sexes meet. They will continue to prefer mixed sex groups. They deserve, however, the comfort of numbers. Some schemes may attempt to hold 'quotas' of places, fifty per cent for one sex, fifty per cent for the other. They also deserve support and counselling, assertiveness training and self-defence - anything that acknowledges the significance of the gender dynamic while lessening its power to deform and deflect young women.

Young women, however, should not be the only ones expected to adapt and change. Only when their environment changes will they have a clear reason to change themselves. Part of that environment is the structure of work and training. We need to recognise that young women will only go into non-traditional training placements if they have reason to believe that real jobs in those occupations wait for them in the world outside. Action against sex-segregation in youth training then has to be linked to action against the sexual division of labour in employment. MSC provides cheap trainee labour to hundreds of thousands of employers, public and profit-making, small and large. It should use the influence this gives it to win changes in the recruitment and promotion practices and in the resulting social structure within sponsoring firms and institutions.

The structure of training too may sometimes have to change. In the ITeC, for instance, why have those four sections? To offer technical skills on the one hand, office skills on the other is to invite young men to appropriate one and young women to cluster in the other.

Men too are an important factor in women's environment. They need to change too. The sexual division of labour in employment and at home are inter-dependent. Many young women of sixteen are or soon

will be pregnant. On this reckoning an equal or greater number of male trainees can be expected to be fathers. Many of both sexes will marry young. More young men in YTS should be encouraged into training for the caring professions, for only a different set of experiences will produce a different kind of man. Above all, male awareness training, consciousness-raising on sexism, on sex relations and domestic responsibilities, should be a priority for adult and young men involved in the Scheme. The most productive kind of positive action for women will always be positive action to change men. This is the only way young women's futures, as well as their present experience of the Youth Training Scheme, will live up to their hopes.

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The research reported here was funded by the Equal Opportunities Commission and the Economic and Social Research Council. The views expressed are the author's own. A fuller report, *Training for 'her' job and for 'his'*, is available on request from the EOC. A book, *Two Track Training: Sex Inequalities and the YTS*, will be published in the Macmillan Youth Questions series in 1987.

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Bernard Davies
**THREATENING YOUTH: TOWARDS A
NATIONAL YOUTH POLICY**
Open University Press 1986
£6.95

These are difficult times for the forms of social democracy established in post-war Britain. At risk is the deal that was struck between capital and labour in the late 1940's when the economy began a flourishing boom and created the welfare state and the social wage as well as putting money into the pockets of nearly all in the working classes. In general, young people gained economically during the post war boom although there were many who were unaffected by the new found affluence. Bernard Davies was one of those at the time who questioned the impact of the wealth on all young people. However it is true to say that since the second world war the social democratic consensus has interpreted the world as basically untroublesome with any hic-cup being a problem for the individual. The state has intervened to cushion the unfortunates while allowing inequality to bring relative improvements for millions of working class young people.

The creation of the youth service was a small part of the social democratic consensus, and if one looks at the philosophy and ideals of the work with young people it is possible to see the values of person-centredness and individualism. The Albermarle Report for instance talks of youth workers helping 'many more individuals find their own way better, personally and socially'. The vehicle for this work was to be social education which was to help young people benefit from the fast changing society. Social democratic youth work was to be engaged in breaking down 'class feeling' reflected in young people's different forms of leisure pursuits, schooling and mode of speech.

Bernard Davies' excellent account of the move from this social democratic youth work to the centralist, authoritarian youth policy of the late 1980's shows that although youth work has been weak it has made observable progress that cannot be ignored. The period from 1960 until 1980 has seen youth work with a relatively strong place in the central and local state due mainly to the financing of national youth organisations, local building projects and training. There has also been the growth in what Davies calls 'the apparently progressive forms of practice' ie. detached youth work and community development approaches to young people.

What Bernard Davies is more concerned with is the relatively recent withdrawal of the state's commitment to youth work reflected in completely inadequate funding and support. He is critical of the Thompson Report which has failed to address the roots of the major difficulties facing young people, ignored the needs of gay young people, and misunderstood the inequalities facing young women. While the state has ignored the youth service, other aspects of youth policy have been developed including the most notable, the Youth Training Scheme. The state, through its law and order agencies, has penetrated schools and youth clubs. Sir Keith Joseph, for instance, was talking in 1982 of a closer link between the education service and the police so as to tackle 'community violence and disorder'. By 1983 the Department of Education and Science had identified in about 40% of LEA's that the

police were in charge of at least one youth club and had a major foot hold in the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme. This is in addition to sponsoring all manner of holiday play-schemes and weekend camps. At the same time local authorities were engaged in pruning youth service programmes.

Bernard Davies succinctly argues that the state's new youth strategies have everything to do with the present government's economic and political concerns and little to do with young people's needs. The New Right has successfully harnessed Society's fear of youth (hence the double edged meaning of the book title) with legislation that has defined and structured young people's position in the world. The state has intervened in such a way as to undermine the power and influence of professionals running services for young people, by locating more power and responsibility in agencies that have followed the new hard-nosed government policies, and by financially restructuring services. The prime example of the latter is the intervention in the further education sector by the M.S.C.

Davies does not have romantic hankerings for the social democratic consensus. He is critical of Labour's policies which have not liberated or even challenged young people's experience of a world which is structured on a power relationship between men and women, and between whites and blacks. Davies shows that although the youth service has been slightly more conscious than most other services of the needs of gay young people it has had a 'taken for granted emphasis on physical perfection . . . expressed both through its constant, especially male, pursuit, of sporting trophies and through its subtle and not so subtle emphasis on the importance of young women being well groomed and looking attractive.' He is also critical of the youth services' patronising view of working class young people and the response of the servicing professionals who are often more concerned with self interest than working class needs.

The social democratic analysis is therefore severely restricted as it has never considered the serious issues which divide young people on the lines of class, race and gender. Davies believes that the Thompson Report embodies much of this social democratic analysis by emphasising young people's development as the sole aim of the youth service. This is in stark contrast to the various reports and statistics that clearly show the main problems facing young people are in the labour market, in the family, in securing accommodation and in the school, all of which are related to the wider inequalities of society. Davies points out that the report scarcely mentions young people's lack of institutional power and collective strength.

What is Davies' answer to what appears to be a political cul-de-sac? He is optimistic that the argument can be shifted around to favour progressive practitioners by challenging the radical right on its own ground and by taking the initiative, often using the right's own language of 'law and order', 'relevance' and 'standards', all of which are riddled with flaws that can be exploited for the benefit of young people. This means youth workers building alliances with each other and with young people, and by adopting an analysis that views all of them in a collective light. Davies points to the need for oppositional space to

win concessions for young people. This means being clear about what is to be won and how it can be won; a pro-active stance rather than a re-active one.

Overall this is a stimulating book that reflects Bernard Davies' long standing relationship with, and understanding of not only youth work but schooling, the juvenile justice system, and the youth labour market. I freely admit an admiration for Bernard Davies' sensitivity intellect and analysis which has taken many a practitioner and academic through the maze of youth policies to a richer understanding of the important issues. *Threatening Youth* is an outstanding example of his scholar ability and his skill of engaging the reader in a debate of the central issues surrounding the state's concern with young people. It will for sure become a milestone in youth policy literature and deserves to be read by as wide an audience as possible.

Keith Popple

John Street

REBEL ROCK. THE POLITICS OF POPULAR MUSIC

Blackwell 1986
ISBN 0 631-14345-9
£6.95
pp 247

Someone needed to write this book. In the sense that it is a useful piece of 'bookeeping' and updating on the subject of pop and politics it already has an important function. The back cover information tells the reader that 'Rebel Rock is about music, money and politics'. Well, yes it is, but not as much as it is a book about 'politic-ing', the activity of being political and the persons and groups so engaged. Because as the back cover information goes on to offer, 'There is more at stake than music and manipulation, politics and propaganda.' In the end, Street shows why all this matters: because music creates and reflects the deepest pleasures of life, for all people, and because it holds the power to unify and change us. It would be fair to add that music also creates and reflects the deepest miseries of life, and/or holds the power to divide and control us. Any book that is ambitious enough to tackle these issues deserves praise. Inevitably such a study is sooner or later, going to be concerned with the politics of pleasure, formations of pleasure; and much of the stuff of popular culture in general and music in particular, is about the struggle between contending forces of resources, life chances, freedom and like. Indeed one of the contradictions inherent in the nature of this and similar expositions is the considerable influence of a personal, individual, liberalism. The culture, the music, is the 'site' of this endlessly unfolding, ebbing and flowing struggle.

It is also the case that such a study as this will need to tackle the society and self problematic. Is what is good for the individual also good for the group and vice versa? When is it necessary to consider a concept like social being in the context of music and politics? What role for the intellectual, or the avant garde, or the worker by hand if not so much by brain? It is fairly easy to write yet another superficial but interesting and amusing study of the obvious inter relation between music, money and politics. (Even Tebbitt agrees that there is an essential link). However the imaginative leap that is required to a higher theoretical

level is not that easy. Where do we go? What can we consider that is going to give us greater insight into the nature of pop musics etc., that will enable us to both understand and utilize its complexity and power?

Perhaps inevitably we come back to functional issues. What can Pop do or be, to create, maintain, transform, change the biographic and social structural aspects of our world? What Street has to say in the book on radical musics and radical musicians is interesting here. For example he discusses general differences between radicals in USA & UK, particularly in their relation to pop, popular culture(s) and populism. The UK revolutionary elite have tended to be anti-popular, whereas the Americans being much more popular culture & even 'entertainment'/media orientated, are 'nearer' - more part of - rock/pop musics, life styles etc. 'Flower Power' in the USA might be cited as an example of the inter-relation between politics and musics. Discussion of these issues in the UK might focus on Rock Against Racism or Red Wedge say, as examples of the self-conscious fusion of politics and pop because that is the 'culture base' from which the activists come - conceive their interventionist role and strategies etc.

Street moves on to raise a crucial question about the orientation of radical musicians (or more precisely a discussion of some, who in different ways consider themselves to be radical, have a radical approach etc.) What is also needed here of course is a careful look at those musicians and musics which have been ascribed by others as radical, even if there is room for considerable doubt about such identification eg. Bob Dylan?

I would have liked this essential discussion on Pop aesthetics to have gone further, teasing out a few more of the lyrics versus sound, personal versus collectively consciousness raising issues etc. However, what there is in the book is a good start, for example on Billy Bragg. Even here though a little more on the historical aspects of the 'journeyman' political minstrel/entertainer - worker type would have been illuminating. This would be true especially if linked up with a note on avant garde approaches to the 'theatre of involvement', the relation between entertainment, consciousness raising, praxis via agit. prop. etc.

The book is divided into three main sections, is well organized, clear and unambiguous, even if for my tastes it is not sociological enough. What I mean by that is well illustrated in the first section of the book on 'Politics and Popular Music!' Here Street turns his attention to a consideration of how the modern State, especially 'East', has dealt with 'Popular and Pop music over the years.' This also embraces some discussion of the plight of particular musicians, who are used as examples, all very interesting, but untheoretical in that, for example, we are not offered a framework(s) for discussing the State. Or at least these contextual matters are not made explicit.

The second section of the book deals with 'Profits, Programmes and Performers'. Here Street deals with the politics of production (and technology) and reproduction. He has a tendency to see 'producers' in the wider sense - the Pop music industry as producers (and not also consumers) whereas the consumers of these goods and services are characterized as

consumers rather than producers as well. However, there is an important exception to this, where Street argues that 'Musicians play the music, companies manufacture it, radio stations broadcast it, governments censor it, and political movements use it, but ultimately all these activities depend on what the audience makes of it. It is only in listening and dancing to music that people bring it alive. Only then does it take on a meaning; only then are its politics fully apparent.'

This I feel goes too far in the direction of an almost idealist position on pop music. Surely meanings of great significance are conferred on music of all kinds by the forces and relations of its production, as well as its consumption. In fact we have the classic 'double hermeneutic' problem - what meanings are to be conferred upon the meanings that have been conferred by the pop musicians et al on social phenomena?

This is the opening issue of the third part of the book on 'Music and Meanings', which goes on to tackle those really tricky questions of aesthetics, eg. 'how are people moved by the music? what makes music popular? when does music successfully combine political ideas and musical popularity?' It is important here of course to not just say what the music/lyrics mean, but also ask the question 'what do we mean by politics?'

This can/could for example open up an essential discussion about 'personal' politics, the realm of sexism and racism perhaps more than we may often admit?

This does finally bring me to the strength and weakness of the book - it is a very personal account of a personal and a public life spent in conjunction with the existence and realization of pop music.

Street does not, for example, offer us 'a politics' of doing research/writing on the politics of pop, we almost have to take him on his terms or not at all. Difficult, particularly if you believe as I do that it is not enough to know the ensemble of the relations of pop as they exist at any given time as, a given system. They must be known genetically, in the movement of their formation - 'they paved Paradise and put up a parking lot!'

John Astley

**G. J. Blumenthal
DEVELOPMENT OF SECURE UNITS IN
CHILD CARE**

Gower Publishing Co. Ltd. 1985
ISBN 0-566-00868-8
£16.50 h/b
pp 201

This is the first book published in this country concerned with secure buildings to house seriously disordered and delinquent children. As such it deserves the warmest welcome particularly as the author designed and supervised the building of probably the most advanced such unit in the country. Indeed the book is the result of his diligent researches into the available designs for such buildings as a prelude to arriving at optimal solutions to the demands of his own project. The book contains 49 chapters, as well as a detailed listing of secure facilities in England and Wales. The book has a

comprehensive bibliography which will be found invaluable by anyone interested in the topic.

The main interest, however, lies in the detailed and critical evaluation of government thinking behind these units and the guidelines and detailed design recommendations that resulted from them. The author shows the ambiguities and contradictions of the thinking in the face of increasing and changing social pressures.

It is interesting to note that although seriously disordered children have always been about, it was not until the early 1960s that, with our increasing wealth and enlightenment, we began to become intolerant of the risks that the behaviour of such children presented. The author shows how the design thinking behind such units shifted gradually from small scale juvenile prisons to that of therapeutic units without resolving any of the inherent contradictions resulting from society's deep ambivalence to troublesome children. Thus the buildings have to reconcile the apparently incompatible needs for protection of the public against the depredation of such children with the need to provide a civilised environment which enhances and fulfils the children's growth potential. The best units are those in which this conflict is most nearly resolved. It is in this context that, surprisingly, the author has failed to include in his detailed analysis of the more important current units the largest and the most recent special treatment unit at Aycliffe which incorporated many novel features.

I cannot imagine that this book would provide favourite bedside reading for people who are generally concerned with issues of youth and society. It is a specialist book, most appropriate for planners in social services and architects' agencies of local authorities and as an invaluable help to the relevant central government departments. It would have been even more welcome when the building of such units was in full spate compared with now when the DHSS is legitimately cautious about putting up the brick and mortar of more secure units. Indeed, and most appropriately, the Department of Health and Social Security, which is responsible for them, has become more seriously concerned with the human environment which is determined by the quantity and quality of staffing rather than the simple brick and mortar, and this is an aspect which is under-emphasised in Blumenthal's book.

Ultimately even the best designed secure building is simply an aid to the security that can be created by the quality of personal and professional relationships and effort which exist within the units. Blumenthal's book would have been even more valuable had it combined what is known about the problems and potentials of this other facet. It is, nonetheless, welcome and useful for that.

Masud Hoghugi

A. Watts and L. Kant
A WORKING START: GUIDANCE STRATEGIES FOR GIRLS AND YOUNG WOMEN
Longman for School Curriculum Development Committee 1986
ISBN 0 582 17380 9
£2.50 (pbk)
pp 34

Equality of opportunity for male and female students undoubtedly needs to be addressed.

However little of the current flood of literature suggests approaches to this complex task. Watts & Kant's booklet is a welcome attempt to show how girls and young women can be helped to prepare for choices and transition in their lives. It contains examples of practical work, lists resources for developing the approaches, and suggests further reading.

Tony Watts and Lesley Kant have based their work on material drawn from papers and discussions at a 1985 seminar in Cambridge sponsored by the School Curriculum Development Committee, the Equal Opportunities Commission and the Further Education Unit Participants, including myself, presented papers about practices, strategies and ideas currently being tested, developed or implemented in their work with girls and young women.

In their introduction Watts & Kant set the scene for their work: examining guidance strategies against the background of continual confrontation of sex bias. The argument for making guidance the main issue is well formed and presented showing the importance of paid employment as a source of social identity, status and income and emphasising the need to help young people identify and realise their potential.

Watts and Kant outline some of the disadvantages for girls and young women in the present structure of society and suggest that guidance should help them recognise these disadvantages and develop skills and strategies to overcome them. They argue that careers teachers act passively in failing to suggest non traditional options and that careers guidance should be pro-active rather than reactive.

So far so good - a well argued call for a radical rethink about the guidance and support offered to girls and young women. Then, in a misguided attempt to be 'fair' or 'unbiased', Watts & Kant look at the importance of these issues to boys and young men. The lives of working women are characterised by periods of unemployment, career changes and re-training. Watts & Kant argue that the pattern is also becoming common for men and suggest that guidance work needs to recognise this. They round off the introduction with the contention that.

Good guidance work can help both men and women to realise more of who they are, released from stereotypes of what they are expected to be.

Whilst correct this diverts from the main thrust of the argument. It may make radical guidance strategies more palatable, but moves the specific issue of girls and young women out of the spotlight. The focus of development on techniques to help girls control their own lives will be lost.

This is harsh criticism of an essentially practical document in which the authors successfully achieve their aim. 'to examine an accessible range of direct approaches to working with young women'

Sex roles, non traditional options, and ways of helping girls confront discrimination are explored; work in girls only groups is proposed; attention is drawn to the need for continued support; and the implications for staff development are reviewed.

There is a rationale for the inclusion of each issue and the arguments are sprinkled with practical examples drawn from the seminar papers. Watts & Kant suggest useful resources for young people and give names and addresses of organisations that can supply information, resources or support.

The presentation is not very inviting - the paper and layout make the pages bland. This is a shame because the text is well structured. An introduction tells clearly what the booklet is about; each section tackles an issue in a concise, practical fashion; the conclusion contains an honest appraisal of the impact of guidance alone and makes clear the work still to be done; the Summary of Strategies is particularly useful for those reviewing their own guidance strategies; and finally, all the text references are brought together in a resource checklist.

The prime focus of the booklet is guidance strategies in formal education. However, the issues addressed are the concern of all those working with young people.

Julie Janes

Frances Heidensohn
WOMEN AND CRIME
MacMillan 1985
pp 216

This book sets out to discuss and analyse the major issues and debates in relation to women and crime. The framework within which Frances Heidensohn works is that women are equally as capable as men of committing crime, are subject to the same rules and laws as men and yet commit relatively few crimes and only infrequently are the offences repeated or serious.

The book is divided into quite definite sections. The first section describes how women become officially defined as 'delinquent', how they feel about their stigmatization and what happens to them when confronted with the Police, the courts and prison. She looks at the images of deviant women and makes the point that through constant reinforcement of the imagery, women are controlled not only in relation to their proper place in society but also to a strict observance of society's rules, both legal and moral. The second part of the book rounds up and analyzes traditional, modern and feminist theories about women's criminality. These sections are fairly straightforward, clearly explained and interesting if somewhat unexciting but do set the scene for a discussion of her own theories to explain the invisibility of women in the criminal world. The basic question which she poses is not the usual 'Why do women commit crime?' but 'Why don't women commit crime?' and suggests that women's conformity ought to be looked at, as much as, if not more than, female deviance, when looking at female criminality. She argues that women's conformity is the controlling factor and that the conformity is brought about by the complex subtly woven web of constraint, at home, in public, at work and through social policy which women themselves help to weave and which they believe they have a vested interest in maintaining. Their adherence to the strands of the web are close and their attachment profound, thereby ensuring a highly successful system of control which is evidenced in the fact that far fewer women than

men commit crime, particularly of a predatory sort. When women do break with the bounds of conformity, the system of controls make criminality a difficult and damaging course to follow and women will seek to resist and reject the label of criminal because it is this label itself which is often more damaging than the punishment itself.

Frances Heidensohn's own theories are expressed so clearly and succinctly that they appear to have the ring of truth about them and one is invigorated by her arguments and excited by the content.

The author clearly knows her stuff, the bibliography is very impressive and the content wide ranging to the extent that the book will undoubtedly come to represent a key book for researchers, students and professionals alike.

The flysheet boasts that this book is a thorough, wide-ranging account of the issues, problems, experiences and research concerning female crime from a feminist perspective and having read the book the boast is undoubtedly justified and the theories expounded represent a significant contribution to the study of female crime.

Jill Welch

**COMMUNITY SERVICE VOLUNTEERS
LOCAL GOVERNMENT – MAKING IT
WORK FOR YOU. Resources Pack
CSV 1986
ISBN 0 907829 86 4**

In the past the teachings of courses on local government have been affected by a combination of factors which have often precipitated in students a somnambulist state from which there is no escape. The first of these factors related to the consensual nature of central-local relations in the post-war period which often resulted in local government being seen as a 'non-political' agency administering services which were largely routine in nature. Secondly, the accompanying academic literature was tedious in the extreme and reflected an emphasis on legalism and formal procedures. Thirdly, some observers saw a 'cultural disdain' existing within British Society through which local democratic institutions were not given a high priority and centralist tendencies accepted as legitimate and inevitable.

However, with the advent, in the 1970's, of economic crisis, the spatial restructuring of capital, attacks on the very nature of public provision on the basis of social need, and a government increasingly sucked into a process of centralisation (whatever their localist rhetoric professes), local government has acquired an immediacy and relevance that has made it a key agency involved in the defence of communities, jobs and services.

Within this context there is a need for literature that can both reflect contemporary developments in local government and stress the importance of participation in local affairs. In this latter concern, the furnishing of a range of skills that would aid such involvement is vital. The conventional academic literature is not geared to providing this linkage between theory and practice, between knowledge and skills, and between academic detachment and direct participation. It is this lacuna in the

literature on local government that the Community Services Workpack fills admirably. The Workpack itself is organised around two main sections (supported by a handbook of techniques involved in influencing local government and a numerous workbook on the basic structure and functions of local government). These sections are entitled 'How does local government work?' and 'What does the Council do?'

The first section includes seven information sheets which cover, in a comprehensive manner, areas relating to how an individual goes about influencing local government, what his or her rights are in this respect; where local authorities derive their finance; the organisation of local councils; the role of central government; and the party politics of local government. Within each information sheet there are tasks which allow students to develop and enhance the information they have gained. For example, in the information sheet on finance students are asked to find out the rateable value of their home, the rate poundage set by the council, and to calculate the rates paid during the year (how the rates are calculated is described in the workbook).

The second section includes information sheets on particular local services; consumer protection, economic development, education, environmental health, fire and rescue, housing, leisure and recreation, planning, transport, the police, and social services.

A particular feature of the workpack is that each information sheet in the two major sections is accompanied by a related activity sheet. These attempt to develop a range of skills, such as problem-solving, numeracy, communication, and group-work, through a focus on a particular aspect of the structure or functions of local government. For example, in the section on 'what the council does', the information sheet on leisure and recreation is accompanied by an activity sheet which sets the student two particular tasks. The first is to carry out a survey of the area's playgrounds in order to discover the improvements that might need doing; the second task is for a group of students to identify the process whereby they can ask the Council for help in developing their particular recreational interest. In both cases the activity sheets provide a newspaper cutting on a similar theme, and also suggest how the council should be contacted and influenced.

The Workpack provides an excellent introduction to local government for students new to the subject. It is particularly suited to the needs of sixth formers studying politics, social studies, or general studies, or for those studying for the Certificate of Pre-Vocational Education. Moreover, given its comprehensive scope and thought-provoking presentation, it could also be used by students on introductory courses in politics and public administration in higher-educational institutions, who can select the specific aspect of the workpack that suits their needs. Indeed, any course or programme of study that stresses the importance of 'Student-Centred Learning' such as Youth and Community Work courses for example will benefit from using this pack.

Its particular strength is to combine the acquisition of knowledge with the development of practical skills which not only make the subject more interesting and relevant, but which will be of value in future courses of

study and in direct participation in local government itself. It is this final point: the encouragement of students to get involved in the governing of their community, that makes the Workpack a distinctive and a very timely contribution to the material on British Local Government.

Some constructive criticisms can be made of the Workpack however. Firstly, the presentation of the workpack itself can be improved. At the moment the workpack is in the form of a wallet, with the respective work sheets merely loosely held in thin files. A more secure and manageable format would be the use of a hard-back clip file to which the single sheets could be attached and within which the respective sections could be divided up for easy reference. Secondly, why no mention of local government in Scotland or Northern Ireland? This merely repeats a flaw in existing literature and one which, given the importance of such areas as the introduction of the community charge in Scotland and the importance of politics in general in Northern Ireland, is hard to fathom. Thirdly, while emphasis is duly given to the importance of Equal Opportunities policies vis a vis gay men and lesbians, the increasing role of local government in fighting inequalities on the basis of gender and race is not directly discussed.

Fourthly, in several areas (finance, housing, and education), the 'political' aspects of central-local relations are not adequately discussed. In particular the changes implemented by Conservative governments since 1979 are described, but their rationale, and how this differed from the policies of previous administrations is not touched on. The effect is to 'depoliticise' certain issues e.g. the post 1980 financial system is described on page 21 without pointing out that the introduction of GREAs and rate-capping marks a fundamental break with previous mechanisms of central control and that a concern with monetarism, the PSBR and overspending Labour councils must have something to do with this!

Finally, a much wider range of supplementary references and back-up materials needs to be provided if students are to fully explore some of the tasks set them in the Workpack.

These points notwithstanding, the CSV Workpack can be highly recommended as an original and thoughtful introduction to local government, and as perhaps heralding the increasing use of such a format as a teaching method.

Keith Shaw



Working Space is a new section of the journal aimed at those who may not normally consider contributing an article, particularly field workers and young people.

THE CLOSURE OF NAYC'S GIRLS WORK UNIT

Like a lot of people I didn't realise that the National Association of Youth Clubs used to be the Nat. Assoc. of Girls Clubs. After a recent cost-cutting effort NAYC have now closed its girls work unit, hoping to absorb girls work into 'Mainstream' youth work.

Comments Ms. Jan Holt - new chief executive of NAYC, responsible for making the five women workers at the Girls Work Unit redundant - 'I hope those workers working with girls will not feel set back' ('SCENE' Mag. - February - March issue).

As a part-time worker I feel extremely 'set back' and angry by this. NAYC has managed to 'Mainstream' their organisation to basically work with boys.

It is not enough to have a girls night at a male dominated club, giving all responsibility to a female worker. Nor is it enough to simply incorporate girls work into a new 'Youth Clubs' magazine or to introduce a 'Womans page'. These attitudes are insulting in the extreme to all young women effectively blocked from using much youth service provision, and to Women Workers.

We should not accept NAYC's definition of what is 'Mainstream', taking for granted and accepting that the average youth service user is male and white. Nor should we allow ourselves to play the numbers game, assuming quantity not quality to be vital to an organisation. NAYC have stated that girls work was given low priority by many of their member associations and that the uptake of material produced by the Girls Work Unit was 'proportionately low'. This they say, is why in the face of cuts, the girls work unit had to go. Such incredible complacency on the part of NAYC makes me wonder if any of their executives ever read any of the Girls Works Units publications!

The 'Working With Girls Newsletters' is the only national publication of its kind - a vital link between women working in isolation, often with little or no support, in an area of work given little or no credibility. It is to the Girls Work Units credit that this newsletter often proved stimulating and challenging reading, providing a forum for debate on many controversial issues and, most importantly, highlighting a way of working that is changing and challenging accepted youth work practise.

Girls Work is not new. Many years of practice and experience compose today's philosophy of work with girls and this in spite of few resources, little money, token support from male colleagues and the fact that anything to do with women is usually marginalised or overlooked. Little or no attempt is made by much of the youth service to re-dress this imbalance.

Consequently much of this is taken on board by support networks of women. At a recent evaluation day of Wear Working With Girls Development Group, based in Sunderland, all the women present prioritised support as one of the vital aims of the group; both to support other women workers and work being done, as well as receiving support themselves.

In Sunderland Borough we have no female youth officer; only five part-time sessions specified by the Borough for girls work and little youth work policy. A policy on girls work, written by the group has had a negative response from the Borough for the last two and a half years.

Wear Working With Girls Development Group recognises that, contrary to the belief of N.A.Y.C., work with girls cannot be left only to individuals and voluntary support groups, just because their membership views girls work as having 'low priority' ('SCENE' Mag. February - March issue) The Girls Work Unit was a valuable resource - a national body working to increase the understanding of the politics of girls work, raising issues and recognising new ways of working. Without this Unit, effective communication between girls work groups and individuals will be hampered, fragmenting development and change not only in Girls Work but in 'Mainstream' Youth Work too.

LYNN DOUGHTY
WEAR WORKING WITH GIRLS DEVELOPMENT
GROUP
c/o SWSC
10 Norfolk Street,
SUNDERLAND.

analysis welfare:

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

The 1986 Social Security Act which was given Royal Assent in July 1986 is being implemented gradually with full implementation expected in April 1988 (unless there is a change of government). The changes which have been implemented to date include amendments to the existing system to make way for the new Act such as the reductions in the availability of single payments for furniture, clothing etc. as well as implementation of sections of the new act such as the reduction in mortgage interest payments for new supplementary benefit claimants and the abolition of reduced rates of Unemployment Benefit and Sickness Benefit for those who have insufficient contributions for full benefit.

The April uprating is being used to introduce more major sections of the 1986 Act the most notable being the introduction of the Social Fund, abolition of Maternity and Death Grants and the introduction of a new system of Maternity Allowances payable by employers. The benefits column in the next issue of Youth and Policy will examine the effects of these changes and others contained in the 1986 Act on Young People.

The column this quarter is given over to the changes in benefit effective from 6.4.87 and has been prepared by Rod Crawford, Welfare Rights Worker at the East End Citizens Rights Centre, Moor Terrace, Sunderland.

NEW BENEFIT RATES FROM: 6th APRIL 1987

SUPPLEMENTARY BENEFIT

Normal Requirements	Ordinary Rate	Long Term Rate
Couple	49.35	61.85
Single Householder	30.40	38.65
Non Householder over 18	24.35	30.90
16-17	18.75	
11-15	15.60	
under 11	10.40	

Savings limit for claims - £3,000

Additional Requirements	Lower Rate	Higher Rate
Heating	2.20	5.55
Central Heating 1-4rms.	2.20	
5+rms.	4.40	
Estate Rate Heating	4.40	8.80
Diet	1.65	3.80
for those on kidney machines or actual cost if more		10.85

Baths (each bath over 1 per week)	30p
Blindness	1.25
Over 80	.25
Attendance Requirements (up to)	21.10
Laundry minimum weekly cost	.55
Non-Householders rent addition (21+)	4.05
Wear and tear on clothing - weekly cost	
Hospital fares - weekly cost	
H.P. essential items - weekly cost	
Furniture Storage - weekly cost	
Domestic Assistance - weekly cost	
Single payments capital limit	£500

Housing Requirements

Water Rates	Full cost
Mortgage Interest	
Repayments	
Old Claims	- Full cost
New Claims	- ½ cost for 1st 16 weeks then Full Cost.
Repairs and Insurance	- £1.95

HOUSING BENEFIT

Needs Allowance

Single person	48.90	Couple/Single Parent	72.15
Each Child	14.75	Couple (both handicapped)	80.45
Single (handicapped)	54.50		
Couple (1 handicapped) or Handicapped Single Parent	£77.75		

Non-Dependant Deductions	Rent Rebate/allowance	Rate rebate
18 or over but under pension age, unless covered below		
Pensionable Age or over, on S.B; 18 or over and sole income after 56 days consists of 1 or more of U.B. sickness benefit, maternity benefit, child benefit or one parent benefit, 16 and 17 not on S.B. Y.T.S. or S.D.A. and child benefit not being paid.	£8.05	£2.70
16-20 on S.B. 16 and 17 on S.D.A. on YTS training, some full-time students.	£2.90	£1.15
	NIL	NIL

FAMILY INCOME SUPPLEMENT

Prescribed Income Level	Maximum Amount Payable
1 child in family	1 child in family
under 11 - £100.70	under 11 - £25.85
11-15 - 101.75	11-15 26.40
16+ 102.80	16+ 26.90
Each additional child	Each additional child
under 11 - 2.60	under 11 - 11.90
11-15 3.15	11-15 12.95
16+ 3.65	16+ 14.00

CONTRIBUTORY BENEFITS

	Self	Adult Dep.	Each Child
Unemployment Benefit	31.45	19.40	
Sickness Benefit	30.05	18.60	
Retirement Pension	89.50	23.75	8.05
Widows Allowance (1-26wks)	55.35		
Widows Pension (after 26wks)	39.50		8.05
Widows Mothers Allowance	39.50		
Invalidity pension	39.50	23.75	8.05
Age Related Increase with Invalidity or Industrial Injury Unemployment Supplement.			
When incapacity began:-			
Before Age 40 -	8.30		
40 - 49	5.30		
50 - 59 (men)	2.65		
50 - 54 (women)	2.65		

NON CONTRIBUTORY BENEFITS

	Self	Adult Dep.	Each Child
Severe Disablement Allowance	23.75	14.20	8.05
Invalid Care Allowance	23.75	14.20	
Guardian Allowance	8.05		
Child Benefit	7.25		
One Parent Benefit	4.70		
Mobility Allowance	22.10		
Attendance Allowance			
Higher Rate	31.60		
Lower Rate	21.10		

LUMP SUM GRANTS

Maternity Grant	} replaced by a grant from social fund for those on a low income.
Death Grant	

STATUTORY SICK PAY

Earnings	Benefit
Over £76.50	47.20
£39.00-76.49	32.85

STATUTORY MATERNITY PAY

Higher rate payable for 6 weeks to those who satisfy conditions

90% earnings

Lower rate - as Statutory Sick Pay.

Law is a regular feature compiled by
Gateshead Law Centre, 13 Walker Terrace,
Gateshead, Tyne & Wear.

YOUNG WORKERS — DO THEY HAVE RIGHTS

Introduction

The removal of young workers (i.e. under 21 years) from the protection of Wages Council Orders last summer,⁽¹⁾ makes it appropriate for this issue's law column to examine what protection young workers actually have at the workplace. Space doesn't allow us to do anything more than make reference to some of the areas where young workers experience difficulties. Our aim is not to equip the concerned youth worker with all the answers, but rather to alert him/her to those situations where a young person needs support and advice when faced with an employer flouting the law. From the outset however, we must sound a note of caution. Employers have a powerful weapon - particularly at this time of high unemployment - namely the power to dismiss, and against this workers have little protection. A thoughtless assertion of rights could so easily lead to a loss of a job. Advice on tactics is as important as advice about the law.

Employee or trainee or both?

With the tentacles of the Youth Training Scheme touching so many young people (but never the children of Cabinet Ministers) it would be absurd to write a column about employment rights without reference to YTS trainees. It would be irresponsible not to emphasise the importance of distinguishing between trainees and employees. Some trainees are employees - most are not. An employee has some limited rights and protection; a trainee has even less.

An employee is an individual who works under a contract of employment. Parliament and the Courts⁽²⁾ have conspired to establish that a trainee isn't an employee (unless the boss graciously enters into a contract of employment and few have). The one is 'working'; the other is 'training'. A trainee's rights are to be found primarily in 'leaflet law' (as one commentator ironically describes the law surrounding YTS⁽³⁾). An employee looks to his/her contract, common law and various statutes for his/her protection.

Terms and Conditions

Contrary to popular belief, contracts of employment don't have to be in writing or signed. Most are neither. A contract is established just as soon as an individual agrees to work for another for payment. Terms and conditions of the employment are often established at the time of this agreement, particularly pay, hours, duties, holidays. Whether they are or not, every employee has the right to receive from his/her employer within thirteen weeks of starting work, a written statement setting out particulars relating to the following: pay (amount and frequency), hours, holidays, sickness arrangements, pensions, job title, length of notice of dismissal, disciplinary procedures.⁽⁴⁾ If the employer fails to provide such a statement, the employee can apply to an Industrial Tribunal to ask that these particulars be determined by the Tribunal.⁽⁵⁾ Whether it is wise to make such an application, only the employee and his/her adviser can judge.

Terms and conditions of employment are not only found in the original agreement and the written statement. They can also be found in collective agreements between employers and Unions. They can also be implied by common law (e.g. the employee's duty to be trustworthy), or by custom and practice at the workplace, or by statute. Generally those implied by statute so as to place obligations on employers cannot be supplanted by 'worse' terms expressly agreed. For example statute⁽⁶⁾ lays down certain minimum notice periods which an employer must observe when bringing a contract of employment to an end - an employer cannot contract for shorter periods.

The terms and condition of a trainee who is not an employee are set down in his/her so called Training Agreement. 'Agreement' is something of a misnomer. It implies some element of choice/bargain. A trainee cannot bargain over the Government's paltry weekly allowance, the standard holiday entitlement, the fixed term of the arrangement etc.

Pay

Low pay is particularly acute amongst young workers. The Wages Councils did provide some protection to young workers in traditionally badly paid industries (e.g. retailing, clothes manufacturing, catering, hairdressing) and still do to workers over 21 yrs. Each year the Councils set minimum rates of pay in these and other industries. If an employer pays less than the minimum rate, he/she is in effect in breach of contract, and is liable to the employee not only to pay henceforth the Council rate, but also to pay the backdated balance.⁽⁷⁾ This is a good example of a contractual term implied by statute overriding one expressly agreed.

But as from 25/7/86, young workers (approximately 500,000)⁽⁸⁾ lost this protection. There is now no constraint on the rates employers can contract to pay young workers. The Government's justification for putting young workers at the mercy of employers, is their long-held assertion that Wages Councils have operated to price people out of jobs. They say that if young workers are removed from the ambit of Wages Council Orders, more jobs can be created.⁽⁹⁾ This is refuted by many who say that all the Government has done is to legitimise the practice of many employers to pay absurdly low wages. If more jobs for young people are so created, they will simply be at the expense of the older workforce who remain covered by the minimum rates set by the maimed but still functioning Wages Councils. Likewise the 'New Workers Scheme' is not expected to create more jobs.⁽¹⁰⁾ Its main effect is more likely to be to encourage employers to keep down young workers' rates of pay. This scheme introduced in March 1986 ensures a government subsidy to employers for each full-time employee aged 18-20 yrs being paid below a certain rate (£55 p.w. - 18/19 yrs; £65 p.w. - 20 yrs). Legislation to ensure minimum rates of pay for some young workers has been replaced by government encouragement to pay a maximum.

Wages Councils are not completely a thing of the past for young workers. Young workers who were in a job covered by a Wages Council Order before 25/7/86, and who received less than the minimum rate, can still claim the underpayment in a County Court action (for up to 6 years) or through the Wages Inspectorate (for up to 2 years).

The Wages Act 1986 also removed from manual workers the long-cherished right (stemming from the Truck Acts) to receive wages in cash whatever the employer's wishes.⁽¹¹⁾ The employer can now insist on cashless pay, and many probably will since it is cheaper. However the employer must still provide an itemised pay slip at every pay day.⁽¹²⁾ The statement must set out the gross wages, the fixed and variable deductions, and the net wages. Failure to provide such a statement gives the employee the right to complain to an Industrial Tribunal for a declaration of what particulars should be given.

The only problem that arises over trainees' pay is the amount. It is very low for the first (£27.30 p.w.); and second (£35 p.w.) year (Rates go up in April.)

Hours

Legislation controlling the hours and conditions of young workers was first passed in 1802 'for the health and morals of apprentices and others'.⁽¹³⁾ Since then there has been 'a barrage of statutory provisions'⁽¹⁴⁾ regulating hours and conditions - too numerous to discuss in this column. Suffice it to say that any young worker being asked to work at night, or on shifts, or without mealbreaks, might find protection for him/herself in one of the Factories Acts or the Shops Act 1950. The protection might be more theoretical than real judging from the low prosecution figures. The Health and Safety Commission would appear not to see enforcement of such protection as a priority.

A trainee's fixed hours shouldn't give rise to any problems. If they do the scheme's managing agents should be contacted for clarification.

Holidays

Entitlement to holidays and holiday pay entirely depends on what is expressly or implicitly set out in the individual's contract of employment. It's down to 'collective bargaining and management benevolence'.⁽¹⁵⁾ Statute interferes in some industries e.g. the Factories Act 1961 protects bank holidays and Christmas Day for young workers covered. Wages Councils also provided some much-needed protection, but their concern with holidays has now been completely taken from them⁽¹⁶⁾ - not just for young workers but for all workers. Those workers who were in Wages Council Industries prior to 25/7/86 retain any rights to paid annual holidays earned prior to that date. Therefore depending on their length of service young workers can still claim preserved holiday rights in 1987. Any young worker who thinks he/she might benefit from this, should be seeking advice from the Wages Inspectorate, A.C.A.S., or an advice/law centre without delay.

Trainees at least know where they stand with regard to holidays. They are entitled to '18 days holiday with pay each year as well as public and bank holidays'.⁽¹⁷⁾ If a trainee is not getting this, he/she should be taking up the question with the managing agent.

Health and Safety

Since the early nineteenth century legislation has imposed obligations on employers relating to the health and safety of their employees. A major attempt was made to rationalise the law in 1974 with the passing of the Health and Safety at Work Act. This provided for new bodies to oversee safety at work and to administer the law, as well as for a set of overriding duties on employers. Section 2 established the employer's general duty to ensure the health, safety and welfare of all his/her employees, and Section 3 imposed a similar duty in respect of those coming on to his/her workplace. The extent and consequences of these duties (and of other obligations implied by common law) is too complex a subject to be gone into in the context of this column. However it warrants a mention because the rights of employees and trainees coincide when it comes to health and safety at work. The Health and Safety (Youth Training Scheme) Regulations 1983 give trainees the same protection as employees under the 1974 Act. However the inadequate staffing of the Factory Inspectorate in practice means the protection is often not all that it should be.

Other employment rights

Problems can arise for young workers in connection with other rights related to their employment. Entitlements during sickness or lay-offs; protection against racial or sexual discrimination, maternity rights; equal pay for work of equal value. These are just some of the topics that should be covered in any comprehensive guide to employees' rights. Each could form the subject-matter on its own of one of these columns. A dismissal gives rise to certain rights⁽¹⁸⁾ e.g. the right to notice or wages in lieu, (other than in cases of justified summary dismissal); the right to a written statement of the reasons for the dismissal (employees of more than six months only);⁽¹⁹⁾ the right to apply to an industrial tribunal for a finding of Unfair Dismissal⁽²⁰⁾ (employees of more than two years only unless (a) the dismissal is connected to trade union membership/activities, when no qualifying period is required; or (b) the employee was employed pre-1/6/85 and the employer employed more than 20 employees, when 1 year is the required period); the right to seek a redundancy payment (employees more than 20 years only, and who have been in employment more than 2 years).

Conclusion

The purpose of this issue's law column is to encourage young people and those who work with them, to use the protection/rights that the Law gives them at work or following their dismissal, woefully inadequate though that Law is. Advice under the Green Form scheme is available from solicitors, but ensure that the chosen solicitor knows something about this complex and specialised subject. A.C.A.S., the Wages Inspectorate and the Health and Safety Inspectorate can assist, but remember the limitations inherent in their respective roles. In reality young workers are very vulnerable at the workplace, especially so following the Wages Act 1986. The best protection remains that provided by membership of a Trade Union (Trainees can join as well), but not only are many workplaces non-Union, but also Trade Unions have little credibility with many young people. In 'Working Space' of Youth & Policy No. 19. Malcolm Ryan, former Chair of the British Youth Council, writing of his experience on the MSC's Youth Training Board, referred to the Youth Council asking the TUC on numerous occasions 'Which side are you on?'⁽²¹⁾ It's up to the Unions to show by their words and actions that there is no need for young workers to have to ask that question.

References & Notes

1. Sec 12(3) Wages Act 1986.
2. See Wiltshire Police Authority v Wynn (1980) ICR649.
3. According to Wedderburn 'The Worker and the Law' p.509; published by Pelican Books (1986).
4. Mark Freedland 'Labour Law and Leaflet Law the Youth Training Scheme of 1983' in The Industrial Law Journal Vol. 12 No 4
5. Sec. 1 Employment Protection (Consolidation) Act 1978.
6. Sec 11 E.P.(C)A. 1978.
7. Sec 49 E.P.(C)A. 1978.
8. Sec 16 Wages Act 1986.
9. According to Childright October 1986 No 31.
10. Quoted in "Who need the Wages Councils?" Low Pay Unit (1983).
11. "A poor job record - the Not so New Workers Scheme" Nasreen Rahman/Dominic Byrne. Low Pay Review 1986.
12. Section 11 Wages Act 1986.
13. Sec 8 EP(C)A 1978
14. Sec 11 EP(C)A 1978.
15. Wedderburn, op. cit.
16. McMillan "Rights at Work". Pluto Press (1983).
17. Section 13 Wages Act 1986.
18. "What School Leavers should know" M.S.C. (TFS L5 Revised Edition September 1986).
19. Sec 53 E.P.(C) A 1978.
20. Part V EP(C)A 1978.
21. Page 45 Youth & Policy No. 19 Winter 1986/87.

'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 as some length
table;	figures given in chart form
All items are available through our Copy Service	

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Corporal Punishment WA

Mr. Greenway asked the Sec State Education and Science what he estimates to be the cost of abolition of corporal punishment; for what purposes money will be required, and if he will make a statement.

Mrs. Rumbold: For some schools changes in their disciplinary policies may give rise to certain costs, but these cannot be estimated. Many schools have already ceased to use corporal punishment and many others only use it rarely.

Further Education Unit

Mr. Spearing asked the Sec State Education and Science what changes he proposes in the nature and work of the Further Education Unit; and what consultations he has had concerning the unit with local education authorities.

Mr. Walden: On 4 September my Department issued, to the local authority associations and to other interested parties, a consultative document of the future of the Further Education Unit. This rehearsed a number of options for the unit's future, in the changed circumstances resulting from the increasing involvement of other bodies, directly and indirectly, in further education curriculum development. Particular attention was drawn to the option of a merger with the Further Education Staff College.

Officials of my Department had some contact with officers of the local authority associations in the process of drafting the consultation document. That, however, in no way pre-empted the consultative process, the outcome of which remains open. My right hon. Friend will take a decision on the unit's future as soon as possible after the end of the consultative process on 30 November.

School Closures WA

Mr. Spearing asked the Sec State Education and Science if he will state the definition of school place he has adopted in relation to his proposals for school closures; and how many square feet are included in this definition for primary and secondary school pupils, respectively.

Mr. Dunn: The Government's current targets for the removal of surplus primary and secondary school places are set out in the January 1986 public expenditure White Paper (Cmd. 9702). Surplus school places are measured by comparing the capacity of school building stock, enhanced by expected basic need additions, with projected pupil numbers in each of the primary and secondary sectors.

Day Nurseries OA

9. Mr. Boyes asked the Sec State Social Services what information he has as to how many new day nursery places have been provided by social services departments in the year 1985-86.

Mrs. Currie: There were 28,870 day nursery places provided by local authority social services departments in England at 31 March 1985. Final figures for 31 March 1986 are not yet available. However, the returns received so far show that the number of places increased in 19 authorities, decreased in 15 and remained the same in 57. Overall, there were a similar number of places at 31 March 1986 as the year before.

Mr. Boyes: Does that not show that the situation is inadequate if one considers that the number of children subjected to physical and sexual abuse is increasing and that that leads to an increased demand for day nursery places? For example, in Sunderland the number of non-accidental injury registrations has increased by 50 per cent. over the past three years. What is more, Sunderland has a known demand that it cannot satisfy. Is not the care and protection of our children an essential element in a democratic society? What is the Minister going to do about the problems of Sunderland and other local authorities in a similar position?

Mrs. Currie: As the hon. Gentleman knows, we take the problem of child abuse very seriously. It is a matter of increasing worry and concern. The number of places nationally should be set in the context of the 28,000 places I have just mentioned, 24,000 places in voluntary and private nurseries, 42,000 full-time and 224,000 part-time places in nursery schools and nursery classes run by the local education authorities, 58,000 childminders, with places for 126,000 children and more than 400,000 places in playgroups. I consider that diversity and volume of services to be adequate.

Mr. Galley: I warmly welcome my hon. Friend to her new post. Since she has now been in office for a few weeks, may I ask her what plans she has developed to encourage social services depts to use registered childminders as an adjunct to and replacement of day nurseries because the cost per place is more than half of day nursery provision? In that way she will be able to help twice as many children for the same resources.

Mrs. Currie: I agree with my hon. Friend that childminder provision is most important. I can speak on that from personal experience. We are delighted to see that the number of childminder places has gone up by 29 per cent. between 1982 and 1985 and we encourage local authorities to improve that provision.

Ms. Harman: Is the hon. Lady aware that the DHSS under-fives initiative ends in April next year? Will she make a statement about the future of projects financed under that scheme? Is the Minister aware that a number of projects providing services for children under five are at risk because they are located in council areas - (Interruption.) Is she aware that those projects at risk include three childminder support projects? They are at risk of closure because they are located in boroughs that are being subjected to severe spending restrictions by the

Department of the Environment? Will she not, at the very least, consider a joint transitional funding arrangement so that her Department can pay half if local councils pay half of the cost of those projects which end in April next year?

Mr. Speaker: Order, I appeal to the House to listen to the answers and questions.

Mrs. Currie: I thank the hon. Lady for drawing attention to the Government's under-fives initiative. We have spent some £6.5 million over the past three years funding 110 different projects with 15 different agencies. The whole idea and intention was that it should be a pump-priming exercise. Many of those schemes have proven their worth and already have guaranteed funding from next year onwards.

Sex Education WA

Mr. Peter Bruinvels asked the Sec State Education and Science how many representations he has received (a) in favour and (b) against parents being given the right to opt their children out of any sex education to which they object; and if he will make a statement.

Mrs. Rumbold: My right hon. Friend has received some 350 representations in support of enabling parents to withdraw their children from sex education lessons to which they object, and six letters opposing this. In response to this concern, the Government have tabled amendments to the Education Bill which would give control over the content and organisation of sex education to the new-style governing bodies provided for under the Bill, which would have the discretion to permit the withdrawal of pupils from sex education lessons at parental request.

Mr. Peter Bruinvels asked the Sec State Education and Science how many representations he has received concerning the provision of sex education in school under clause 26 of the Education Bill: if he will break them down into those for and those against; and if he will make a statement.

Mrs. Rumbold: My right hon. Friend has received about 100 representations expressing support for clause 26 of the Education Bill and for the Government's commitment to appropriate responsible sex education, set within a sound moral context and supportive of family life. Only five letters have been received specifically opposing clause 26.

Religious Education WA

Mr. Peter Bruinvels asked the Sec State Education and Science how many children are already receiving religious education; how these figures compare with each of the last five years; and if he will make a statement.

Mrs. Rumbold: I regret that the information requested is not available. My right hon. Friend looks to all county and voluntary schools, and the 1 e a by which they are maintained, to meet the requirements of the 1944 Act. When he receives complaints that the statutory requirement to give religious instruction is not being met in a particular school, he undertakes a full and careful investigation; but very few such complaints are received each year.

School Transport WA

Mr. Peter Bruinvels asked the Sec State Education and Science if he will introduce legislation to require local authorities to provide transport for children attending a school outside the official catchment area in which their parents reside; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Dunn: It would be a retrograde step to provide for the reintroduction of strict catchment areas, which were abolished under the Education Act 1980. In any event, I see no case for increasing local education authorities' school transport obligations in the way proposed.

City Centre Colleges WA

Mr. Spearing asked the Sec State Education and Science what minimum qualifications he will require of teachers of technical subjects in his proposed city technical colleges.

Mrs. Rumbold: Staff at city technology colleges will be employed by their governing bodies. My right hon. Friend will generally require governing bodies to employ as teachers those who have "qualified teacher" status. Governing bodies will also be expected to match the qualifications and experience of teachers to the subject taught.

Mr. Spearing asked the Sec State Education and Science how he proposes to give statutory effect to his specific proposals for new direct grant city technical colleges; and under what class of estimate he intends to provide for the relevant public expenditure.

Mrs. Rumbold: My right hon. Friend proposes to pay grant in respect of city technology colleges by the exercise of his powers under section 100 of the Education Act 1944. The expenditure will be met from Supply Estimates in class XII.

Mr. Spearing asked the Sec State Education and Science what status he proposes for the trustees or governing bodies of the planned city technical colleges; who will appoint the persons concerned; and on what criteria he expects them to recruit pupils.

Mrs. Rumbold: City technology colleges will be owned (or leased) by their promoters. I envisage that they will establish trusts for the purpose of operating CTCs, and appoint the trustees. The promoters will have the controlling interest in CTC governing bodies but details concerning the appointment of governors will be for discussion with my right hon. Friend. CTCs will be required to aim at admitting pupils spanning the full range of ability represented in the catchment area. Pupils will be selected by the head and governing body on the basis of their general aptitude, for example as reflected in their progress and achievement at primary school; on their readiness to take advantage of the type of education offered in CTCs; and on their

parents' commitment to full-time education or training up to the age of 18, to the distinctive characteristics of the CTC curriculum, and to the ethos of the CTC.

Mr. Spearing asked the Sec State Education and Science how the governors or trustees of the proposed city technical colleges will be provided with resources to purchase, rent or build, and equip suitable premises and in what age groups he expects them to recruit when first opened.

Mrs. Rumbold: My right hon. Friend has made it clear that he expects the promoters of city technology colleges to provide all or a substantial part of the resources needed to purchase, rent, or build, and equip premises. Some assistance may, however, be available to meet repayments on loans raised for this purpose. City technology colleges will normally cater for 11 to 18-year olds. We hope that they will admit pupils from as broad an age-range as possible when they first open.

Mr. Spearing asked the Sec State Education and Science what consultations he had with industrial or other private interests concerning the funding of his proposed city technical colleges; and what minimum proportion of their capital cost and revenue expenditure respectively he expects them to provide.

Mrs. Rumbold: My right hon. Friend has had a number of preliminary discussions with prospective promoters. They will be expected to meet all or a substantial part of the capital costs of city technology colleges. The Secretary of State will pay the CTC's running costs in accordance with the number of pupils, at a level of assistance per pupil comparable with what is provided by LEAs for maintained schools serving similar catchment areas.

Mr. Spearing asked the Sec State Education and Science what consultations he has had with current providers of secondary technical education in the cities or areas where he plans to establish his city technical colleges.

Mrs. Rumbold: My right hon. Friend has had no formal consultations with current providers of secondary technical education in the localities designated as possible locations for city technology colleges. He has, however, written personally to the chairmen of the education committees of the local authority associations. Details of the proposals have been made available widely to the education service, including to all chief education officers. My right hon. Friend and I would be glad to discuss our proposals with local education authorities and, indeed, anyone who shares our concerns about education in the cities.

Schools (Amalgamation) WA

Mr. Spearing asked the Sec State Education and Science if he will state the statistical or mathematical basis for his estimates of the potential savings to be made by amalgamation of schools possessing a notional surplus of school places.

Mr. Dunn: It is estimated that some £170 a year can be saved for every secondary place taken out of use in permanent accommodation and £100 for every primary place. These figures are arrived at by dividing LEAs' annual buildings-related non-teaching costs by the numbers of places for which the school building stock currently provides.

Microcomputers WA

85. Mr. Haselhurst asked the Sec State Education and Science whether he has carried out

a study of the use of microcomputers in primary schools; and if he will make a statement. **Mrs. Rumbold:** A survey of the use of microcomputers in primary and secondary schools has been undertaken, and a "Statistical Bulletin" has been produced. I am placing a pre-publication copy of the bulletin in the Library.

School Sport (Competitiveness) WA

87. Mr. John Carlisle asked the Sec State Education and Science if he will make a statement on the outcome of the seminar on 26 November on the competitiveness of school sport.

Mrs. Rumbold: Some 90 individuals representing sports and education organisations attended this seminar about sport in schools, which was chaired by hon. Friend the Minister for sport.

Following wide-ranging discussions in groups and plenary sessions it was agreed that the Department of Education and Science and the Department of the Environment would commission a study of the place sport has in the school curriculum. In addition, a group will be set up, led by the Sports Council, to provide a forum for continuing discussion of the issues raised at the seminar. The group will be assisted in its work by the results of the jointly commissioned study, will be based on the Council's physical education advisory panel and will include representatives of the Central Council for Physical Recreation, local authority associations and education bodies.

General Certificate of Secondary Education

Mr. Bendall asked the Sec State Education and Science what additional cash he has made available to Redbridge council for its schools and further education establishments to ensure the smooth introduction of the GCSE; what information he has as to additional cash made available by Redbridge council for this purpose; and if he will make a statement.

Mrs. Rumbold: The Government have directed substantial resources to ensure the smooth introduction of the GCSE, in addition to local education authorities' own plans. In support of expenditure for books and equipment in schools in Redbridge we have made available £57,900 through education support grants this year. A further £41,100 will be supported through ESG in 1987-88. In addition, my right hon. Friend the Sec State Employment, in conjunction with the MSC, has made a grant of £19,600 available to Redbridge for the provision of scientific and technological equipment in schools.

For the introductory GCSE in-service training programme, expenditure up to £32,500 has been supported in Redbridge. Under the new arrangements for in-service training in 1987-88, expenditure of £68,000 has been set aside to support the continuing training of teachers of the GCSE in schools and further education in Redbridge. The Department has no information as to the resources which Redbridge is making available for the GCSE.

School Meals

Mr. Austin Mitchell asked the Sec State Education and Science whether he will bring up to date the information on the gross and net cost of providing school meals given in his answer to the hon. Member for Great Grimsby of 15 March 1982, Official Report, columns 39-40; and if he will give comparable figures for the provision of school transport.

Mr. Dunn: The available information is as follows:

ENGLAND

£ million (1986-87 prices)⁽¹⁾

	1981-82 Outturn	1982-83 Outturn	1983-84 Outturn	1984-85 Outturn	1985-86 Provisional Outturn ⁽²⁾	1986-87 Estimated Outturn ⁽²⁾
School Meals and Milk						
Gross Expenditure	794	757	757	714	N/A	N/A
Less: Income	274	252	253	225	N/A	N/A
Less: EC Subsidy amounting to	12	12	15	14	N/A	N/A
= Net Expenditure	508	493	489	475	452	455
Home to School Transport						
Gross Expenditure	205	203	205	199	N/A	N/A
Income	1	2	2	2	N/A	N/A
Net Expenditure	204	201	203	197	N/A	N/A

Notes: ¹ The cash figures for the earlier years have been reprinted to 1986-87 prices using the gross domestic product (market prices) deflator.

² The 1985-86 provisional outturn and 1986-87 estimated outturn expenditure on school meals has been taken from local authorities' returns of expenditure and rates.

Students (Financial Support)

Mr. Radice asked the Sec State Education and Science (1) if he will list for every year since 1978-79 the number of students who were in receipt of mandatory awards and who were also in receipt of sponsorships, industrial or national engineering scholarships;

(2) if he will list for every year since 1978-79 the number of students who were in receipt of sponsorships, industrial scholarships or national engineering scholarships and who were thereby classified as assisted students within the meaning of the Education (Mandatory Awards) Regulations;

(3) if he will list for every year since 1978-79 the number of students on designated courses within the meaning of the Education (Mandatory Awards) Regulations who are or were in receipt of sponsorships, industrial scholarships or national engineering scholarships.

Mr. Kenneth Baker: Information about the number of students in receipt of sponsorships or industrial scholarships is not available. The number of national engineering scholarships made in each year since 1978-79 is as follows:

	Number
1978-79	62
1979-80	159
1980-81	263
1981-82	298
1982-83	100
1983-84	103
1984-85	212
1985-86	155

All holders of national engineering scholarships follow designated courses. My Department does not collect information about the number of scholarship holders who are also in receipt of an award or who are assisted students.

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Day Nurseries WA

33. Mrs. Clwyd asked the Secretary of State for Social Services what information he has as to how many new day nursery places have been provided by social services departments since 1979.

Mrs. Currie: It is estimated that between 1979 and 1986 the number of day nursery places provided by Social Services Departments in England increased by over 500. The numbers for each year are given in the table.

Day nursery places provided by Social Services Departments in England 1979 to 1986

	As at 31 March	Number (thousands)
	1979	28.3
	1980	28.4
	1981	28.3
	1982	28.4
	1983	28.6
	1984	28.9
	1985	28.9
	⁽¹⁾ 1986	28.8

¹ The figure given for 1986 is a provisional estimate based on returns from 83 per cent. of local authorities.

Drug Abuse WA

Sir David Price asked the Sec State for Social Services what progress he has made with his advertising campaign to warn young people of the dangers of drug abuse; and if he will make a statement.

Mrs. Currie: The campaign of education and information on drug misuse which has been running since February 1985 has been carefully evaluated. The reports of the campaign evaluation have been placed in the Library. The results indicate that the campaign has been achieving its aims of improving levels of information and hardening attitudes towards heroin. In particular evaluation shows:

- that the campaign has been widely noticed by young people
- that a greater proportion of young people were aware of the physical and social consequences of heroin misuse
- that fewer young people saw heroin as attractive or glamorous
- that a greater proportion (94 per cent. after the first year of the campaign compared with 83 per cent. before) of young people said that they would refuse an offer of heroin.

We are continuing to monitor the effects of the campaign.

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

School rolls

Mr. Peter Bruinvels asked the Sec State for Education and Science how many pupils entered the first form in maintained secondary schools in (a) England and Wales and (b) Leicestershire in September 1986, September 1983 and September 1979.

Mr. Dunn: Information on the number of pupils entering maintained secondary schools in England is not collected on a regular basis. The nearest approximation is the numbers of pupils aged 11 or under in secondary schools; these are given for Leicestershire and England for January 1980, 1984 and 1986.

Figures for Wales are the responsibility of my right hon. Friend the Sec State for Wales.

Pupils aged 11⁽¹⁾ or under in maintained secondary schools⁽²⁾

	January 1980	January 1984	January 1986 ⁽³⁾
Leicestershire	14,157	11,148	9,208
England	542,227	485,721	430,831

¹ Age as at the preceding August.

² Middle deemed secondary schools are excluded.

³ January 1986 figures are provisional.

A and O-level Passes

Mr. Peter Bruinvels asked the Sec State for Education and Science if he will provide comprehensive figures detailing the number of passes attained in A and O-Levels in the summer of 1986 and in each of the past five years giving the percentage of the numbers actually taken. Mr. Dunn: Information on the 1986 summer examinations is not yet available. Figures for the years 1981 to 1985 are as follows:

GCE and O-level summer examinations
GCE A-level

Year	Number of subject passes	Number of subject passes as a percentage of total subject entries
1981	400,338	68.1
1982	416,361	67.8
1983	437,037	69.1
1984	438,302	69.8
1985	427,619	70.2

Pupils under 5 receiving education in maintained schools in England—
January 1986

LEA	Nursery Classes		Nursery Schools		All schools including Nursery Classes	
	Pupils	As a per cent. of Population	Pupils	As a per cent. of Population	Pupils	As a per cent. of Population
Barking	1,395	36.7	0	0	2,587	68.1
Barnet	1,707	23.4	495	6.8	4,112	56.3
Bexley	435	8.4	175	3.4	1,355	26.1
Brent	2,036	29.9	268	3.9	4,342	63.9
Bromley	97	1.5	0	0	1,140	17.3
Croydon	206	2.4	411	4.8	3,151	37.1
Ealing	2,139	27.1	610	7.7	3,688	46.7
Enfield	1,381	20.9	0	0	3,339	51.5
Haringey	1,967	37.1	213	4.0	3,631	68.5
Harrow	795	16.2	0	0	1,555	31.7
Havering	224	4.1	0	0	1,987	36.8
Hillingdon	2,501	42.4	117	2.0	2,949	50.0
Hounslow	3,734	69.1	0	0	3,779	70.0
Kingston upon Thames	691	22.3	238	7.7	1,632	52.6
Merton	1,321	32.2	173	4.2	2,394	58.4
Newham	2,985	47.4	979	15.5	4,735	75.2
Redbridge	450	8.5	0	0	1,253	23.6
Richmond upon Thames	498	14.2	68	1.9	1,543	44.1
Sutton	445	10.9	240	5.9	730	17.8
Waltham Forest	1,953	33.1	292	4.9	3,091	52.4
Inner London	17,767	32.3	4,152	7.5	29,362	53.4
Birmingham	6,465	23.4	2,245	8.1	17,577	63.7
Coventry	1,454	17.7	464	5.7	4,512	55.0
Dudley	1,737	23.5	471	6.4	3,224	43.6
Sandwell	3,196	40.5	208	2.6	5,938	75.2
Solihull	1,253	27.2	0	0	2,640	57.4
Walsall	3,150	47.7	770	11.7	6,066	91.9
Wolverhampton	2,867	43.4	810	12.3	4,747	71.9
Knowsley	1,736	33.4	0	0	3,254	62.6
Liverpool	5,571	46.8	548	4.6	10,184	85.6
St. Helens	1,307	27.2	76	1.6	2,901	60.4
Sefton	1,677	24.0	316	4.5	4,152	59.3
Wirral	1,315	15.3	219	2.5	4,157	48.3
Bolton	2,084	28.9	601	8.3	4,871	67.7
Bury	641	14.2	142	3.2	2,194	48.8
Manchester	5,810	50.5	540	4.7	8,322	72.4
Oldham	1,916	30.9	0	0	3,883	62.6
Rochdale	784	12.9	885	14.5	3,678	60.3
Salford	2,137	36.8	870	15.0	4,895	84.4
Stockport	213	2.9	779	10.7	3,149	43.1
Tameside	1,900	34.5	324	5.9	4,045	73.5
Trafford	620	11.7	0	0	991	18.7
Wigan	1,773	21.6	199	2.4	4,622	56.4
Barnsley	2,615	45.9	173	3.0	3,735	65.5
Doncaster	2,999	38.9	0	0	5,505	71.5
Rotherham	2,354	34.6	352	5.2	3,819	56.2
Sheffield	3,871	34.0	722	6.3	6,915	60.7
Bradford	3,997	28.0	510	3.6	7,821	54.7

GCE O-level

Year	Number of subject passes		Number of subject passes as a percentage of total subject entries	
	Grades A to C	Grades A to E	Grades A to C	Grades A to E
1981	1,774,977	2,555,044	58.0	83.3
1982	1,794,614	2,590,315	57.7	83.3
1983	1,792,927	2,578,068	58.1	83.5
1984	1,769,263	2,559,582	57.3	82.9
1985	1,750,397	2,551,186	57.1	83.2

Source: Survey of Examining Boards in England.

Tobacco (Children) WA

Mr. Home Robertson asked the Sec State for Social Services what steps he has taken to implement and enforce the Protection of Children (Tobacco) Act 1986, and if he will make a statement.

Mrs. Currie: Circular LAC(86)14 was issued on 8 October to coincide with the coming into effect of the Act. The circular, a copy of which has been placed in the Library, was sent to all local authorities and local authority associations, chief education officers and teachers' associations, chief officers of police, chief probation officers and probation committees, voluntary organisations, professional training councils and district health education officers. The circular refers to research which showed that 80 per cent. of children who smoked said they bought their cigarettes in shops or from machines, and to the fact that there were only 26 convictions in 1985 for illegally selling cigarettes to children. It suggests that the new Act clarifies the law and simplifies its enforcement by putting all tobacco products, including oral tobacco in sachets, on the same footing as cigarettes.

General Certificate of Secondary Education

Mr. David Atkinson asked the Sec State for Education and Science how the extra £40 million resources for education authorities for books for the GCSE has been allocated; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Dunn: The Government are supporting £40 million expenditure on books and equipment for the GCSE over three years. £20 million is being made available this year: £15 million is being supported through education support grant and the other £5 million is a grant for the provision of scientific and technological equipment made available by my right hon. Friend the Sec State for Employment in conjunction with the MSC. A further £20 million at least is being set aside for books and equipment through education support grant over the next two financial years.

To secure an equitable distribution of the amount available through ESG for books and equipment a ceiling on the amount of expenditure has been set for each authority. These allocations have been calculated on the basis of 75 per cent. according to the relevant school population and 25 per cent. according to the number of maintained secondary schools. The £5 million available through the MSC for equipment has been allocated on the basis of 50 per cent. according to relevant school population and 50 per cent. according to the number of maintained secondary schools.

Pre-School Provision WA

Mr. Freud asked the Sec State Education and Science whether he will list for each local education authority in England at the latest date for which figures are available the number and proportion of three and four year olds attending (a) nursery classes, (b) nursery schools, (c) play groups, and (d) total pre-school provision; and what are the waiting lists in each case. Mr. Dunn (pursuant to his reply, 25 July 1986, c. 523.) The number of pupils aged under five receiving education in January 1986 in (a) nursery classes of maintained primary schools (b) nursery schools and (c) all under-fives in maintained schools, together with the proportion these represent of the three and four year old population, are given in the table.

LEA	Nursery Classes		Nursery Schools		All schools including Nursery Classes	
	Pupils	As a per cent. of Population	Pupils	As a per cent. of Population	Pupils	As a per cent. of Population
Calderdale	1,314	26.8	87	1.8	3,028	61.8
Kirkloes	3,220	31.0	699	6.7	5,987	57.6
Leeds	5,079	29.7	275	1.6	9,658	56.5
Wakefield	3,091	38.6	484	6.1	5,367	67.1
Gateshead	1,575	31.5	64	1.3	3,161	63.2
Newcastle upon Tyne	2,219	33.6	586	8.9	4,892	74.1
North Tyneside	2,092	44.5	315	6.7	4,058	86.3
South Tyneside	1,216	32.9	688	18.6	3,174	85.8
Sunderland	1,992	23.7	927	11.0	5,553	66.1
Isles of Scilly	0	0	0	0	6	0
Avon	1,832	8.2	1,461	6.6	10,061	45.1
Bedfordshire	3,201	21.1	1,320	5.7	5,370	35.3
Berkshire	2,765	14.2	1,938	9.9	4,990	25.6
Buckinghamshire	1,576	9.4	515	3.1	3,045	18.1
Cambridgeshire	1,309	8.0	635	3.9	6,586	40.4
Cheshire	4,122	17.2	819	3.4	8,991	37.6
Cleveland	7,862	49.4	156	1.0	11,125	70.0
Cornwall	1,265	12.8	94	.9	4,611	46.6
Cumbria	1,539	13.5	694	6.1	6,019	52.8
Derbyshire	4,644	20.5	1,129	5.0	11,334	50.2
Devon	1,635	7.5	247	1.1	4,417	20.2
Dorset	805	6.3	0	0	1,797	14.1
Durham	3,270	21.5	2,266	14.9	10,075	66.3
East Sussex	660	4.8	296	2.1	4,988	36.1
Essex	1,895	5.0	249	.7	6,988	18.3
Gloucestershire	0	0	0	0	3,807	31.2
Hampshire	1,599	4.2	260	.7	7,739	20.2
Hereford and Worcester	997	6.1	0	0	2,402	14.6
Hertfordshire	5,876	23.6	1,701	6.8	11,745	47.2
Humberside	5,758	26.8	910	4.2	10,761	50.1
Isle of Wight	103	4.3	0	0	897	37.4
Kent	1,830	4.9	84	.2	4,602	12.4
Lancashire	2,216	6.3	3,358	9.5	16,540	46.7
Leicestershire	5,113	22.1	50	.2	7,122	30.8
Lincolnshire	722	5.3	284	2.1	3,571	26.3
Norfolk	470	2.8	393	2.4	5,147	31.0
North Yorkshire	2,316	14.9	315	2.0	6,528	42.1
Northamptonshire	1,823	12.3	503	3.4	7,031	47.5
Northumberland	1,562	20.3	136	1.8	4,026	52.3
Nottinghamshire	10,586	43.6	536	2.2	13,073	53.8
Oxfordshire	1,245	9.0	502	3.6	2,317	16.8
Shropshire	920	9.4	160	1.6	3,093	31.6
Somerset	81	.8	0	0	3,436	32.7
Staffordshire	3,986	15.2	1,844	7.0	11,165	42.5
Suffolk	1,867	12.1	167	1.1	4,340	28.2
Surrey	2,231	9.7	404	1.8	4,638	20.2
Warwickshire	1,181	10.1	726	6.2	5,499	47.0
West Sussex	84	.5	451	2.9	1,348	8.8
Wiltshire	184	1.3	0	0	2,303	16.5
ENGLAND	223,097	19.0	49,383	4.2	508,623	43.3

Population used is the estimated population of 3 and 4-year-olds in each LEA.

The Department does not collect information on the number of pupils aged under five on waiting lists for pre-school education.

Places in play groups and day nurseries and places with child minders are provided by local authority social services departments and not by L.E.A.s. Some information is collected by the DHSS, but not precisely in the form requested. The number of premises and places, the number of places per 1,000 children aged under five and the waiting lists in each authority in England are given in "Children's Day Care Facilities at 31 March 1984, England" (A/F84/6), copies of which are available in the Library.

Teachers (Shortage)

7. Mr. Corbyn asked the Sec State Education and Science what is his latest estimate of the shortage of teachers of mathematics, sciences and craft, design and technology in schools.

14. Mr. Corbett asked the Sec State Education and Science what is his latest estimate of the shortage of teachers of mathematics, sciences and craft, design and technology in schools. Mr. Kenneth Baker: In January 1986, local authorities in England reported 359 unfilled posts in mathematics, 407 in science and 201 in craft design technology. Although the vacancies amount to only just over 1 per cent. of posts in these subjects, I am nevertheless concerned about the supply. I have taken several measures, including the allocation of £16.5 million next year in support of in-service training for teachers of these subjects.

Mr. Corbyn: Does the Sec State agree that those figures are an indictment of seven years of a Tory Government who pledged themselves to improving the country's economy performance? If they do not provide sufficient science, maths and other technological subject teachers, they never can improve our economic performance. What plans does the right hon. Gentleman have to end the process of cuts in universities, polytechnics and teacher training institutes, which is at the root of the problem? Does he agree that in-service training cannot solve the shortage which has been caused by the lack of educational training places for universities and other institutions of higher education?

Mr. Baker: The hon. Member could not have been in the House earlier when I announced confirmation of the increase in polytechnic funding for next year. He should also be aware that I have increased the numbers for initial teacher training in primary and secondary schools by amounts as high as 20 per cent. for the next three years.

I completely refute the suggestion that the shortage of teachers in these subjects is a recent problem—it goes back to the 1940s and 1950s. For a time in the 1940s and 1950s, young boys who were intended for national service were relieved of that duty if they studied these subjects.

Mr. Corbett: Is the Minister aware that a survey of 97 secondary schools in the city of Birmingham showed that about one third of mathematics teaching is done by those who have either weak or no paper qualifications in that subject? Does he accept that this gross shortage denies proper opportunities to thousands of students to acquire vital skills in these subjects? The establishment of the city technology colleges will cream off the better qualified to what are likely to be better-equipped institutions and better-paid jobs. That will make the situation even worse.

Mr. Baker: In the first part of his supplementary the hon. Member for Birmingham, Erdington (Mr. Corbett) made a good point. I agree with him that, although the vacancy rate for such teachers is just under 1 per cent., it does mask the problem that many teachers are not qualified in and trained for teaching these subjects. This is not due to a lack of opportunities. The opportunities are there. This year, we have introduced a £1,200 bursary for graduates who want to train in these subjects. I am glad to report that applications for initial teacher

training in physics and technology have improved significantly since that announcement.

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett: How much?

Mr. Baker: Applications for teacher training in physics have increased by 9 per cent., craft and technology applications by about 20 per cent. That is well above the rates we need.

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett: How many in numbers?

Mr. Baker: I will tell the hon. Gentleman the numbers if he wants to know. It is a real increase over last year.

Sir Dudley Smith: I echo a previous supplementary from the hon. Member for Crewe and Nantwich (Mrs. Dunwoody). Is my right hon. Friend aware that a number of village schools of excellence do not have any particular staffing problems and, in the circumstances, would he think twice before abolishing them?

Mr. Baker: In the last few months, I can assure my hon. Friend that I have visited many village schools with small numbers of children in them—15, 20 or 30. They provide excellent education. I wish to make it absolutely clear that it is not the Government's intention to close such schools. In many cases they provide an essential ingredient to hold a community together.

Mr. Patrick Thompson: Does my right hon. Friend agree that one way to improve the critical situation regarding physics and mathematics teaching is to encourage better links, including financial, between industry and teaching? Will my right hon. Friend join me in welcoming the fact that in Norwich there is already evidence of industrial support for the new city technology colleges? That is good and it is the right way to proceed.

Mr. Baker: I welcome the support of my hon. Friend. Norwich was not on the initial list but if people come forward in Norwich and want to establish a technology college I should be happy to look at the application.

Industry links are very important with regard to the teaching of mathematics and physics. Many companies are already helping. Plessey, GEC and BP have given bursaries of one kind or another. Some authorities are approaching their local companies to see whether any executives wish to go back into teaching.

Mr. Radice: Does the Sec State not recognise that we will not begin to solve the teacher short-

ages until there is a long-term deal for the profession? Although I regret the decision of one teachers' union to restart industrial action, is it not the case that the Government's dithering, highlighted in today's press, is adding to the uncertainty? When is the Sec State going to come clean and tell the House how the teachers' dispute will be solved?

Mr. Baker: The current position is that the employers and unions are to meet under ACAS in Nottingham on the weekend after next, in yet another attempt to resolve the two-year-old dispute. Since the Coventry meeting in July, the Main report for Scotland has been published and the Government are considering its implications, which are exceedingly complex. While all that is taking place, I utterly condemn the action of NAS/UWT in threatening further disruption next week. It is not the Government who will be blamed for the lack of agreement. The parties have not yet reached an agreement.

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EDUCATION AND SCIENCE WA

Higher Education

Mr. Forman asked the Sec State for Education and Science if he will set out in tabular form the amount of money from public funds allocated to (a) the universities and (b) public sector institutions of higher education in each year from 1970 to the latest available date; and what this represents in terms of public expenditure per student in each case.

Mr. Walden: The following table shows the readily available information in respect of (a) central Government funding, plus home fee income, for the universities, and (b) estimated central and local government expenditure on public sector higher education net of income, except fees.

£ million cash	Financial Years					
	1979-80	1980-81	Outturn 1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85
Universities (GB)	1,006	1,279	1,360	1,473	1,520	1,562
Open University (UK)	42	52	55	56	57	60
Public Sector higher education (England)	652	796	881	925	965	998

The following table gives the average cost per student based on net institutional expenditure. Broadly speaking, this consists of the above expenditure less capital, and central administration costs.

£ Cash	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85
Universities (GB) ⁽¹⁾	⁽²⁾ 3,350	4,125	4,285	4,550	4,905	5,210
Maintained higher education (England)						
Polytechnics	2,500	2,915	3,050	3,090	2,975	3,015
Other higher education	2,090	2,460	2,720	2,875	3,010	3,120

¹ Revised and on an academic year basis

² Estimated

Further Education Unit

Mr. Cartwright asked the Sec State Education and Science what role the further education unit will play in relation to the new National Council for Vocational Qualifications.

Mrs. Rumbold: My Department is currently undertaking a review of the future of the further education unit, in the light of changes over recent years in the context of its work. One such change is the establishment of the National Council for Vocational Qualifications. The Department's consultative document raises, as one possible option, a merger between the unit and the council. Irrespective of the outcome of that review, I am sure that the unit will have a considerable contribution to make to the research and development effort needed to support the council's activities the council has already commissioned some work from the unit.

Willesden College of Technology

Mr. Freeson asked the Sec State Education and Science what action has been taken to improve matters which were the subject of criticism by Her Majesty's inspectors reporting on their inspection of Willesden college of technology in November 1984; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Walden: In line with usual practice the Department has written to the local education authority and expects to hear by 21 November, 1986 what action they and the college governors are proposing to take in response to the report's findings on aspects of part-time FE professional courses in construction and engineering.

Mathematics and Science Teachers

Mr. Aspinwall asked the Sec State Education and Science what action is being taken to alleviate the shortage of qualified teachers in the subjects of mathematics and physics.

WHOSE WELFARE?

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Mrs. Rumbold: Various measures to improve the numbers and quality of mathematics and physics teachers were set out in the consultative document 'Action on Teacher Supply in Mathematics, Physics and Technology'. Since that document was published we have announced a new in-service teacher training grants scheme for 1987-88 which accords priority funding to mathematics and physics. Funds have been set aside to support specially-designed training courses in local authority higher education. From this autumn bursaries will be payable to post-graduate students training to teach mathematics and physics.

GCSE

Mr. Aspinwall asked the Sec State Education and Science what Government funding is available to provide the necessary facilities for the new GCSE courses and examinations within the county of Avon.

Mrs. Rumbold: The Government have directed substantial resources to ensure the smooth introduction of the GCSE, in addition to local education authorities' own plans. In support of expenditure for books and equipment in schools in Avon we have made available £251,200 through education support grants this year. A further £178,200 will be supported through ESG in 1987-88. In addition, my right hon. Friend the Sec State Employment in conjunction with the MSC has made a grant of £81,400 available to Avon for the provision of scientific and technological equipment in schools.

For the introductory GCSE in-service training programme, expenditure up to £132,260 has been supported in Avon. Under the new arrangements for in-service training in 1987-88, expenditure of £276,000 has been set aside to support the continuing training of teachers of the GCSE in schools and further education in Avon.

Vol 103 No 107

Restart Scheme WA

Mr. Marlow asked the Paymaster General what are the latest figures available for each economic region of the UK of the numbers invited to attend restart interviews; how many have attended interviews so far in each region, and how many of those invited have ceased to claim benefit in each region.

Mr. Trippier: Figures are available only for Manpower Services Commission administrative regions. The information requested is given in the table and relates to the period 12 May to 9 October 1986.

	Numbers invited to attend	Numbers attending	Numbers invited ceasing to claim benefit
South East	44,038	28,647	9,594
London	77,100	46,530	7,822
South West	24,239	16,925	4,975
West Midlands	52,672	38,778	6,429
East Midlands	39,394	26,336	7,586
Yorkshire and Humberside	49,884	34,359	8,703
North West	99,877	74,134	15,993
Northern	45,404	34,469	8,161
Wales	31,219	22,049	6,943
Scotland	58,841	44,224	10,005
TOTAL	522,668	366,451	86,211

Vol 103 No 167

Long-term Unemployed Persons WA

Mr. Ron Davies asked the Paymaster General if he will provide an update of statistics published in July in the Official Report concerning the destination of the long-term unemployed interviewed to date under the new restart programme.

Mr. Lee (pursuant to his reply, 23 October 1986, c. 939): The information requested is given in the table.

Numbers interviewed and placed for the period 12 May to 9 October

	Number
Interviewed	333,451
Placed in jobs	2,547
Placed on community programme	9,757
Placed in jobclubs	2,508
Placed on enterprise allowance scheme	1,585
Placed on training schemes	5,488
Placed on restart courses	31,012
Placed on the voluntary projects programme	1,054

The placings reflect only those arising from referrals made at the restart interview.

We know that 76 per cent. of participants agree to pursue the offer made to them at their interview and some of these submissions are still in the process of being followed up. The placings do not include the many people who find jobs, or other solutions to their unemployment, wholly or partly as a result of advice given by counselling staff or restart courses.

A recent survey conducted by the Manpower Services Commission showed that approximately 60 per cent. of people who had received restart interviews during the pilot programme and who subsequently left the unemployment register went into work and a further 8 per cent. into training.

Vol 103 No 164

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE OA

School Books

I. Mr. Lofthouse asked the Sec State for Education and Science what representations he has received on the report of HM's Inspectorate with regard to the provision of books in schools. **The Minister of State, Department of Education and Science (Mrs. Angela Rumbold):** My right hon. Friend has received no representations arising directly from HMI's report. However, since taking office he has discussed the supply of books for schools with the local authority associations.

Mr. Lofthouse: The Minister will be aware that the recent HMI report indicated that half of primary school lessons have been affected by the shortage of books. Is that not extremely serious, and what action has she taken since the publication of the report to rectify the matter?

Mrs. Rumbold: The Government need no convincing that spending on books is a priority, and we hope that our proposals for local authority spending in 1987-88 - which imply an increase of some 14 per cent. in planned expenditure - will resolve this matter.

Mrs. Virginia Bottomley: Does my hon. Friend agree, however, that the provision of books is not necessarily the key necessity for effective education, otherwise one would have difficulty explaining the paltry results of the profligate ILEA? A perhaps more important part of the HMI report was the inadequacy with which children's educational needs were shown to be identified together with the lack of management of resources.

Mrs. Rumbold: I am grateful to my hon. Friend. It is certainly true that inadequate capitation allowances were not considered to be the main factor contributing to poor provision. It was thought much more significant that poor management of resources and inadequate identification of pupils' needs by teachers were the main elements.

Mr. Peter Bruinvels: Does my hon. Friend accept that many parents are extremely concerned about the kind of books currently available in some schools? I refer in particular to sex education books as "Jenny lives with Eric and Martin", "Taught not Caught" and "Make it Happy". Will my hon. Friend bring to the attention of the inspectorate the concern felt by parents throughout the country that some extremely unfortunate books that may corrupt our young children are now available in schools and libraries?

Mrs. Rumbold: Of course, we condemn the use of irresponsible books and unsuitable literature in our schools. My hon. Friend will be aware that my right hon. Friend is taking action in respect of one of the authorities by sending in the inspectorate to see exactly what is happening.

Mr. Litherland: Is the Minister aware that the printing of short runs of books is wholly uneconomical as the bulk of capital expenditure takes place at the initial stage of the printing process? I suggest that she goes back to school and gets her sums right before depriving our children of essential facilities.

Mrs. Rumbold: I do not know whether the hon. Gentleman is aware that the local authorities have capitation allowances and sort out different allocations for individual schools. They look at both books and equipment, and it is their responsibility to look into that at the beginning of each financial year.

Higher Education OA

2. Mr. Dubs asked the Sec State for Education and Science what recent representations he has received about resources for higher education.

The Sec State for Education and Science (Mr. Kenneth Baker): I receive a lot of representations. For local authority higher education I have already announced an increase in funding of £54 million next year. I hope to be able to make an announcement about university funding quite soon.

Mr. Dubs: Is the Sec State aware that despite his optimistic speech last month about the future of university places, many vice-chancellors see nothing facing them but ever-increasing deficits, cuts in services, cuts in staff and possible cuts in departments? Will he comment on the confidential report published in some of yesterday's newspapers - based on information from the Treasury and his own Department - which indicated that the crisis facing the universities was even worse than had been publicly acknowledged so far?

Mr. Baker: The hon. Gentleman knows that in the cycle of funding each year, polytechnics and colleges of further education are dealt with first. I announced a substantial increase of 8 per cent. for those. I hope to be able to announce the position for universities quite soon. I trust that they will not be too disappointed.

Mr. Greenway: Does my right hon. Friend agree that the funding of higher education cannot be separated from the broad education budget? Within that context, will he do all he can to see that the teachers' pay queries are settled at an early date, with a fair result for them? Will he also ensure that the children are put first in those negotiations, that they get a fair deal, and that schools are not disrupted?

Mr. Speaker: Order. That is a bit wide of the question.

Mr. Freud: In fighting for extra money for that important priority, will the Sec State ensure that access is widened so that those with genuine ability, even if they do not conform to the identikit picture of a student, have a chance of access to higher education?

Mr. Baker: I want to increase the participation rates of 16 to 18 year-olds. A total of 26 per cent. of those taking further education courses are 16 to 18-year olds. We expect the figure to go to 28 per cent. I want more young people to stay on at school until they are 18 and to go on to colleges, polytechnics and universities. Since 1979, there has been an increase of 140,000 in the number of full-time and part-time home students. That increase is one of which we can all be proud.

Mr. Forman: Is my right hon. Friend aware that his positive approach to the future of higher education is welcome and that Conservative Members give him our full support in his endeavour to associate increased funding for higher education with greater selectivity and a better managerial approach?

Mr. Baker: I welcome my hon. Friend's support. I appreciate the importance of the universities, but I am always anxious to point out the equal importance of polytechnics. We should take pride in the fact that in 1986 the number of first-class degrees awarded in polytechnics is up by 20 per cent.

Mr. Radice: Does the Sec State not accept that the message of the report of the Government's own accounting advisers is that continual cuts in funding since 1981 are bringing many universities to the verge of bankruptcy? Is it not time that the Sec State told the PM that there must be a U-turn in policy? To maintain standards, the Government must provide universities with more resources.

Mr. Baker: Over the past few years, changes had to be made in universities. I think that all hon. Members would agree with that. A significant change in attitudes and in giving priorities to some subjects over others is pure gain. I ask the hon. Gentleman to await the announcement that I hope to make quite soon. I think that he will not be too disappointed.

Mrs. Kellett-Bowman: Will my right hon. Friend tell the House what efforts the universities are making to attract outside funding from industry? Is the sum considerable; is it rising, or is it level?

Mr. Baker: I have been charged today in the columns of The Times on the fact that I suggested that universities were ivory towers and did not seek support from the private sector. The fact that I said that obviously hit a raw nerve. There has been an increase in private funding for universities over the past few years, and we all welcome that. The amount of private money that goes into universities amounts to just £47 million a year, which is well under 1 per cent. of their costs, and compares unfavourably with practices in America, Germany and France.

In the last issue we published an article by Ruth Levitas:- Free Speech or No Platform. She would like to inform readers since the article was written that:-

- (i) The Education Bill received its Royal Assent towards the end of 1986, and, with the promised re-insertion of the clause concerning 'free speech' on college campuses, is now in force.
- (ii) The students found guilty by the disciplinary committee at Bristol University were subsequently acquitted on appeal. The appeal was allowed on procedural grounds.

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

YOUTH the journal of critical analysis AND POLICY

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

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